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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

From the First Entrance of

JULIUS CÆSAR

AND THE

ROMANS,

To the End of the REIGN of

KING *JAMES* the First.

Containing the Space of 1678 *Years.*

VOLUME the FIRST.

With a Compleat INDEX.

By LAURENCE ECHARD, A. M. Arch-deacon of *Stowe.*

LONDON:
Printed for JACOB TONSON, at *Shakeſpear's-Head*, over-againſt *Katharine-ſtreet* in the *Strand.* MDCCXVIII.

MAP
of
ENGLAND
ROMANS'
LIFE

BRITISH MUSEUM

DIEU ET
MON DR
GEORGIUS Mag BRITANNIÆ
REX.
FIDEI DEFENSOR. &c.
G. Kneller Eq. Baronet. pinxit
Geo. Bertue Sculpsit 1716

AU
ROY.

SIRE,

PERSUADÈ de la Bonté reconnuë de Votre Majeſté, & de ſa gracieuſe Condeſcendance pour les moindres de ſes Sujets qui s'addreſſent à Elle, Je prends trés humblement la liberté de mettre à vos piès *l'Hiſtoire d'Angleterre*, & de tous vos Etats *Britanniques*, depuis la premiere Entrée des *Romains* dans ce Païs, juſqu'à l'accompliſſement de le grande & heureuſe Revolution de l'Année 1688.

DEDICACE.

Il n'auroit pas été convenable d'avoir dediè un ouvrage de cette nature à un Prince qui a autant de Connoiſſance, d'Experience & de Valeur que Votre Majeſté, ſi l'Hiſtoire n'eſtoit remplie de tant d'Evenemens remarquables, qu'ils peuvent augmenter la Sageſſe du plus entendu, l'Inſtruction du plus experimenté, & la Precaution du plus vaillant Prince qui porta jamais Couronne.

L'Angleterre ſurtout a été un Theatre où il s'eſt paſſé de ſi grandes & de ſi remarquables Actions dans les derniers ſiecles, que dans ce que comprend cette Hiſtoire, il y paroit une plus grande varieté de Changemens, de Gouvernemens, & d'Etabliſſemens; & ſemble y avoir eu des Exemples plus viſibles & plus ſignalés de Jugemens & de Punitions, de Miſericordes & de Delivrances d'enhaut qu'on n'en ſçauroit peutêtre trouver de pareilles dans aucun autre Endroit de l'Occident.

En effet nous voyons d'un côté les plus terribles Examples d'Oppreſſion de Tirannie & d'Effuſion de Sang; & de l'autre, les plus grandes marques de Douceur & de Moderation, de Bienveillance & de Juſtice, de Pieté & de Devotion, de Grandeur d'Ame & d'Humanité; en un mot, des Vertus ſi éclatantes, & des Vices ſi enormes; & les Conſequences qui en ſont enſuivies ſi ſurprenantes, qu'elles peuvent exciter & ſatisfaire

en

en même tems la plus grande Curioſité, & fournir les plus nobles Inſtructions & les plus grands Avertiſſemens.

MAIS entre toutes les Parties & les Evenemens de cette Hiſtoire, on doit particulierement faire attention à ſa Concluſion; non ſeulement pour l'Exemple en general, mais à cauſe que c'eſt le plus memorable par rapport à la Grandeur de Votre Majeſté, & à la Seureté de Vos Sujets.

C'eſt le Recit d'une Revolution la plus extraordinaire & où la Providence ait eu le plus de part qui ſoit jamais arrivée dans les Etats *Britanniques:* Revolution qui diſſipa avec douceur tous les Orages dont on étoit menacé, & qui donna la Vie & l'Eſprit à trois Royaumes qui etoient ſur le point d'expirer: Revolution qui a immortalisé la Memoire du Grand GUILLAUME, & la renduë ſuperieure au Premier de ce Nom; & s'il eut moins du *Conquerant*, il eut toute fois plus du *Liberateur*, que ce Victorieux Monarque: Revolution qui a été la Source d'un nombre infini de Benedictions, qui ont rendu leur ancien Eclat a pluſieurs Parties de *l'Europe* auſſi bien qu'à *l'Angleterre*; C'eſt de là que vint la Conſervation & la Seureté de ce qu'on poſſede de plus eſtimable ſous le Ciel, & qui, contre toute attente, arreta le Torrent inſupportable du Pouvoir de la *France*; qui produiſit le parfait Etabliſſement du *Parti Proteſtant*

teſtant dans les differents Endroits de la *Chretienté* au dehors; & la *Succeſſion Proteſtante* dans ces Royaumes; & ce qui couronna tout, le Regne favorable de Votre Majeſté ſur cette Nation, qui ſouhaittoit depuis ſi longtems la Perfection de cet Etabliſſement.

Le Ciel & la Terre ſemblent s'eſtre unis dans cette derniere & ſignalée Benediction, & vous avoir donné en poſſeſſion une Couronne Imperiale, que vous aviés meritée auparavant par vos premiers Exploits Militaires chez des Nations eloignées, auſſi bien que par vos autres Qualités & Perfections: Et les foibles & ingrates oppoſitions que vous avés depuis rencontrées, quoyque, contre tous ce qu'on avoit lieu de croire, parvenuës à une Rebellion ouverte, n'ont ſeulement ſervi qu'à ajouter un plus grand Luſtre à la premiere Gloire de Votre Majeſté. Et comme les Nuages & les Tempêtes du Matin, ſont ordinairement les avantcoureurs de la Serenité & de la Beauté du Jour ſuivant; auſſi les violentes Brouilleries au Commencement d'un Regne, donnent generalement une nouvelle Force & Vigueur à la Conſtitution, & font eſperer une ſolide & durable Felicité au Gouvernement.

APRÉS une telle heureuſe Revolution, & un Etabliſſement ſi parfait, la Nation *Britannique* voit avec plaiſir un Deſcendant de ſes anciens

Roys

Roys eſtabli ſur le Thrône, qui tire ſon origine de *Matilde*, Fille de *Henry* II. & Petite-fille d'une Imperatrice du même Nom, qui eſtoit Fille & Mere de deux Roys, & prochaine Heritiere de la Couronne *d'Angleterre*, dont Elle fut en poſſeſſion, il y a prés du 600 Ans; Laquelle Imperatrice, eſtant auſſi Niece du Roy *d'Ecoſſe*, & de la Maiſon des anciens Monarques Saxons de cette Nation, la Noble Alliance de Votre Majeſté aux deux Couronnes *d'Angleterre* & *d'Ecoſſe* a été etablië pluſieurs Siecles avant l'Addition que Vous avés euë par Votre glorieuſe Grand-Mere la Reine de *Bohëme*. De ſorte qu'autant que le *Sang Royal* & le *Droit Hereditaire* ont lieu, Votre Majeſté a l'Honneur d'être doublement revetuë de ce que vos Ennemis & vos Adverſaires ont eſté ſi portés à revoquer en doute.

Comme la Nation *Angloiſe* a toujours aimé les Princes Vaillans & Guerriers, Elle ne pouvoit jamais y eſtre plus fortement engagée, que par Votre Majeſté & Votre Famille; où il y a eu, de notre tems, tant de Preuves ſignalées de Gloire Militaire. Les Actions que vous avés faites de ſi bonne heure dans les Lieux eloignés de *l'Europe*; comme en *Hongrie* & en la *Morée*, & particulierement au fameux Siege de *Bude*, eſtoient les Solides Fondemens de Votre Grandeur preſente, dont la Poſterité la pus reculée ſe reſſouviendra avec plaiſir; Et quoyque Votre Majeſté, ainſi re-

ſervée par la Providence pour une Gloire à venir, ait evité les Dangers de la Guerre; Cependant il n'y a pas eu moins que trois de vos Illuſtres Freres qui ont eu l'Honneur de ſacrifier leur Vie pour la plus noble des Cauſes; deux en combattant contre les Ennemis du *Chriſtianiſme*, & le troiſiéme contre le grand Perturbateur du Repos de la *Chretienté*.

Quoyque Votre Majeſté ſe ſoit ſignalée dans l'Art de la Guerre, vous avés cependant temoigné combien vous vous plaiſiés dans l'Exercice des Arts de la Paix & du Gouvernement Civil; & avés donné une excellente preuve de vos Vertus Souveraines, avant que vous euſſiés l'occaſion de les faire eclater dans ces Royaumes. La Bonté & l'Humanité, la Juſtice & la Moderation avec leſquelles vous avés gouverné vos Sujets *d'Allemagne*, où l'on s'oppoſoit moins à l'Authorité Souveraine, eſtoient les heureux Preſages de ce que nous avons vû depuis l'Avenement de Votre Majeſté au Throne de la *Grande Bretagne*.

Et ce qui augmentoit encore le Plaiſir de nos Eſperances, eſtoit l'Amitié pour notre Nation qui vous avoit été de ſi bonne heure inſpirée par une Excellente Mere, ſi particulierement diſtinguée par ſon Affection pour les *Anglois*. De ſorte qu'ils avoient le Bonheur d'eſtre les Favorits de Votre Majeſté, avant de ſçavoir qu'ils deviendroient vos Sujets.

VOTRE

VOTRE Majeſté s'eſtant trouvée dans ces heureuſes Diſpoſitions, nous jouiſſons preſentement de la Benediction de ſon trés doux & trés gracieux Regne. Je pourrois icy naturellement & ſans ſortir de mon ſujet faire voir d'une maniere particuliere les Vertus & les Qualités de Votre Majeſté; Je pourrois m'etendre ſur Votre Inclination genereuſe; Votre Clemence pour vos Ennemis, vos Egards obligeans pour vos Amis, Votre Humeur toujours égale, la Sincerité de vos Promeſſes Royales, la Soliditè de Votre Jugement, & Votre Faveur pour les Sciences, qui a ſi fort eclaté dans le Preſent que Vous avés fait à l'Univerſité de *Cambridge* & qu'on ne devroit jamais oublier. Mais il y a trop de diſtance de Votre Majeſté à Moy pour entreprendre d'entrer dans un tel detail; ſurtout puiſqu'on ſçait que c'eſt une partie du Caractere de Votre Majeſté de ne pas affecter d'eſtre Populaire; ce qui ſeroit un moyen pour decouvrir un plus grand nombre de vos Perfections; & Votre Majeſté n'auroit qu'à ſe montrer à ſon Peuple qui ſeroit plus heureux en connoiſſant ſon Bonheur.

Mais il faut que je m'arrête icy—— & ſachant combien il eſt agreable d'ecrire les Parties brillantes de l'Hiſtoire de ma Patrie, Je ne puis qu'envier le Bonheur de ceux qui ſeront cy-aprés jugés dignes d'ecrire l'Hiſtoire de la Vie & du Regne de

Votre

Votre Majeſté, c'eſt pourquoy je ne ferai que ce qui appartient proprement à ma Profeſſion, qui eſt d'ajouter mes conſtantes Prieres pour la longue Continuation de ces Benedictions qui ſont decoulées ſi abondamment du Ciel, & de la Bonté de Votre Majeſté: Deſquelles ſe reſſouviendra toujours avec beaucoup de Reconnoiſſance celuy qui eſt,

SIRE,

De Votre MAJESTÉ,

Le trés-humble, trés-fidelle,

& trés-devoûé Serviteur & Sujet,

LAURENT ECHARD.

TO THE
KING.

SIR,

PRESUMING on Your Majesty's known Goodness, and gracious Condescention to the Applications of Your meanest Subjects, I humbly beg leave to lay at Your Royal Feet *The History of* England, and of all Your *British* Dominions, From the First Entrance of the *Romans* into these Parts, to the Completion of the Great and Happy Revolution in the Year 1688.

DEDICATION.

It would have been improper to have Dedicated a Work of this Nature to a Prince of Your Majeſty's Great Knowledge, Experience and Courage, were not the Hiſtory fill'd with ſo many remarkable Events, as are ſufficient to add Wiſdom to the moſt Knowing, Information to the moſt Experienc'd, and Caution to the moſt Valiant Prince that ever wore a Crown.

England in an eſpecial Manner has been ſuch a mighty and diſtinct Scene of Action, in the latter Ages of the World, that during the Compaſs of this Hiſtory, there appears a greater Variety of Changes, Governments and Eſtabliſhments; and there ſeems to have been more viſible and ſignal Inſtances of Judgements and Puniſhments, Mercies and Deliverances from Above, than perhaps can be parallell'd in any other Part of the Weſtern World.

Accordingly we find, on the one hand, the moſt notorious Examples of Oppreſſion, Tyranny and Bloodſhed; and on the other, the moſt amiable Inſtances of Mildneſs and Moderation, Benevolence and Juſtice, Piety and Devotion, Fortitude and Humanity; in ſhort, ſuch exalted Degrees of Virtue, and ſuch monſtrous Deformities of Vice; with ſuch ſurprizing Conſequences reſulting from both, as may be ſufficient

to

to excite, and at the ſame time to ſatisfie, the higheſt Curioſity, and afford Matter for the nobleſt Information and Admonition.

BUT among all the Parts and Paſſages in this Hiſtory, the Concluſion is moſt highly to be regarded; not only for Example in general, but for being the moſt memorable with reſpect to Your Majeſty's Greatneſs, and Your Subjects Security.

It is the Account of a Revolution, the moſt Wonderful and Providential that ever happen'd to the *Britiſh* Dominions: A Revolution that kindly diſpell'd all the impending Storms, and infus'd Life and Spirit into Three expiring Kingdoms: A Revolution that immortaliz'd Great WILLIAM's Fame, and made it Superior to the Firſt of that Name; who if he had leſs of the *Conqueror*, yet had He more of the *Deliverer*, than that victorious Monarch: A Revolution, from whoſe prolifick Womb ſprung a numberleſs Series of Bleſſings, which revived many Parts of *Europe*, as well as *England*. From hence aroſe the Preſervation and Security of the moſt valuable Enjoyments under Heaven, and an unexpected Stop to the overbearing Torrent of the Power of *France*: From hence aroſe the perfect Settlement of the *Proteſtant Intereſt* in the ſeveral Parts of the *Chriſtian* World abroad: And from hence ſprung the

Prote-

Proteſtant Succeſſion in theſe Dominions at home; and what crown'd all, Your Majeſty's Auſpicious Reign over thoſe Kingdoms, that had ſo much long'd for that compleat Settlement.

Heaven and Earth ſeem to have united in this laſt and diſtinguiſhing Bleſſing, and to have given into Your Poſſeſſion an Imperial Crown, which You had before merited by Your early Atchievements of Arms in remote Nations, as well as by Your other Princely Qualifications and Accompliſhments: And the feeble and ungrateful Oppoſitions You have ſince encounter'd, tho' unexpectedly ſwell'd to an open Rebellion, have only ſerv'd to add a greater Luſtre to Your Majeſty's former Glory. Theſe were like the Clouds and Tempeſts in a Morning, which are the uſual Fore-runners of the Serenity and Brightneſs of the Succeeding Day. And thus the warm Struggles in the Beginning of a Reign, generally give freſh Strength and Vigour to the Conſtitution, and promiſe the ſetled and laſting Felicity of the Eſtabliſhment.

AFTER ſuch a happy Revolution, and ſo compleat a Settlement, the *Britiſh* Nation do with Pleaſure ſee a Deſcendent of their ancient Kings eſtabliſh'd upon the Throne, whoſe Lineage was from *Matilda*, the Daughter of King *Henry* the Second, and Grand-Daughter to an Empreſs of the

the ſame Name, who was both Daughter and Mother to two great Kings, and immediate Heir to the Crown of *England*, and Poſſeſſor of it, near ſix hundred Years ago: Which Empreſs, being likewiſe Neice to the King of *Scotland*, and of the Houſe of the ancient *Saxon* Monarchs of this Nation, Your Majeſty's noble Alliance to the Two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* have been eſtabliſh'd for ſeveral Centuries before the Addition You gain'd from Your glorious Grand-Mother, the Queen of *Bohemia*. So that as far as *Royal Blood* and *Hereditary Titles* take place, Your Majeſty has the Honour of being doubly Inveſted with what Your Enemies and Oppoſers have been ſo ready to call in queſtion.

As the *Engliſh* Nation has been ever fond of valiant and warlike Princes, ſo they never could be more ſtrongly engaged, than by Your Majeſty and Your Family; in which there have been, in our Memory, ſo many ſignal Inſtances of Military Glory. Your own early Actions in the diſtant Parts of *Europe*, as in *Hungary* and *Morea*, and particularly in the famous Siege of *Buda*, were ſolid Foundations of Your preſent Greatneſs, and will with Pleaſure be remember'd by late Poſterity. And tho' Your Majeſty, thus reſerv'd by Providence for future Glories, eſcap'd all the Dangers of War; yet no leſs than Three of Your

Heroick Brothers, had the Honour to Sacrifice their Lives in the nobleſt Cauſe; Two of them fighting againſt the Enemies of *Chriſtianity*, and the Third againſt the great Diſturber of the Quiet and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*.

Tho' Your Majeſty has ſignaliz'd Yourſelf in the Arts of War, yet You have teſtify'd Your particular Delight in the Exerciſe of the Arts of Peace and Civil Government; and have given an excellent Proof of Your Soveraign Virtues, before you had the Opportunity of diſplaying them in theſe Kingdoms. The Goodneſs and Humanity, the Juſtice and Moderation with which You rul'd your *German* Subjects, where the Soveraign Power was leſs controul'd, were the happy Preſages of what we have found ſince Your Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne of *Great Britain*.

And what ſtill added to the Pleaſure of our Proſpect, was, the early Infuſions of a Love to our Nation from an excellent Mother, particularly diſtinguiſh'd for her Affection to the *Engliſh:* So that they had the Happineſs of being Your Majeſty's Favourites, before they knew they ſhould become Your Subjects.

THUS happily prepared and qualify'd, we now enjoy the Bleſſings of Your Majeſty's moſt Mild

Mild and Gracious Reign. And here I might naturally and ſeaſonably Proceed to a particular Diſplay of Your Majeſty's more private Virtues and Accompliſhments; I might dwell upon Your Generous Diſpoſition, Your Clemency to Your Enemies, Your Beneficent Regard to Your Friends, the Steadineſs of Your Temper, Your firm Adherence to Your Royal Word, the Soundneſs of Your Underſtanding, and Your Favour to Learning, which ſo ſignally appear'd in that ever to be remember'd Munificence to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: But I ſtand at too great a Diſtance from Your Majeſty to preſume to enter upon the Particulars of Theſe; eſpecially ſince it is a known Part of Your Majeſty's Character, not to affect Popularity; a ſmall Degree of which would ſerve to give a more extenſive View of Your Excellencies; and Your Majeſty need only but to ſhew Your ſelf to Your People, and they would be more Fortunate in the Knowledge of their own Happineſs.

But here I muſt deſiſt; —— and knowing how pleaſant it is to write the ſhining Parts of the Hiſtory of my own Country, I cannot but envy the Happineſs of thoſe who in After-times ſhall be judg'd worthy to write the Hiſtory of Your Majeſty's Life and Reign. Therefore I ſhall preſume no further than, what belongs moſt properly to my Profeſſion, to add my conſtant Prayers for the

long

long Continuance of thoſe Bleſſings that have flow'd ſo plentifully from the Hand of Heaven, and the Bounty of Your Majeſty. Which ſhall ever be moſt gratefully remember'd by,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY's *moſt Humble,*

Faithful and Devoted

Servant and Subject,

LAURENCE ECHARD.

THE PREFACE.

NOtwithſtanding the common Pretence among many Authors, That their Books were written at the Inſtance of Friends and others, I am oblig'd to do my ſelf the Juſtice to declare, That ſeveral conſiderable Perſons adviſ'd and urg'd me to undertake this Work, long before I had Time and Leiſure to begin it. The chief Reaſons alledg'd were, Firſt, The great Benefit and general Uſefulneſs of the Engliſh *Hiſtory to all the Nobility, Gentry, and great Numbers of others in the Nation. Next, The unpleaſing Difficulties in attaining to that Knowledge, and the Length of Time requir'd to maſter the Subject; which had diſcourag'd many, and incapacitated more from arriving at any reaſonable Perfection in it. So that as the Caſe then ſtood, an* Engliſhman, *who deſir'd to know his own Country's Story, was oblig'd to read over a* Library, *rather than a ſingle* Hiſtory, *if he expected any anſwerable Succeſs. Now the Peruſal of all the* Monkiſh *Writers, with the Others neceſſary on this Occaſion, is a Labour highly diſagreeable to the Taſte and Genius of this refin'd Age; which cannot bear with the Meanneſſes and Sterilities of ſome of them, no more than the Prolixities and Impertinencies of others. Even* Hollingſhed *and* Speed, *the two beſt and moſt compleat Writers of their Times, have been condemn'd chiefly for their being ſo very tedious and voluminous; and for that Reaſon, are now much neglected, and almoſt laid aſide.*

Theſe were ſufficient Inducements to me to undertake this Work, which, as far as the Subject and Materials would afford, was deſign'd ſo as to partake of the Advantages both of an Original Hiſtory *and an* Abridgement; *ſo as to preſerve the Eſſentials and Beauties of the* Former, *and the Eaſineſs and Conveniences of the* Latter. *In order to ſurmount ſo great a Difficulty, I had a nice Conſultation with ſeveral Friends; when the Examples of* Milton *and* Daniel *ſoon convinc'd us, that* Abridgements *might be uſeful and acceptable to the Nation; but upon a careful Examination of thoſe two conſiderable Writers, we found them really too ſhort and confin'd to anſwer our Ends and Deſigns; therefore it was determin'd to make this Hiſtory in Proportion almoſt as long again as theirs. The Size and Method being thus fix'd and determin'd, I proceeded in the Work with all Care and Diligence, hoping in a reaſonable Time to bring it into the World: But in the Performance, I was unhappily diſturb'd with a thouſand various Interruptions, and many real Indiſpoſitions; ſo that it was hinder'd and protracted at leaſt one Year longer than was expected, and might have been preſum'd; for which I am to beg the Excuſe of ſeveral, who by that Means were deceiv'd as to the Time of the Publication.*

The PREFACE.

Now it is finiſh'd and publiſh'd, perhaps the Reader will expect ſome further Account than I have already given of it; in which I ſhall very briefly endeavour to ſatisfie him, tho' I cannot pretend to obviate all the Objections that may be rais'd againſt it. As Truth and Fidelity were my principal Aims, as Qualifications moſt neceſſary; ſo were likewiſe Perſpicuity and Elevation, Diverſion and Inſtruction, as Properties no leſs uſeful. For the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian *is not barely to tell his Reader a true and faithful Story, which is the Office of a* Gazetteer *and* Journaliſt; *but he ought withal inſenſibly to inſtruct him, as alſo ſenſibly to divert him: He is not ſo much to fill his Head, as to inlarge his Mind; not ſo much to load his Memory, as to inrich his Underſtanding, to elevate his Thoughts, and even to captivate his Affections. In ſhort, the Qualifications of a compleat* Hiſtorian *are ſo conſiderable, as well as numerous, that a perfect Work of that Nature has been juſtly rank'd with the greateſt of all Human Undertakings; as may be ſeen from* Rapin, Le Moyne, *and others, who have given us excellent Rules for that Purpoſe, taken from the Nature of the Thing, as well as the Examples of the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians in all Ages. To ennumerate and particularize thoſe Rules and Qualifications, would too much diſcover my own Defects and Imperfections; therefore I ſhall only inform my Reader, that all along I had them in my View, and endeavour'd to follow them as much as a real Abridgement, broken Materials, and an unequal Subject would permit; all which were great Diſadvantages.*

I have all the Way conſider'd my Reader as a Traveller through a vaſt Country, wherein he muſt have Occaſion for many Reſting-Places; ſome for greater Refreſhments, and others for leſs. Accordingly, in every Reign I have prepar'd ſuch a convenient Number of Stages, as I could judge beſt for that Purpoſe, by fixing the great Sections at ſuch proper Periods of Time, and ſuch natural Diſtinctions of Matter, as ſhould be moſt advantageous for the Eaſe and Pleaſure of the Reader, as well as for his apprehending and retaining the whole Subject. The Want of ſuch periodical Diſtinctions, and ſuch convenient Separations of the main Parts, have been a great Diſadvantage to many of the beſt Hiſtorians. From hence oftentimes there appears a Cloudineſs, when there is none in Reality, ſometimes a Light too much confus'd, and for the moſt Part the Reader is reduc'd to an unneceſſary Labour, by being oblig'd to digeſt and ſeparate what the Author ought to have done for him. Perhaps I ſhould offend, if I nam'd a late Writer, and one of the beſt in the Engliſh *Tongue, who ſeems to have been too defective in this Caſe; and his excellent Hiſtory has been thought by ſome to be too tedious and perplex'd, when a nice Method, a clear Diviſion, and more Chronological Diſtinction of the Parts, would in a great meaſure have prevented that Objection.*

As to the Materials, and the Authors from whence this Work was collected, for the moſt Part the Reader may ſee their Names in the inward Margin of the Book, which for above Half Way conſiſts chiefly of the Roman, Saxon *and* Engliſh *Monkiſh Hiſtorians, with ſome Foreigners. Theſe are put in a ſmall Print, and a little Compaſs, that they might not too much withdraw the Eyes of the Reader, who in Hiſtory ought to meet with no Impediments nor Interruptions. Beſides theſe Writers, I have made uſe of all thoſe of*

a more modern Date, and more regular Deſign, ſuch as Hall, Grafton, Polydore Virgil, Hollingſhed, Stow, Speed, Baker, Daniel, Biondi, &c. *But of the Moderns none more have been of greater uſe to me than the laborious Works of Dr.* Howel, *Dr.* Brady *and Mr.* Tyrrell, *beſides the Celebrated* Hiſtory of the Reformation; *by which I have been eas'd of much Trouble. I have alſo made uſe of Mr.* Barns's *Reign of King* Edward III. *Sir* Robert Howard's *Reign of* Edward *and* Richard II. *and Mr.* Goodwin's *Reign of* Henry V. *beſides ſeveral other Writers of particular Lives and Reigns, ſuch as* Camden, Bacon, Herbert, Habington, Temple, &c. *From all theſe ſeveral Writers, and many others, I have collected and formed this preſent Hiſtory; always taking the Liberty either to copy or to imitate any Parts of them, if I found them really conducing to the Uſefulneſs, or the Ornament of my Work. And from all theſe, I have compil'd an Hiſtory as full, comprehenſive and compleat, as I could bring into the Compaſs of the propos'd Size and Bigneſs. And that nothing might be wanting, I have all the way inrich'd it with the beſt and wiſeſt Sayings of Great Men, that I could find in larger Volumes, and likewiſe with ſuch ſhort Moral Reflections, and ſuch proper Characters of Men, as might give Life, as well as add Inſtruction to the Hiſtory.*

Notwithſtanding all my Care and Caution, it cannot be expected, that a Work compos'd from ſuch Variety of Materials, ſhould be abſolutely free from Errors, nor a Hiſtory, ſo Comprehenſive, from Omiſſions. As to this, I can only ſay, that I us'd my beſt Endeavours to follow the ſtrict Rules of Sincerity and Judgment, the two ſuperior Guides to an Hiſtorian. As to the Former, which includes or implies Impartiality, I may inſiſt upon that without the Breach of Modeſty, and declare that I am not conſcious to my ſelf of any Deviation from Truth, and real Fact; and if any ſuch be found, I deſire it may be charg'd upon the Latter, or upon Ignorance, or Inadvertency. I am ſenſible of the mighty Difficulties of diſcovering Truth in ſome Caſes, and of knowing it when it is diſcover'd, therefore beg that ſome candid Allowances may be made: And a ſtrict Impartiality is ſo rare a Quality in moſt Writers of Hiſtory, that many are ready to think, that an impartial Hiſtorian is a Man not to be found in the World; and ſome carry it farther, and ſay, that conſidering Human Infirmities, it is impoſſible to be really impartial. I grant there are ſtrong Propenſities in all Mankind to join and adhere to one Side more than another, and that in the moſt trivial Caſes; but while there are ſuch things in the World, as Truth and Honeſty, undoubtedly there may be an impartial Hiſtorian as well as an impartial Judge in a Court, who can certainly give Sentence according to his Conſcience and Judgment, tho' contrary to his Deſires and Inclinations. An Hiſtorian ought never to be of a Party but in one Reſpect; that is, he ought always to be of the ſame Side with Truth, and incline to the Cauſe that is moſt juſt and rightful, tho' it chance to be highly offenſive to ſome, whoſe Thoughts are working a contrary way. Such a Writer I preſume to declare my ſelf; and I have carefully endeavour'd neither to exaſperate, nor flatter any one Party of Men in the Nation, induſtriouſly avoiding all Expreſſions that had a Tendency either way. And if ſome Paſſages ſhall ſtill diſpleaſe, I muſt declare, that it was contrary to my Deſign and Intention. I have indeed taken more liberty as to Matters of unqueſtionable Morality and Juſtice, and have occaſionally ſtigma-

tiz'd

tiz'd the flagrant Vices and Impieties of great Men; eſpecially where I found a reſtleſs Ambition, treacherous and villanous Practices, and an inſatiable Thirſt after the Blood of others. Such Crimes as theſe ought not to be ſpar'd or palliated by an Hiſtorian of any Religion, and they ſeldom fail of ſignal Puniſhments in this World; which I have the more expos'd, by ſhewing the Hand of a juſt and retaliating Providence from above. And this, as well as other Hiſtories, will afford us many Examples of the greateſt Men, who have been arreſted by the Vengeance of Heaven, after they have been able to break through all the Powers of Human Laws, and common Judicature.

As to any real Faults or Imperfections that may be found in this Book, while they are not contrary to the Fidelity of an Hiſtorian, I ſhall not ſhew much Concern, but leave them to the Judgment and Candour of the Reader. I ſhall only beg of him not to judge of the Work by a ſingle Chapter or Reign, but conſider the Nature and Series of the whole, before he paſſes Sentence. If it be found, that the Form of it is irregular and diſproportionate; that the general Method is intricate and confus'd; that the Colourings are weak and unaffecting, and that the Stile is mean, flat and inſipid; I muſt then ſubmit with Patience and Silence. But if there be no great Failures as to theſe Eſſentials, I hope the reſt of my Defects may more deſerve a private Admonition, than a publick Animadverſion.

Before I conclude this Preface, I am to inform the Reader, that this Volume was firſt deſign'd to have ended at the Death of Queen Elizabeth, *as the moſt proper Period of Time: But afterwards the Importunities of ſeveral ſo far prevail'd upon me, that I added the Reign of King* James I. *to it: Of which, as I found the worſt Writers, and met with the moſt Dificulties, ſo I am afraid I ſhall need the greateſt Excuſes. Notwithſtanding which, I have a full Deſign of carrying this Work further, hoping I ſhall meet with due Aſſiſtance and Encouragement.*

To come at laſt to the Errors of the Preſs, there are few but what the Reader may eaſily correct, and thoſe are Names of Perſons or Places, which I believe proceeded from the haſty writing of the Copy. But becauſe there are two or three which may ſeem to be more the Fault of the Author, than the Printer, I ſhall juſt mention them.

ERRATA.

IN all the Places of the Page and Margin, Page 59 and 60, inſtead of *Oſſa*, read *Offa*. In the inward Margin of p. 139, 140, 142, and ſeveral others, where-ever is the Word *Vitales*, read *Vitalis*. In the inward Margin of p. 439, 440, 443, and ſeveral others, where-ever is the Word *Urſius*, read *Urſins*. In p. 959, in the inward Margin, for *Clerendus* read *Clarendon*.

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History

History of England.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

Containing a ſhort Account of Ancient BRITAIN, *and its Firſt* INHABITANTS.

I. THE principal Deſign in this following Hiſtory, is to give a full and regular Account of the Tranſactions of that Part of *Britain*, now call'd *England* and *Wales*, for the Space of about ſixteen Centuries; that is from the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar* and the *Romans*, 'till the Kingdom of *Scotland* was added to the Crown of *England*. And tho' there is frequent occaſion to treat of the Affairs of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and other Countries, yet the Reader is not to expect any more than what have a neceſſary, or natural Dependance upon thoſe of *England*. For nine or ten Centuries, which include the greateſt Variety of Matters, our Accounts are very imperfect and defective, ſometimes diſjointed, broken and full of Chaſmes, and other times confus'd, obſcure and uncertain. So that the Reading of this Hiſtory will, in a great meaſure, be like a Man's travelling firſt by Twi-light, and then in the Night, 'till the Morning Sun at length gives him a new and clear Light. But that the Account may be as perſpicuous and as regular as the Materials will permit, we ſhall take ſome ſhort Notice of *Britain* and its Inhabitants, as they were before the Arrival of *Cæſar*; firſt the Country, and next the People.

The Country, before the Entrance of the *Romans*, had two different Names, *Albion*, and *Britain*; concerning which there have been more Variety of Opinions. It was call'd *Albion*, either from a ſuppos'd Giant of that Name, the Son of *Neptune*, mention'd by many ancient Writers, it being proper that the greateſt Iſland in the Ocean ſhould receive its Name from a Son of the greateſt Sea-God; or elſe from the old Word Ἀλφὸν, which among the *Greeks* ſignifies *White*, by reaſon of the white chalky Cliffs, ſeen by the Mariners afar off, as they ſail'd theſe Seas. Some think it comes from the *Hebrew* Word *Alben*, which alſo ſignifies *White*, and others from the *Phœnician* Word *Alp*, which

ALBION.

 ſignifies

BRITAIN.

ſignifies *High*; but of theſe there is but little Certainty. Nor is there much greater concerning the Name of *Britain*, which ſome former Writers confidently derive from *Brutus*, the third by Deſcent from the *Trojan* *Æneas*; and others from the *Britiſh* Word *Pryd Cain*, that is *Forma Candida*, a white Form. Mr. *Camden* more probably derives it from *Brith*, which in the *Engliſh* Tongue ſignifies *Painted*, and the *Greek* Word Τανία, ſignifying a *Nation*; agreeable to the Cuſtom of the ancient *Britains*, who were wont to diſcolour and paint their naked Bodies; ſo that according to him, *Britain* is a Nation of *painted Men*, ſuch as the *Romans* call'd *Picts* in ſucceeding Times. Mr. *Somner*, another great Antiquary, diſlikes this Etymology, and propoſes another plauſible Conjecture, namely, that it comes from the Word *Brydio*, which in the *Britiſh* Tongue implies Heat and Fury; pointing out the hot and violent Motion of the Seas that ſurround this Iſle, which have been particularly obſerv'd by many ancient Authors. Others think the Opinion of Mon. *Bochart* moſt probable, who derives it from the *Phœnicians*, who in their Language call'd this Iſland, and ſome others near it, *Barat-Anac*, or more contractedly *Bratanac*, that is *a Land of Tin*; which in Time might be mollify'd by the *Greeks* into Βρεταννία. And they conclude it to be the more ſatisfactory, becauſe the *Greecians* gave theſe Iſlands the Name of *Caſſiterides*, which ſignifies the ſame with *Barat-Anac*, the *Land* or *Country of Tin*. Of theſe ſeveral Opinions, we muſt leave the Reader to chuſe for himſelf; and therefore not to dwell upon theſe uncertain Subjects, we immediately proceed to ſome more material Account of the Country.

A general Deſcription of the Country.

This Country, in its utmoſt Extent, was by the Ancients accounted the largeſt Iſland in the World; and notwithſtanding the later Diſcoveries of *Madagaſcar* and *Japan*, which are brought in competition with it, we are not yet certain of the contrary. However all agree that it is far the moſt conſiderable of all others; eſpecially if the ſole Regard be had to that Part to which we are principally confin'd in this Hiſtory. That Part has been celebrated by Writers in all Ages for the profuſe Bounties of Nature, both in the excellent Temperature of the Air, and the valuable Products of the Soil. The Air, tho' thick and moiſt, is far more mild and temperate than any Part of the Continent under the ſame Climate, ſo that there is no need of Stoves in Winter, nor Grotto's in Summer; nor is it ſo frequently diſturb'd with Tempeſts and Hurricanes, nor ſo infected with peſtilential Diſtempers; nor is the Land ſo generally puniſh'd with Earthquakes and Famines, as many other Countries are. Tho' in its Products it may be ſaid to be defective in ſome few Bleſſings, as Wine and Oil, yet in general it abounds and triumphs; and no Country exceeds it in the three main Neceſſaries of Human Life, Fleſh and Corn for Food, Wool and other Conveniencies for Raiment, and Timber and Stone for Building; to which we may add Wood and Coals for Firing, and the moſt uſeful Metals for all Occaſions. For Profit it has a double Advantage from its Situation in the Ocean, the Conveniency of a foreign Trade, and the Security from foreign Invaſion; and for Pleaſure and Beauty all Strangers take particular Notice of its excellent Verdure, in which it generally exceeds the moſt fruitful Parts of *Europe*. The happy Fertility and Pleaſantneſs of *Britain*, gave occaſion to ſome of the Ancients to imagine that theſe were the *Fortunate Iſlands*, and thoſe *Seats of the Bleſſed*, where the Poets tell us, That the whole Face of Nature always ſmil'd with one perpetual Spring. For Plenty *Britain* was the Granary and Magazine of the Weſtern Empire, from whence the *Romans* were wont every Year in eight hundred Veſſels to tranſport vaſt Quantities of Corn, for their Armies upon the Frontiers of *Germany*. In ſhort the Excellency of this Country is apparent from thoſe tranſcendent Eulogies beſtow'd both by ancient and modern Writers, who pronounce her 'happy above all other Countries, whom Nature 'has enrich'd with all the Bleſſings of Heaven and Earth, in whom nothing is 'hurtful, nor nothing deſirable is wanting; a Maſter-Piece of Nature, per-

'form'd

'form'd when ſhe was in the beſt and gayeſt Humour, which ſhe plac'd as a lit-
'tle World by it ſelf, upon the Side of the greater, merely for the Delight of
'Mankind; the moſt accurate Model which ſhe propos'd to her ſelf to beautifie
'the other Parts of the Univerſe; whoſe Vallies are like *Eden*, whoſe Hills
'are as *Lebanon*, whoſe Springs are as *Piſga*, whoſe Rivers are as *Jordan*,
'whoſe Walls is the Ocean, and whoſe Defence is the Lord *Jehovah*.

The ancient Inhabitants of it.

II. A Country ſo enrich'd and beautify'd by Nature, could not long want Inhabitants, after the Diſperſion of the Sons of *Noah*. The firſt of which are moſt probably believ'd to have proceeded from *Gomer*, the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*, whoſe immediate Poſterity ſettl'd in *Gaul*, and other neighbouring Countries. So that *Britain* ſeems to have been inhabited Two Thouſand Years before the *Romans* made any Conqueſt in it. But as to the Actions of the Inhabitants during that Space of Time, we have no other certain Knowledge, than that they had ſome Commerce and Intercourſe both with the *Phœnicians* and *Greecians*, before they were known to the *Romans*. What theſe *Britains* were at the Time of the *Romans* Arrival, and for ſome conſiderable time after, we have ſome Account from ſeveral ancient Writers, as *Cæſar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Herodian*, *Solinus*, and ſome others; from all whom we ſhall deſcribe their Perſons, Manners, Cuſtoms, Government and Diviſions.

Their Tempers and Diſpoſitions.

The ancient *Britains* were a numerous and powerful People, and like the greateſt Part of the World at that Time, barbarous and idolatrous: Yet they wanted not natural Generoſity and Bravery, being fierce and couragious, courting all dangerous Enterprizes, paſſionate Oppoſers of Slavery, and exquiſitely ſenſible of the Charms of Liberty. They in moſt Things reſembled their Neighbours the *Gauls*, but were generally more rude and plain, as well as more warm and vigorous; yet *Tacitus* preferr'd their Wits and Ingenuities before them, and *Diodorus* their Honeſty and Integrity much before thoſe of the *Romans*. As to their Bodies, they were generally very tall, and their Conſtitution ſo ſtrong, that ſeveral of them, according to *Plutarch*, would live a Hundred and twenty Years; the natural Heat of the Body, as he conceives, being preſerv'd by the Coolneſs of the Country. They were frequently yellow-hair'd, and the Women fair and beautiful, and remarkable for their excellent Features.

Their Painting of their Bodies.

All the *Britains*, ſays *Cæſar*, dy'd their Bodies with *Woad*, which render'd them of a Sky Colour, and thereupon the more terrible in Battel; and they wore their Hair long upon their Head and upper Lip, but cloſe and bare in all other Parts of the Body. *Herodian* tells us that they knew not the Uſe of Cloaths; but about their Necks and Waſtes they wore Iron, accounting it an Ornament and a Sign of Riches, as other Nations did Gold: That they painted their Bodies with divers Colours, and with all Kinds of Animals there repreſented, wherefore they wore no Cloaths leſt thoſe beautiful Figures ſhould be hid. In which Painting *Pliny* agrees, and deſcribes the Herb *Woad* to be like the Plantine in *Gaul*, naming it *Glaſtum*, with the Juice of which, adds he, the Women of *Britain*, as well Wives as Virgins, anointed and dy'd their Bodies, reſembling the *Æthiopians* by that Tincture, in which Manner they us'd at ſolemn Feaſts and Scacrifices to go all naked. *Dion* ſays that it was the Cuſtom of the Nation to abide in Tents, all naked, and without Shooes; tho' *Cæſar* in another Place ſays, that they were clad with Skins, which probably is meant of the civiller Sort of them, and in Time of Battel. *Solinus* tells us that they painted themſelves with the Shapes of ſeveral Beaſts, artificially cut out in their Bodies in their Youth, ſo that theſe Prints in their Fleſh might increaſe according to the Growth of their Bodies. Nor was any Thing reckon'd a greater Sign of Patience among theſe barbarous Nations, than to make ſuch deep Scars in their Limbs, as might drink in great Quantities of Paint and Colour. Theſe Scars are by *Tertullian* term'd *Britannorum Stigmata*, the *Britains* Marks.

The usual Diet. To proceed to their Diet and domeſtick Concerns, it was accounted a Crime to eat either Hen, Hare or Gooſe, which notwithſtanding, as *Cæſar* obſerves, they bred for their Pleaſures; nor did they live ſumptuouſly at full and rich Tables, as *Diodorus* affirms, but rather in Neceſſity could feed upon Barks and Roots of Trees, and upon a Quantity of Meat no larger than a Bean, after which for a conſiderable Time they were neither hungry nor thirſty, as *Dion* aſſures us. He likewiſe tells us, that they till'd no Ground, nor eat any Fiſh, tho' their Rivers were plentifully ſtored with them, but liv'd upon Prey, Veniſon and Fruits, to which *Cæſar* adds Milk, of which, ſays *Strabo*, they had not then Skill to make Cheeſe. According to *Solinus* their uſual Drink was made of Barley; and for Tillage *Pliny* ſeems to contradict *Dion*, affirming that they manur'd their Ground with Marl inſtead of Dung, which argu'd no ſuch Simplicity in Gardning and Husbandry as *Strabo* charg'd upon them. Their Buildings and Houſes were as mean as their Diet and Cloaths, for they gave the Name of Towns to certain cumberſome Woods, which having fortify'd with Rampiers and Ditches, they uſually retreated to them, to avoid the Incurſions of their Enemies, as *Cæſar* informs us. *Strabo* adds, that Woods among them were inſtead of Cities; for having cut down Trees, and enclos'd a large round Plat of Ground with them, they there built Huts to live in, and made Folds for their Cattle, which were not of any long Continuance. Their Houſes were often thatch'd with Reed, poorly built, and diſpers'd all over the Country without Obſervance of Order or Diſtance, by which Villages were compos'd: For the *Britains* were plac'd as every Man lik'd, at ſmaller or greater Diſtances, as they were invited by the Fertility of the Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or Water.

The Buildings and Towns.

Their Trade and Commodities. Their beſt Towns were moſt upon their Coaſts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and Recourſe of Strangers from the Continent, to buy and ſell, or exchange Wares with thoſe of the Iſland. Theſe Inhabitants were much more civiliz'd than thoſe of the Inland Country, by the Commerce and Intercourſe of other Nations, eſpecially the *Gauls*, who long before had been civiliz'd by the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of this Iſle were chiefly Hides and Tin, with many inferior Things, ſuch as Ivory Boxes, Sheers, Bits and Bridles, Wreathes and Chains, with ſome Trifles made of Amber and Glaſs. They had ſome Metals, and alſo Pearl, tho' of no great Value; and as their Traffick was mean and inconſiderable, ſo was their Mony and their Shipping. The former was only Braſs and Iron Rings, which being made to a certain Weight, ſerv'd for their current Coin: The latter were ſmall Veſſels, where Keels and Ribs were made of light Wood, and were cover'd over with Skins and Leather; and as long as they were ſailing, ſo long they abſtain'd from Meat; which ſhews that they were never us'd to long and dangerous Voyages. As they had a frequent Correſpondence with the *Gauls*, ſo their Language, Cuſtoms and Religion were generally the ſame with theirs. Yet there was one Cuſtom among the *Britains* which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, and not found in the Hiſtories of any other Nation, which was a Society of Wives among certain Numbers, and by common Conſent. *Cæſar* tells us that they had ten or twelve of them Wives together in common, eſpecially Brothers with each other, and Parents with their Children; but then if any of the Women brought forth, the Child was accounted only his, who firſt marry'd her. *Dion* confirms it, and adds, that the Children thus begotten were brought up in common amongſt them; and *Euſebius* afterwards ſays that many *Britains* together kept one Wife in common to them all. This unuſual Cuſtom was much taken notice of at *Rome*, and *Severus*'s Empreſs *Julia* greatly reproach'd a *Britiſh* Lady with it at Court, as a Cuſtom infamous in the Women, as well as barbarous in the Men. To whom the Lady, having accidentally made ſome Diſcoveries among the *Romans*, briskly reply'd, *We do that openly with the beſt of our Men, which you do privately with the worſt of yours.*

Their peculiar Marriages.

As

As to the Religion of the *Britains*, it was as black and ſuperſtitious as any in thoſe Times, and they proceeded ſo far as to the inhuman Offering of Mens Fleſh in their Sacrifices. And beſides their ancient Idols, ſuch as *Dis*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the like, they worſhipp'd *Andates* for their Goddeſs of Victory, unto whom they perform'd no ſmall Adorations and Honours, erecting Temples whoſe Walls continu'd a conſiderable Space; upon which ſeveral of their prophane Portraitures with deform'd Lineaments were ſeen by the mournful *Gildas*, who deſcribes their grim and ſtern Viſſages, pronouncing them infernal in their Nature, and in Number almoſt exceeding thoſe of *Ægypt*. *Tacitus* notes them for being extreamly addicted to inſpecting the Entrails of Beaſts, and of Men alſo; and that they honour'd the Altars of their Gods with the Sacrifice and Blood of ſuch as they took Captive in Wars. And *Pliny* writing of Magick, declar'd that *Britain* honour'd it with ſo much Pomp and Ceremony, that a Man would imagine the *Perſians* themſelves had been taught it by them. In all Religious Matters they had their Prieſts and Inſtructers, the chief of which were call'd *Druids*, a ſort of Men much celebrated in thoſe Times, who, as *Cæſar* informs us, had the Management of all Sacrifices, were Interpreters of all Myſteries, and had the Education of the better Sort. By means of their ſeeming Learning, the Innocence and Simplicity of their Living, and long Cuſtom, the People had them in ſuch Veneration, that they were not only Prieſts, but the Judges too throughout the Nation. For generally they approv'd of all Laws, determin'd all Controverſies, and appointed Rewards and Puniſhments at Diſcretion; the People believing that none were oblig'd to ſubmit to any Puniſhment, unleſs inflicted by a Divine Authority. If any refus'd to obey their Decree, they were forbidden the Sacrifices, which was accounted the moſt grievous Puniſhment; and thoſe thus Excommunicated were reckon'd the moſt profligate of Mankind, all Perſons avoided their Converſation as the Peſt of the Nation, they were excluded the Benefit of the Law, and were render'd uncapable of all Honours and Dignities. Among theſe *Druids* there was one Primate, who had ſupream Authority over the reſt; upon whoſe Death, the moſt celebrated Perſon ſucceeded; but if ſeveral of equal Merit appear'd, the whole Body proceeded to an Election, tho' ſometimes the Sword it ſelf decided the Matter. Theſe *Druids* once a Year had a general Aſſembly in the midſt of all *Gaul*, at a certain Place conſecrated to that purpoſe; to which Perſons who had any Controverſies depending reſorted from all Parts. This ſort of Religious Profeſſion is thought to have been firſt in *Britain*, and from thence carry'd over into *Gaul*; and in *Cæſar*'s Time thoſe who deſir'd to be throughly inſtructed in their Myſteries, for the moſt part travell'd into *Britain*. The ſame Author adds, That the *Druids* were exempted from all ſorts of Military Duties, Taxes and Impoſts; which great Privileges caus'd many to become their Diſciples, and others to ſend their Sons and Relations to be admitted into their Order. Theſe Diſciples were taught a great Number of Verſes by heart, continuing under this Diſcipline for ſeveral Years, not being allow'd to commit their Learning to Writing; both becauſe they would not have the Vulgar acquainted with their myſterious Learning, and becauſe their Scholars might the better exerciſe their Memories and other Faculties. One of the Principal Doctrines they taught was the Immortality and Tranſmigration of Souls; which removing the Fear of Death, they look'd upon as proper to excite their Courages. They alſo made Diſcourſes to their Scholars concerning the Stars and their Motions, the Magnitude of the Heaven and Earth, the Nature of Things, and the Power and Majeſty of the Immortal Gods. Among the Religious of the *Britains*, beſides theſe *Druids*, they had alſo a ſort of People call'd *Bards*, whoſe Office it was to ſing to the Harp thoſe Songs they had made upon the great Exploits of Famous Men; which ſort of Men were known many Ages in this Iſland.

Their Religion.

The Druids.

and Bards.

As the *Britains* were a fierce and warlike People, ſo they had frequent Encounters among themſelves; and, as *Tacitus* obſerves, nothing contributed ſo much

The Wars of the Britains, *and their Manner of Fighting.*

much to the *Romans* Advantage over them as their want of Union, and concerting their common Intereſt. *Cæſar* and others deſcribe their Manner of Fighting, which was very much in Chariots, as the ancient Heroes of *Greece* are ſaid to have done in the *Trojan* Wars; which with ſhort Scythes faſten'd to the ends of the Axle-trees, gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, and made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies. In the Beginning of a Battel, they generally ſcour'd the Plains with their Chariots, flung their Darts, and frequently diſorder'd their Enemy's Ranks by the Terror of their Horſes, and the furious Ratlings of their Chariot Wheels. Having wound themſelves in among the Horſe, they left their Chariots, and fought on Foot; their Charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themſelves ſo that their Maſters might readily find them, to mount again, if they were overpower'd by Numbers. Thus they maintain'd both the Speed of the Horſe, and the Steadineſs of the Foot in Battel; and by continual Practice were ſo expert, that upon the Side of a ſteep Hill, they could ſtop their Horſe at full Speed, turn them in a ſhort Compaſs, run along upon the Beam, reſt upon the Yoke, and from thence in an Inſtant recover themſelves in their Chariots. They often purpoſely gave ground and retreated, and being at a little Diſtance from their Enemies, diſmounted from their Chariots, to fight them at Diſadvantage. The Method of their Cavalry was ſuch, that it prov'd equally dangerous to purſue, or to be purſu'd by them; and they never came to cloſe Fights, but kept at conſiderable Diſtances, having others poſted in ſuch Order as they might ſuccour one another, and the wearied be reliev'd by freſh Supplies; which argu'd no ſmall Experience in Arms. *Dion* ſays, that their Horſes were ſmall and ſwift, and that they themſelves ran at an extraordinary rate; and further, that when they ſtood an Ingagement, they were firm and immoveable. Their common Arms were ſmall Shields, without Helmets, but very large Swords; which expreſs'd a more eager Deſire of wounding their Enemies, than defending themſelves. They had alſo ſhort Daggers, and their Spears were ſhort, having at the lower end of each a Piece of Braſs like an Apple, by ſhaking of which they endeavour'd to terrifie their Enemies. They could endure Hunger, Cold and all kinds of Labour, with admirable Patience; for in Bogs up to their Chins they would continue many Days without Food; and in Woods liv'd upon Barks of Trees and Roots. In ſhort, they were a hardy, bold and ſtrong People, 'till their Bodies came to be ſoften'd, and their Courage debas'd by the Luxury as well as Servitude which the *Romans* afterwards introduc'd among them.

Their civil Government.

To come at laſt to the civil Government of the *Britains*, we find that it was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of ſeveral ſmall Nations under as many petty Princes; of which *Cæſar* mentions Four in the ſmall Compaſs of *Kent*. Whether theſe ſmall *Britiſh* Principalities deſcended by Succeſſion, or were elected by the Advantages of Age, Wiſdom, or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon all great and imminent Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces was uſually choſen by common Conſent in general Aſſemblies; as *Caſibelanus* was againſt *Cæſar*'s Invaſion. The ſame was done upon the *Britains* Revolt againſt the *Roman* Colonies under *Caractacus* and *Boadicea*; for among them Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, either by the Right of Succeſſion, Nobility of Birth, or eminent Qualifications. In common Caſes every Province or Principality, only ow'd Service and Allegiance to their own particular Prince. And as their Governments were confin'd to certain Bounds and Limits, ſo were the Inhabitants divided and diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Denominations; of which we find the Names of Seventeen in that Part of *Britain* which now goes by the Name of *England* and *Wales*, which are as follows. 1. The *Cantii*, Inhabitants of the preſent County of *Kent*. 2. The *Regni*, Inhabitants of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*. 3. The *Durotriges*, Inhabitants of *Dorſetſhire*. 4. The *Danmonii*, Inhabitants of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*. 5. The *Belgæ*, Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wilt-*

The Diviſions of the People.

Wiltſhire and *Hampſhire*. 6. The *Atrebatii*, Inhabitants of *Barkſhire*. 7. The *Dobuni*, Inhabitants of *Gloceſterſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*. 8. The *Cattieuchlani*, Inhabitants of *Warwickſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire* and *Bedfordſhire*. 9. The *Trinobantes*, Inhabitants of *Hertfordſhire*, *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*. 10. The *Iceni*, Inhabitants of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire* and *Huntingtonſhire*. 11. The *Coritani*, Inhabitants of *Lincolnſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutland*, *Darbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*. 12. The *Cornavii*, Inhabitants of *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*. 13. The *Brigantes*, Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*. 14. The *Ottadini*, Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, with Four other Counties in *Scotland*. 15. The *Silures*, Inhabitants of *Herefordſhire* with Four Counties in *Wales*, viz. *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Monmouthſhire* and *Glamorganſhire*. 16. The *Ordovices*, Inhabitants of Five Counties in *Wales*, viz. *Montgomeryſhire*, *Merionethſhire*, *Caernarvonſhire*, *Flintſhire* and *Denbighſhire*. 17. The *Dimetæ*, Inhabitants of the reſt of *Wales*, viz. *Caermarthenſhire*, *Pembrookſhire* and *Cardiganſhire*.

This was the State of *Britain*, at the Time when the *Romans* firſt invaded it; and this is the real Subſtance of what we certainly know of the ancient *Britains* before *Cæſar*'s Arrival. As to the formal Hiſtory of *Brute*, and his long Race of ſucceeding Kings down to *Caſibelanus*, it is too groſs and improbable to be credited; and it has been of late ſo fairly detected, that we need not inſiſt any longer upon it. Therefore, as the learned Mr. *Camden* well obſerves, here it is that the *Engliſh* Hiſtorian ought to begin his Hiſtory, and no higher; that is, at the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar* and the *Romans*. And at this Period of Time we ſhall begin ours, and ſhall endeavour to carry it on in a continu'd Series, with as much Regularity and Perſpicuity as the Story it ſelf, and the Materials will permit.

The End of the Introduction.

THE History of England.

BOOK I.

From the First Invasion of Britain *by the* Romans *under* Julius Cæsar, *to the First Entrance of* William, *commonly call'd the Conqueror.*

Containing the Space of about 1120 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the First Invasion of Britain *by the* Romans, *to their First quitting their Jurisdiction of the Isle.*

Containing the Space of about 463 *Years.*

I. WHEN Valour and Fortune had so conspir'd, or rather Providence had decreed, that the *Romans* should be Soveraigns of the Western World, the renown'd *Julius Cæsar*, having conquer'd the powerful *Gauls*, cast his Eyes towards the Ocean, as if the *Roman* Empire was not yet wide enough for his Ambition; so that subduing all, both by Sea and Land, he might join those Countries by Conquest, which had been separated by Nature. Accordingly being fir'd with a Prospect of new Glories, or provok'd by the Supplies sent from *Britain* into *Gaul* during his late Wars, in the 54th Year before *Christ*, he resolv'd upon an Expedition into this Isle; tho' *Suetonius* writes, that he was excited by

A. ant. C. 53.

Cæsar's *first Expedition into* Britain.

the Hopes of the *British* Pearls, the Weight and Largeneſs of which he often try'd in his Hands; an improbable Inducement, and more proper for common Soldiers than an Hero. The Places, Ports and Havens of *Britain* being not well known to *Cæſar*, he firſt ſent *C. Voluſenus*, a Tribune of his Army, with a Gally to make all convenient Diſcoveries upon the Coaſts, who after five Days careful Search, return'd to him into *Gaul*. During which Time the *Britains* by the Merchants receiv'd ſecret Intelligence of *Cæſar*'s deſign'd Expedition, and many of the private States ſent Ambaſſadors into *Gaul*, offering Hoſtages, and promiſing Obedience to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* having exhorted them to perſiſt in that Reſolution, civilly diſmiſs'd them, together with *Comius Atrebatenſis*, who had great Authority in thoſe Parts, that he might perſuade them to continue firm and faithful to the *Romans*, and to let them underſtand that he was coming over in Perſon: But *Comius* upon his firſt landing, was cherouſly impriſon'd by the *Britains*. *Cæſar.*

In the mean Time the victorious *Cæſar*, having drawn together about eighty Tranſport Ships for two Legions of Soldiers, and about eighteen more for his Horſe, ſet Sail from the Country of the *Morini*, now the Province of *Picardy*, in *France*, at three in the Morning, and about four the Day following arriv'd on the Coaſts of *Britain*, at a Place inconvenient for Landing, which was near *Dover*; for the Bay was narrow, and ſo pent in by the Mountains, that the Enemy could eaſily caſt their Darts from thence to the Shore. Having therefore got a favourable Wind and Tide, he ſail'd about eight Miles Northwards, where in a plain and open Shore, near *Deal*, he rod at Anchor. The *Britains* perceiving his Deſign, immediately diſpatch'd their Horſe and Chariots, to prevent his Landing. And here the *Romans* ſuſtain'd great Difficulties, for their large Veſſels could not ride cloſe enough to the Shore in this ſhallow Sea, ſo that the Soldiers were oblig'd to leap down from their high Ships in unknown Places, under heavy Armour, and at once contend both with the Waves and Enemy. On the other ſide, the *Britains*, who knew the Nature of the Ground, were free and uncumber'd, and fought either on dry Land, or upon the Edges of the Water; ſo that the *Romans* were much diſhearten'd, and exerted not their uſual Spirit and Bravery. Whereupon *Cæſar* commanded the Tranſport Ships to be remov'd, and the Gallies to be row'd up juſt over againſt the *Britains*, and from thence to employ their Slings, Engines, and Arrows againſt them; which Veſſels and Engines being ſtrange and unuſual to them, they ſoon gave Ground. But the *Romans* ſtill delaying, the Standard-Bearer of the tenth Legion, firſt invoking the Gods, *That this Action might prove ſucceſsful and glorious*, cry'd out, *Leap down, my brave Soldiers! unleſs you would betray the* Roman *Eagle to the Enemy; for I am reſolv'd to perform my Duty to the Publick, and to the General.* Upon theſe Words he couragiouſly threw himſelf into the Sea, and boldly advancing with his Eagle towards the Enemy, he was follow'd by the reſt of the Soldiers to the Shore. *Eutropius* from *Suetonius* tells us, that *Scæva*, a valiant Soldier with four others were the firſt that landed, who being deſerted by his Companions, defended himſelf to a Miracle againſt a whole Multitude, 'till being wearied and wounded, he ſwam back to the Fleet, begg'd pardon of *Cæſar* for his Raſhneſs, and was rewarded with the Honour of a Centurion. The Landing of the Soldiers occaſion'd an obſtinate Fight on both Sides; but the *Romans* being cumber'd with Arms, toſs'd with the Waves, and wanting ſure footing, were put into Diſorder and Confuſion; 'till *Cæſar* with great Dexterity caus'd the Pinnaces and Ship-Boats to ply about with Recruits to ſuccour them. At length they gradually got on dry Land, and ſo vigorouſly charg'd the *Britains*, that they ſoon put them to Flight; but could not purſue them, for want of their Horſe, which were not yet arriv'd. The *Britains*, upon this Defeat, immediately ſent Ambaſſadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had impriſon'd, to beg a Peace, charging all Misbehaviour upon the Multitude *Cæſar.* &c.

titude, and their own Imprudence. *Cæſar*, whoſe Mercy was equal to his Valour, ſoon pardon'd them, receiv'd ſome Hoſtages at preſent, with a Promiſe of more; ſo a Peace was concluded on the fourth Day after his landing in *Britain*.

Shortly after the *Roman* Affairs began to be in a declining Condition; for their eighteen Ships which tranſported the Horſe, being come within View of *Britain*, were by a ſudden Storm driven to the Weſtward, and found great Difficulty in recovering the Continent of *Gaul*. And what added to this Misfortune, the ſame Night, at the Full of the Moon, the Gallies which were drawn a-ſhore, were fill'd with Water by the Tide, and the Ships of Burden, which lay at Anchor, were ſo ſhatter'd by the Tempeſts, that they were render'd wholly unfit for Service. This Loſs was ſo conſiderable, that *Suetonius* accounted it the firſt of the three great Misfortunes that ever befel *Cæſar* in all his Proceedings: And the *Britains* were ſo ſenſible of the *Romans* want of Horſe, Ships and Proviſions, that they immediately reſolv'd upon a Revolt, and in a publick Council condemn'd all ſuch as Impious as refus'd to join with the Heavens, whoſe Elements had thus far declar'd for their Liberties, aſſuring themſelves, that if they ſucceeded this Time, they ſhould be freed from all future Invaſions. But *Cæſar* ſoon perceiv'd their Intentions, by their Carriage and ſlow Performance of Covenants; therefore took particular Care to bring in Corn daily, and with uncommon Diligence repair'd his Fleet with the Timber of thoſe twelve which were moſt ſhatter'd. While Affairs ſtood in this Poſture, the Seventh Legion, being ſent out to Forage, and ſuſpecting no Reſiſtance, were ſuddenly ſet upon by the *Britains* Forces, and ſurrounded by their Horſe and Chariots. Their Way of Fighting and their Numbers ſoon brought the *Romans* to the extreameſt Difficulties, and almoſt to Deſpair; 'till *Cæſar* himſelf coming fortunately into their Relief, they reaſſum'd their Courage, and the *Britains* being aſtoniſh'd deſiſted, without any further Ingagement. But being ſtill in hopes of freeing themſelves for ever, by reaſon of the ſmall Numbers of the *Romans*, and the Scarcity of Proviſions amongſt them, they afterwards aſſembled in greater Numbers, and march'd up to the *Roman* Camp; where *Cæſar* engag'd them, put them to flight with a great Slaughter, and burnt all their Country for many Miles together. Being thus vanquiſh'd, the *Britains* ſent a third Embaſſy to *Cæſar*, begging Peace, and promiſing Subjection; to which *Cæſar* conſented, after he had ſeverely reprov'd their Behaviour, and impos'd double Hoſtages upon them. And ſhortly after, the Seaſon being far advanc'd, he ſet Sail from *Britain*, and ſafely arriv'd with his whole Fleet on the Continent of *Gaul*; whither only two Cities in *Britain* ſent their Hoſtages, the reſt neglecting it. Upon *Cæſar*'s Letters and Account to the Senate of this Action, a famous Proceſſion of twenty Days was decreed him, accompany'd with great Pomp and Ceremony; tho' he had gain'd nothing of Conſequence, either to himſelf or *Rome*, beſides the Glory of having made an uncommon Expedition.

Cæſar. The Winter following, *Cæſar* according to his Cuſtom went into *Italy*; but upon his Return, finding that the *Britains* had neglected to ſend their promis'd Hoſtages, he reſolv'd to make a new Deſcent upon them, and with a much more powerful Fleet and Army than before. Accordingly with extraordinary Diligence he got together 800 Veſſels, moſt of them new built, low and broad, both for the Conveniency of Landing, and of tranſporting Horſes and Baggage. With theſe, and an Army conſiſting of Five Legions, and 2000 Horſe, he ſet ſail about Sun-ſet from *Portus Itius*, at or near *Buloign* in *France*, and landed his Army the next Day in the ſame Part of the Iſland as he had done the foregoing Summer; in which Action the Diligence of the Soldiers was particularly applauded, who by an unwearied Labour in Rowing, caus'd the heavier Ships to keep way with the long Boats and Gallies. At their Landing, no Enemy appear'd; for tho' the *Britains* had been there in great Numbers,

A. ant. C. 52.

Cæſar's *ſecond Expedition into* Britain.

bers, yet being terrify'd with theſe mighty Preparations, and the Approach of ſo powerful a Navy, they were retir'd into the Midland Country. Here *Cæſar* encamp'd his Army as conveniently as he could, leaving ten Cohorts, and 300 Horſe under the Command of *Q. Atrius*, to guard the Ships: And in the Night, he march'd himſelf twelve Miles up into the Country, diſcover'd the *Britains*, who had retreated as far as the River *Stoner* in *Kent*; and giving them Battel there, they were ſoon repuls'd by the *Roman* Cavalry, which oblig'd them to betake themſelves to the Woods, which were ſtrongly fortify'd both by Art and Nature. But the *Romans* reſolving to purſue their Advantage, ſome lock'd their Shields together like a Roof over their Heads, and others raiſing a Mount, ſoon took the Place, and drove them from the Woods; but *Cæſar* forbad any long Purſuit, not well knowing the Country, and having his Camp to fortifie that Night.

The following Day, *Cæſar*, having divided his Army into three Parts in order to purſue the *Britains*, was hinder'd by the melancholy News he receiv'd from his Fleet, which being driven a-ſhore by a violent Storm, moſt of the Veſſels were ſhatter'd, the Cables broken, and the Anchors loſt. Upon which he haſten'd back with his Troops to the Sea ſide, where he was entertain'd with a ſad and ruinous Proſpect; forty of his Ships were deſtroy'd, and the reſt ſo damag'd, as not to be refitted without extraordinary Labour. But being indefatigable in his Attempts, he immediately found Means to repair the greateſt Part of his Navy by the Ruins of the reſt, and wrot to his Lieutenant in *Gaul* for further Supplies; and having twice felt the Dangers of theſe Seas, he reſolv'd upon a Prodigious Undertaking, which was to draw his whole Fleet to the Land, into the midſt of the Fortifications of his Camp. This ſtupendious Work was compleated in ten Days, by the admirable Toil of his Soldiers, working Night and Day. Which Being finiſh'd, *Cæſar* return'd with his Army to the Wood where he had laſt defeated the *Britains*; where he found their Numbers encreas'd by a Confluence from many Parts, and that they had now by common Conſent choſen *Caſibelanus* for their General, who by Uſurpation had made himſelf Head of the *Trinobantes*, and had made frequent Wars with his Neighbours; but being a Time of common Danger, they all made him a Commander in Chief. *Caſibelanus*, with his Horſe and Chariots, briskly encounter'd the *Romans* in their March, which occaſion'd great Bloodſhed on both Sides; and after ſome Ceſſation, as the *Romans* were fortifying their Camp, the *Britains* ſet upon the Centries with great Fierceneſs, and charg'd back again through two of *Cæſar*'s beſt Cohorts, which he had ſent to their Aſſiſtance, and retreated without the Loſs of a Man. *Cæſar* himſelf could not but acknowledge that they had great Advantage over the *Romans*, by their ſwift Way of Fighting without Armour, and accordingly provided againſt them; ſo that the next Day, when they ſet upon three Legions that were foraging, they were repuls'd and purſu'd with great Slaughter. Upon which Overthrow moſt of the Auxiliaries fell off, and return'd to their own Countries; ſo that the *Britains* never after encounter'd the *Romans* with their full Power.

Upon theſe Misfortunes, *Caſibelanus* withdrew into his own Territories, retaining to himſelf not above 4000 Chariots; and fearing the *Romans* farther Progreſs, fortify'd that Part of the River *Thames* which was fordable with ſharp Stakes bound about with Lead, and driven ſo deep into the Bottom, that *Beda* and *Aſſer* report them to have remain'd in their Times; which was near *Coway-Stakes* in *Middleſex*. Notwithſtanding this the *Romans* boldly preſs'd forwards, paſs'd the River up to the Chin in Water, repuls'd the *Britains*, and march'd further up the Country. In their Progreſs, they were met with Ambaſſadors from the chiefeſt City of the *Trinobantes*, who diſhonourably join'd with the Conqueror, and offer'd Subjection; at the ſame time petitioning, that *Mandubrace*, one of *Cæſar*'s Followers, whoſe Father *Caſibelanus* had depos'd and ſlain, might be Governor of their City. *Cæſar* readily agreed

to

to their Petition, and demanded Forty Hoſtages of them, and ſufficient Proviſion for his Army, which they perform'd with all Expedition; preferring the poor Satisfaction of indulging their own Diſcontents, before the common Cauſe of their Native Country. From their Example many other inferior States yielded to *Cæſar*'s Arms; and likewiſe treacherouſly diſcover'd to him the Power and Place of *Caſibelanus*'s Abode, who by this time was retreated to his own City *Verulam*, now St. *Albans*; a Place then well fortify'd with Woods and Moraſſes. *Cæſar* with all Expedition ſat down before the City, and ſtorming it on two ſides, ſoon became Maſter of it, with the Slaughter of many of the miſerable Defendents, and the taking of a rich Booty of Cattle. Upon this Loſs, *Caſibelanus*, as his laſt Refuge, procur'd four petty Kings of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, with their utmoſt Forces to ſet upon the *Roman* Camp that guarded their Ships; which Enterprize was accordingly attempted, but with ſuch bad Succeſs, that the *Britains* were on each ſide repuls'd, and *Cingetorix* taken Priſoner. *Caſibelanus*, at length, ſeeing his Country waſted, his chief Deſigns blaſted, and himſelf abandon'd by the traiterous Revolt of many Cities and States, ſent *Comius* of *Arras* to mediate a Peace; which, upon the account of his own Valour, and the Lateneſs of the Seaſon, was readily granted him. In the Conditions of the Treaty *Cæſar* impos'd a certain yearly Tribute upon the *Britains*, which ſome ſay amounted to three thouſand Pounds, and moreover included the Security of *Mandubrace* with his *Trinobantes*, who were taken into Friendſhip with the *Romans*; and that theſe Conditions ſhould be faithfully obſerv'd, he commanded a ſufficient Number of Hoſtages to be immediately deliver'd. And here began the Fate of *Britain*, to make Way for foreign Conqueſts by their unhappy Diviſions at home. Theſe Things being adjuſted, and the Seaſon far advanc'd, *Cæſar* embark'd with his whole Army, and ſoon arriv'd in *Gaul*; having rather ſhown *Britain* to the *Romans*, than given them Poſſeſſion of it, as *Tacitus* obſerves, ſuppoſing it Glory ſufficient to have attempted a thing ſo rare and difficult; and at his Return to *Rome* to have preſented the *Britiſh* Captives, whoſe uncommon Attire and Behaviour fill'd the Peoples Eyes with Delight and Admiration. At the ſame Time he offer'd to *Venus*, the Patroneſs of his Family, a Breaſt-Plate embroider'd with *Britiſh* Pearls, as a Trophy and Spoil of the Ocean. *He leaves Iſle.*

This Account we have from *Cæſar*'s own Writings of his two famous Expeditions into *Britain*, which rather encreas'd the Glory, than the Dominion of *Rome*, and gave this Country the Honour of being the laſt Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before ſubdu'd ſo many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. Tho' *Cæſar*'s Writings are as much to be admir'd, as his Valour and Conduct, yet it is very obſervable from others, that his Conqueſts in this Country were not ſo uninterrupted, nor the *Britains* Liberties ſo eaſily given up, as they ſeem from his own Account. For ſeveral ancient Writers have ſpoken more doubtfully of his Victories in *Britain*, and that in plain Terms he was driven away, as it appears from a noted Verſe in *Lucan*, and divers Paſſages in *Tacitus*. *Oroſius*, who took his Account as high as *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Cæſar* in his firſt Expedition, being entertain'd by a ſharp Fight, loſt no ſmall Number of his Foot, and by a Tempeſt near all his Horſe. *Dion* affirms that once in his ſecond Expedition all his Foot were routed, and another time all his Horſe; and further, that his Conqueſt was ſo inconſiderable, that for twenty Years after *Cæſar*'s Departure, the *Britains* retain'd their own Kings, and their own Laws.

Tacitus. Dion.

II. After the Departure of *Julius Cæſar*, we have but a very ſmall Account of the Affairs of *Britain*, for near a Hundred Years together; only that the Inhabitants, tho' they became more and more known to the *Romans*, yet they continu'd in a great meaſure free from their Power. For *Julius*'s Succeſſor, *Auguſtus*, ſeems out of Wiſdom to have neglected this Iſland, as a Country where AUGUSTUS.

where Amity or Enmity was of no Moment to the *Romans*; or out of a State Maxim was resolv'd to set Bounds to the Empire in his Reign to keep it from being too vast and unweildy. Yet, about twenty Years after his Uncle *Julius*'s Departure, *Augustus* advanc'd as far as *Gaul* in order to reduce *Britain* to his Obedience; but was diverted by a Revolt in *Pannonia*. About seven Years after that he enter'd *Gaul* with the same Resolution; but was then stopp'd in his Progress by the unsettled State of that Province, and the Arrival of some Ambassadors from *Britain* to beg a Peace. The following Year he reassum'd the same Design, but still was prevented by Commotions in other Parts; so that of three design'd Expeditions none came to any Effect. Nevertheless some of the *British* Potentates omitted not to seek his Friendship by Presents offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious Addresses; insomuch that the Island in that Reign became well known to the *Romans*, tho' it paid no Tribute to them, except what easie Customs were levy'd on the slight Commodities with which they traded into *Gaul*. His Successor *Tiberius* seems to have follow'd his Example, and being no ways ambitious of extending the Bounds of the Empire, never sought the *Britains*; and they as careful not to provoke him, courteously sent home the Soldiers of *Germanicus*, who by Shipwreck had been cast upon the *British* Shores.

TIBERIUS.

CALIGULA. But *Caligula*, his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant having pass'd the *Alps* to rob and pillage the Empire, and being excited by *Adminius* the Son of *Cynobelinus* a *British* King, who being banish'd by his Father fled to him with a small Party, he made a Shew of invading *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and shewing the utmost Marks of Extravagancy and Folly, he return'd the same Way: Yet he sent before him such boasting Letters to the Senate, as if he had made an entire Conquest of the whole Island.

A. D. 43. CLAUDIUS. Thus, for about ninety five Years, under the Reigns of four Emperors, the *Britains* continu'd free from the *Roman* Yoke; but from the Reign of *Claudius*, and thence forwards, the inner Parts of the Isle, broken by Civil Wars and Factions, more than the Power of the *Romans*, by many Steps fell under the Subjection of that Empire. For while particular States singly oppos'd the common Enemy, they were soon conquer'd; the rest being so violently set upon each others Destruction, that 'till all were subdu'd, they were insensible of an universal Danger. Nay so powerful was the Ambition and Resentments of some, that they were thereby corrupted and drawn over to the Enemy's side, and made sollicitous for the *Roman* Interest to the Ruin of their own Country. The principal of these was *Bericus*, who by many Arguments engag'd the Emperor *Claudius* to make a Descent upon *Britain*, which none had really attempted since *Julius Cæsar*. *Claudius* was easily persuaded, and in the Second Year of his Reign order'd *A. Plautius* the Prætor to pass over from *Gaul*; who making Preparation for this great Expedition, his mutinous Soldiers refus'd to march, declaring, *That they would not make War out of the Compass of the World*; for so they judg'd *Britain* to lye. But by means of *Narcissus*, the Emperor's Favourite, he prevail'd with them; and set Sail from three Ports, lest their Landing in one Place should prove inconvenient; but meeting with contrary Winds, they were driven back and disheartened; 'till in the Night a strange Meteor shooting Flames from the East, and as they imagin'd, directing their Course, they renew'd their Courage, put to Sea again, and landed in *Britain* without Opposition. For the Inhabitants having heard of their Backwardness, had been negligent in providing against them; and therefore retir'd to the Woods and Morasses, designing rather to weary out the *Romans* by Delays, than to encounter them in the Field. *Plautius* after much Difficulty discover'd them, and engaging first with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them, and reduc'd Part of the *Dobuni* to his Power, who were subject to the *Catieuchlani*. Leaving a Garrison, he march'd towards a River, where the *Britains* thought themselves secure, imagining the *Romans* could not pass without a Bridge; but *Plautius* sending over the *German* Soldiers, who could swim the strongest

Dion. &c.

Plautius *invades* Britain.

ſtrongeſt Current in their Arms, he commanded them to ſtrike directly at the Horſes, by which means the Chariots, wherein conſiſted their chief Excellency, became unſerviceable. To ſupport them, he ſent the famous *Veſpaſian* with his Brother *Sabinus*, who did great Service and Execution; but the *Britains*, not yet diſcourag'd, engag'd them ſo reſolutely the next Day, that it continu'd doubtful which way the Victory enclin'd; 'till *Sidius Geta*, after he had been near taken Priſoner, gave them ſuch an Overthrow, that the Honour of a Triumph was granted him at *Rome*, tho' he had never been Conſul. Upon this the *Britains* retir'd to the Mouth of the *Thames*, and being acquainted with thoſe Places, croſs'd over, where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, were in perpetual Hazard. Yet the *Germans* by ſwimming, and others by a Bridge above got over, and falling in with the *Britains*, kill'd great Numbers; but in the Heat of their Purſuit they fell among new Bogs and Meres, and loſt many of their own Men.

His Succeſſes.

Dion. Sueton. This Succeſs not anſwering Expectation, *Plautius* began to conſider his own Security; and finding the *Britains* ſo far from being diſcourag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, that they were making new Preparations to revenge it, he according to Order ſent to the Emperor for Aſſiſtance. *Claudius*, ambitious of the Occaſion, made extraordinary Preparations, and beſides the Flower of the Nobility, like an Eaſtern Monarch with armed Elephants, march'd through *Gaul*, and in a ſhort Time croſs'd the Seas, and join'd *Plautius*. The *Britains*, who had the Courage, but not the Conduct of old *Caſibelanus*, laying aſide all Stratagem, in open Field ventur'd to meet almoſt the whole Power of the *Roman* Empire; but they were ſoon overthrown, with the Loſs of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, the Royal Seat of *Cynobelinus*, and many Priſoners were taken. Upon this *Claudius*, contrary to the *Roman* Cuſtom, was ſeveral times ſaluted *Imperator*; *Camalodunum* was made a Military Colony, and Part of the Iſle reduc'd to the Form of a Province; tho' *Suetonius* tells us, that what he obtain'd was without Battel or Bloodſhed, which ſeems not very probable. His Stay in *Britain* was not above Sixteen Days; and in that Time he remitted to the *Britiſh* Nobility the Confiſcation of their Goods, for which Favour they frequented his Temple, and ador'd him as a God. Having diſarm'd the *Britains*, and committed the Government of theſe, as likewiſe the War with the others not ſubdu'd to *Plautius*, he haſten'd to *Rome* in the Sixth Month, ſending his Sons-in-Law *Pompey* and *Silanus* before him, with the News of his Victories. At *Rome* it was eſteem'd ſo great an Action to conquer but a ſmall Part of *Britain*, that Anniverſary Games, Triumphal Arches both at *Rome* and *Geſſoriacum* in *Gaul*, and laſtly a Glorious Triumph, was decreed by the Senate in Honour of *Claudius*. And that the Spectacle might be more Magnificent by the Confluence of People, he not only gave Leave to the Governors of Provinces to be preſent, but permitted ſeveral Exiles to return home, on purpoſe to behold it. The Chief Officers were munificently rewarded, the Provinces contributed Golden Crowns, and upon the Top of the Emperor's Palace was fix'd a Naval Crown, to imply the Emperor's Conqueſt and Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Sea; and for the ſame Reaſon, he order'd that his Son *Germanicus*, ſhould hereafter be call'd *Britannicus*, which Name he had obtain'd himſelf not long before. In the mean time *Plautius* carry'd on the War in *Britain*, with that Succeſs, that *Claudius* decreed him an Ovation, and when he enter'd *Rome* he himſelf met him, honouring him with the Ceremony of the Right Hand. And now *Veſpaſian* began to appear in the World, who partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plautius*, fought thirty Battels with the *Britains*, according to *Suetonius*; he alſo ſubdu'd two mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Vectis* or *Wight*. For which Exploits he obtain'd Triumphal Ornaments, two Sacerdotal Dignities, with the Conſulſhip. Under him ſerv'd his Son *Titus* in quality of a Tribune, whoſe extraordinary Valour and Modeſty, gain'd him great Reputation, as appears from the Number

The Emperor Claudius *enters* Britain.

He triumphs

The Succeſſes of Plautius *and* Veſpaſian.

Number of his Images, and their Inſcriptions, throughout the Provinces of *Germany* and *Britain*.

A. D. 50. Oſtorius *ſent into* Britain.

Some few Years after, *Plautius* was ſucceeded in *Britain* by *P. Oſtorius*, in Quality of *Proprætor*, who found Affairs in great Diſorder by the Inroads of the *Britains*; and the more, becauſe they did not expect that a new General would take the Field in Winter to oppoſe them. But *Oſtorius* well knowing that the firſt Action would either encourage or intimidate, vigorouſly attack'd ſuch as were in Arms, and diſpers'd them, proceeding to diſarm all whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect. And to prevent further Incurſions, he plac'd ſeveral Garriſons upon the two Rivers *Severn* and *Avon*; which reduc'd all the Southern Parts of the Iſle into the Form of a Province. For a farther Security and Convenience, *Camalodunum* or *Maldon* was made a Military Colony; and *London*, according to the Opinion of B. *Stillingfleet* and ſome others, was about that time founded by the *Romans*, and made a trading Colony. Several Cities were given to *Cogidunus*, a *Britiſh* King, to engage him to the *Roman* Intereſt; an ancient Policy which they us'd, to make Kings the Servile Agents to enſlave others. Theſe Proceedings were highly reſented by the *Iceni*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntington*, a powerful People, not yet weaken'd by War, who refuſing all Submiſſion, gain'd many others over to their Party, and encamping upon commodious Ground, engag'd with the *Romans*. After a brave Diſpute, they were overthrown, but with the greater Bloodſhed, by Reaſon of their Deſpair of Pardon. By the Overthrow of the *Iceni*, many others before undetermin'd, were reduc'd to Obedience, and *Oſtorius* led his Army againſt the *Cangi*, a People about the *Iriſh* Sea; and waſting their Territories, he had paſs'd almoſt to the Ocean, when he was recall'd by the Inſurrections of the *Brigantes*, a People on the North of *England*; who would not be reduc'd, 'till they had loſt their principal Revolter, and then the Commotion was ſoon extinguiſh'd. But the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of South-*Wales*, would by no Method be allur'd or diſcourag'd from proſecuting the War againſt the *Romans*, relying upon their own Courages, and the Valour and Bravery of their Commander *Caractacus*, who having waded through innumerable Deaths and Difficulties, had gain'd ſuch a Reputation, that he was juſtly preferr'd before all the *Britiſh* Generals. This Man by his Policy and Conduct ſoon remov'd the Seat of the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of North-*Wales*, as more convenient for his Deſigns, by reaſon of the craggy Rocks, and high Mountains. Here being ſtrongly intrench'd, at the near Approach of the *Romans*, *Caractacus* in a Speech to his Soldiers declar'd, *That that Battel ſhould either eſtabliſh their glorious Liberty, or confirm their perpetual Servitude; and that they ought to remember the Honour of their Anceſtors, who had driven* Julius Cæſar *from the Iſle; by whoſe Valour they were happily deliver'd from Axes and Tributes, and to whom they ow'd the Enjoyment of their unviolated Wives and Children.* The Soldiers fir'd by this Speech, bound themſelves by the moſt religious Vows, crying out, *That neither Wounds nor Weapons ſhould make them yield.* Their reſolute Behaviour, and the Difficulties that the *Romans* were to conquer, by means of Mountains, Rocks and Rampiers, at firſt was a great Diſcouragement to *Oſtorius*. But as nothing could withſtand the Power of the *Roman* Legions, the *Britains*, tho' they had great Advantages in the Beginning of the Battel, by Reaſon of their Encampment, were after an obſtinate Fight intirely routed, and the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* taken Priſoners, his Brothers ſurrendering themſelves ſhortly after. *Caractacus* himſelf flying to *Cartiſmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, was treacherouſly bound and deliver'd up to the Conqueror, after nine Years brave Reſiſtance of the *Romans*, by which he had gain'd great Fame and Renown.

His Succeſſes.

London *built.*

Caractacus *defeated and taken.*

Notwithſtanding the Misfortune of *Caractacus*, his Fame ſpread throughout the Iſland, and reaching the adjacent Provinces, was celebrated in *Italy* it ſelf. All coveted the Sight of that Man, who for ſo many Years had contemn'd the *Roman* *Tacit.*

Roman Forces; inſomuch that even in *Rome*, his Name was held in Veneration; and the Emperor while he extoll'd his own, made the Captive's Glory there the brighter. The People of *Rome* were ſummon'd as to the ſight of ſome publick Games and Spectacles; the Emperor's Guards were plac'd in Order, and he himſelf ſeated on his Tribunal; the Captive Prince's Vaſſals and Retinue going firſt, the Capariſons and other Spoils of War follow'd after; then his Brothers, his Wife and Daughter; and laſt of all he himſelf was brought before the People in a very peculiar Habit. The Prayers which the reſt made to the Emperor were mean and ſervile; but *Caractacus*, neither craving Mercy, nor caſting down his Eyes, with a noble Bravery ſpoke thus before the Tribunal. *If my Moderation in Proſperity had been anſwerable to my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive; nor would you have diſdain'd to have receiv'd me with Articles of Alliance, being a Prince deſcended from illuſtrious Progenitors, and a Soveraign of many Nations. My preſent Fortune is to me low and diſhonourable, but to you glorious and triumphant. I once had Horſes, Men, Arms and Riches at my Command; what wonder is it that I ſhould ſtruggle hard before I loſt them? But if Fate has allotted univerſal Empire to your Part, Subjection muſt be ours. If I had yielded without Oppoſition, neither my Fortune would have been remarkable, nor your Glory memorable; and Oblivion would have follow'd my Puniſhment. But if you ſpare my Life now, I ſhall be a perpetual Example of your Clemency.* *Claudius* mov'd at ſo ſad a Spectacle of Fortune, and his generous Behaviour, freely pardon'd him, his Wife and Relations; and being all unbound, they made their Addreſſes both to him, and his Empreſs *Agrippina*. After this the Senate was aſſembled, where the Fathers made many pompous Speeches concerning their Priſoner *Caractacus*; declaring, *That it was no leſs honourable than when the great* Scipio *expos'd* Syphax, *and* Paulus *brought* Perſius *in Triumph*.

He is brought to Rome,

and pardon'd.

Tacitus. *Oſtorius*, tho' in *Britain*, was decreed the Honour of a Triumph; but now his Fortune began to change, either becauſe *Caractacus*, the Object of his Valour was remov'd, or becauſe the Enemy in Compaſſion to ſo great a Prince were more animated with Revenge. For they fell furiouſly upon the Legionary Cohorts, left to ſettle Garriſons among the *Silures*, cut off the Commander, eight Captains, with many brave Soldiers; and had not ſpeedy Relief come from the neighbouring Forts, they had put all to the Sword. Shortly after they defeated the *Roman* Foragers, and the Troops ſent to their Aſſiſtance; and *Oſtorius* by his freſh Supplies could not ſtop their Flight, 'till the Legionary Soldiers came in, who reſtor'd the Battel, and brought the Advantage on their Side; but the *Britains* eſcap'd with little Loſs, becauſe the Day was ſpent. Next they proceeded to Skirmiſhes and ſmaller Actions, 'till the *Silures*, being exaſperated with the General's Threatning to extinguiſh their Name and Nation, found means to intercept his Auxiliary Cohorts, who were ſent out raſhly by ſome greedy Officers to pillage; and they by diſtributing the Spoil and Priſoners drew other Nations to revolt. In this Poſture of Affairs, *Oſtorius* waſted with Fatigue and Trouble dy'd; the *Britains* rejoicing, that tho' no Battel had remov'd him, yet an adverſe War had worn out ſo great a Commander. He was ſucceeded in his Place by *A. Didius*, who found all things in great Diſorder, partly by the Inrodes of the *Silures*, and partly by *Valens*'s encountering the *Britains* with ill Succeſs. But civil Conteſts in a ſhort Time gave the *Romans* new Advantages, which were occaſion'd by *Cartiſmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, who after ſhe had agrandiz'd her ſelf by delivering *Caractacus*, rejected her Husband *Venutius*, marry'd his Servant *Vellocatus*, and made him King. This caus'd a War, which at firſt ſeem'd private among themſelves, 'till *Cartiſmandua* had by a Stratagem taken *Venutius*'s Brother, and ſome other of his Relations; who by the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbours, and the Defection of the *Brigantes*, now abhorring the Queen's Actions, ſoon reduc'd her to great

Oſtorius *declines.*

and dies.

Didius *ſucceeds him.*

Extremities. But imploring Aid of the *Romans*, with much Difficulty, and a ſevere Conflict, ſhe eſcap'd the Puniſhment ſhe expected. *Venutius* thus debarr'd of his Rights, juſtly turn'd his Anger againſt the *Romans* themſelves, retain'd his Kingdom againſt their utmoſt Oppoſition, and made them perceive that he was no deſpicable Soldier, firſt in a ſharp Battel of uncertain Event, and then againſt the Legion of *Cæſius Naſica*. Inſomuch that *Didius* growing old, and fitter to direct than execute, us'd the Miniſtry of other Men, thinking it ſufficient to keep what his Predeceſſors had gain'd, and only built ſome Caſtles and Places of Strength within the Land.

NERO. This was the State of Affairs in *Britain* when the Emperor *Claudius* dy'd, being ſucceeded by his adopted Son *Nero*, who had ſo little Hopes and Inclinations to proceed, that, had not Shame reſtrain'd him, he would have recall'd all his Forces from the Iſle. Therefore, by the Advice of his Governors, he ſent *Verannius* to ſucceed *Didius*, a Perſon ambitious and ſevere, but not able to perform any great Action before his Death. Under this Man's Government, or ſhortly after, it ſeems moſt probable that the *Chriſtian* Religion was firſt planted in *Britain*; but by whom it was effected, and with what Succeſs, is uncertain. The next Governor was *P. Suetonius*, a Perſon of celebrated Valour, who after two Years ſucceſsful Eſtabliſhment of what was gain'd by the *Romans*, proceeded to new Conqueſts, particularly the Iſle of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, which was peopled with ſtout Inhabitants, and was the uſual Receptacle of all Fugitives. Upon his Landing there with flat-bottom'd Veſſels, he was receiv'd by numerous Multitudes on the Shore, the Women running in diſmal Habits, with their Hair diſhevell'd, and Fire-Brands in their Hands like Infernal Furies; whilſt the *Druids*, whoſe ancient Seats were in this Iſle, lifted their Hands up to Heav'n, rending the Air with the moſt dreadful Execrations. The Horror of this Spectacle aſtoniſh'd the *Romans*, and made them ſtand like Men helpleſs and inchanted; but being animated by their General, and aſham'd to fear a confus'd Herd of Women and Franticks, they ſoon broke through this furious Company, kill'd many, and beat others down, ſcorch'd and rowling in their own Fires. After this they cut down all their ſuperſtitious and magical Woods and Groves, plac'd Garriſons, and made an eaſie Conqueſt of the Iſland.

Tacitus.

The Chriſtian *Religion firſt planted in* Britain.

Suetonius *made Governor.*

A. D. 61. While *Suetonius* was thus ſucceſsful in outward Parts of the Nation, almoſt the whole Body of the *Britains* made a violent and famous Struggle to regain their Liberties, and expel the *Romans*, being excited by many Provocations at once, which are enumerated by *Tacitus* and *Dion*. *Praſutagus*, King of the *Iceni*, famous for his Treaſure, had made *Nero* Coheir with his two Daughters, hoping thereby to preſerve his Kingdom and Family from Injury; inſtead of which, his Kingdom was ſeiz'd by the *Roman* Captains, his Houſe pillag'd by Under-Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* was ſcourg'd, and his Daughters raviſh'd, the chief of the *Iceni* depriv'd of their Eſtates, and the Blood-Royal treated as Slaves: *Seneca*, one of *Nero*'s Counſellors, having oblig'd many of the *Britains* to take large Sums of Mony at Intereſt, did now ſuddenly recall the Payment of it with horrible Extortion: *Calus*, the Procurator, renew'd the Confiſcation of thoſe Goods which *Claudius* had before remitted: The Colony at *Camalodunum* thruſt the ancient Inhabitants out of their Poſſeſſions, terming them Vaſſals and Slaves: The Temple alſo erected to *Claudius* was a great Burden to them, while the Prieſts that attended there, under pretence of Religious Dues, ſeiz'd each Man's Goods. Upon theſe Inſults, and to prevent more, the People began more to conſider the Miſeries of Slavery, to confer Injuries with one another, and to make ſuch Declarations as theſe: *That their Patience had no other Effect than to cauſe one Injury to produce another: That formerly every State had its own King, but now they were ſubject both to a* Lieutenant *and a* Procurator; *the one preying upon their Blood, and the other upon their Eſtates. That the Enmity or the Friendſhip of their Governors prov'd equally pernicious; the firſt tormented them with Soldiers and Officers, the latter with Extortions and Affronts;*

Tacitus. Dion.

The Britains *oppreſs'd.*

Their Conſultations.

Affronts; ſo that they could be ſecure of nothing, that either Luſt or Covetouſneſs could recommend to the Romans. *That tho' in War the Spoil ought to fall to the moſt Couragious, yet they were depriv'd of their Houſes, and of their Children, by ignoble Cowards, and preſs'd for Foreign Service; as if the* Britains *were allow'd to fight for any Country but their own. The* Germans *ſhook off their Yoke, who had only a River, not an Ocean for their Defence; and the* Britains *were animated by as noble a Cauſe, their Country and Relations, while the Enemy were abandon'd to Luxury and Avarice. That Misfortunes often produce the braveſt Actions; therefore if they would emulate the Glory of their Anceſtors, and not be diſcourag'd at the Event of one or two Battels, they might as ſoon drive out their Enemies, as they did their firſt Invader* Julius Cæſar. *That now Heav'n ſeem'd to compaſſionate their Diſtreſs, in abſenting the* Roman *General, and confining him to another Iſland; that they had conquer'd the greateſt Difficulty, which was to Conſult, ſince it was more dangerous to be found in the Contriving of a Plot, than in the Execution.*

Tacitus. Dion.

Being animated with theſe Motives, the *Iceni* unanimouſly took Arms, under the Conduct of injur'd *Boadicea*; drawing the *Trinobantes* to revolt with them, and ſuch others as were not yet broken by the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke; who had all ſecretly conſpir'd to free themſelves, with the utmoſt Revenge againſt the Veterans. About the ſame Time divers Prodigies were obſerv'd to portend the Subverſion of the *Roman* Colony, namely, the Image of *Victory* falling down revers'd at *Camalodunum*; unuſual Noiſes heard in the Air; ſtrange Apparitions ſeen on the Sea; the Ocean in ſhew bloody, and the Print of Mens Bodies upon the Sands, and certain Women in Extacy foretold a Deſtruction. Theſe Things as they terrify'd the *Romans*, ſo they added Courage to the *Britains*; and becauſe *Suetonius* was far abſent, the Colony requir'd Aid of *Decianus* the Procurator, but he ſent them no more than two hundred Men, and thoſe ill armed. So that the Soldiers, who before had rely'd upon the Protection of their Temple, and had made no Preparations againſt a Siege, were ſoon defeated, and the whole Colony was deſtroy'd by Fire and Sword. The *Britains* being Conquerors, from hence march'd with great Fury againſt the ninth Legion, under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*, and cut all the Infantry in Pieces, ſo that only the Horſe eſcap'd with their Commander; which Misfortune caus'd *Catus*, the Intendant, whoſe Rapines had partly occaſion'd this Inſurrection, to fly into *Gaul*. The News of theſe Revolts rous'd *Suetonius* in the Weſt; and he with admirable Conſtancy and Reſolution march'd through the Midſt of the Enemy's Country to *London*, which tho' not honour'd with the Title of a Colony, was then famous for Concourſe of Merchants and Proviſions. He debated for ſome time whether he ſhou'd expect the Enemy here; but reflecting upon the Weakneſs of his Forces, and the Raſhneſs of *Petilius*, he reſolv'd to quit the Place, without regarding the Cries of the Inhabitants who implor'd his Protection, preferring the Loſs of one Town to ſave a Province. Thoſe who wou'd follow him were receiv'd into his Troops; but the reſt, whom Age or the Pleaſantneſs of the Place had detain'd behind, were miſerably deſtroy'd by the *Britains*. The Town of *Verulum* met with the ſame ſevere Fate, for paſſing by the Forts and Garriſons, they attack'd the moſt opulent and defenceleſs Places, loading themſelves with the Spoils of their Enemies, whom they hang'd, burnt and crucify'd, with all the Cruelty and inhuman Outrage, that a barbarous Multitude, elevated with Succeſs, cou'd imagine. They took no Priſoners, either to preſerve them for Exchange or Ranſom, according to the Law of Arms, but cut in pieces both *Romans*, and their Allies, to the Number of eighty thouſand, as *Dion* aſſures us. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins were hung up naked, and had their Breaſts cut off and ſewn to their Mouths, that even dead they might ſeem to eat their own Fleſh; whilſt the *Britains* feaſted in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddeſs of Victory.

The Iceni *and* Trinobantes *revolt, under* Boadicea.

Their Succeſſes,

and Cruelties.

Suetonius *marches against them,*

Suetonius having gather'd together a ſmall Army of ten thouſand well Diſciplin'd Men, reſolv'd to hazard a Battel with all Expedition; and for that End he choſe an advantagious Poſt, a Place with a narrow Entrance, and a thick Wood for Defence behind him, and before him a large Plain. Here the *Britains* came down in a confus'd Manner, ſhouting and ſwarming in ſuch vaſt Numbers as never were before ſeen, ſo fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives were brought along with them, and plac'd in Carts in the utmoſt Part of the Plain, to ſee the Battel. Queen *Boadicea*, commanding in chief, mounted her Chariot with her two Daughters, and riding about us'd many Arguments to raiſe the Courage of her Army, which conſiſted of no leſs than two hundred and thirty thouſand rude and undiſciplin'd People. She told them, *That it had been uſual before for the* Britains *to fight under the Conduct of Women, but ſhe was now in different Capacity than her Anceſtors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the inferior Sort to revenge her loſt Liberty, her own diſhonourable Stripes, and the violated Chaſtity of her Daughters. That the Luſts of the* Romans *were now become ſo exorbitant, that they left no Virgin undefil'd. Therefore ſhe her ſelf was reſolv'd to obtain Victory or Death, as ſhe was a Woman; but the Men, if they pleas'd, might chuſe Life and Slavery.* *Dion* places her upon a Heap of Turf, with a Spear in her Hand, and a Hare in her Boſom, which after a long Oration ſhe let looſe, as a Signification of a good Omen to her Army. On the other ſide *Suetonius* was not ſilent in ſo great a Danger, exhorting his Soldiers not to be terrify'd at the Enemy's Numbers, but to march on boldly, and continue a cloſe Fight, which he judg'd could not be long after they had broken their Front, the reſt being only a confus'd Multitude. The Legions kept the narrow Paſſage, as a Place of Defence, 'till the *Britains* had ſpent their Darts, and then advanc'd into the Plain, where the Auxiliaries and Cavalry making way, they as an irreſiſtible Wedge, broke and diſpers'd whatever oppos'd them; the reſt fled, but could not eaſily eſcape, by reaſon of their own Carriages, which were plac'd round the Plain. The Soldiers gave no Quarter, not ſo much as to the Women, which with the Horſes that were ſlain, encreas'd the Heaps of Carcaſſes along the Field. This Victory was very ſignal, and was obtain'd with the Deſtruction of eighty Thouſand *Britains*, and only the Loſs of four hundred *Romans*, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* reſolving not to ſurvive this fatal Defeat, poiſon'd her ſelf, according to *Tacitus*, tho' others ſay ſhe dy'd of Grief and Sickneſs.

Tacitus. Dion.

and defeats them.

Boadicea *ſlain.*

Suetonius drawing together his Army, kept the Field in order to finiſh the War, and was ſhortly after reinforc'd with two thouſand Legionary Soldiers from *Germany*, eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, and a thouſand Horſe, who being diſpos'd into new Winter Quarters, they waſted with Fire and Sword all thoſe Countries that were either Enemies or Neuters. But Famine was ſtill the greateſt Affliction to the *Britains*, who in Hopes of the Enemy's Proviſions, had neglected all their Tillage. Nevertheleſs the unconquer'd Nations were averſe to a Treaty, upon Notice of a Difference between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Claſſicianus*, who had ſpread a Report, *That a new Lieutenant was expected, who without the Severity and Haughtineſs of a Conqueror, like* Suetonius, *would treat ſuch as yielded with Favour and Clemency.* He wrote alſo to *Rome, That there could be no End of the War while* Suetonius *continu'd Governor, whoſe bad Succeſs was owing to his ill Conduct, and his good only to the Fortune of the Common-wealth.* To compoſe this Difference, the Emperor ſent his Freed-man *Polycletus*, in hopes of appeaſing the Minds of the exaſperated *Britains*. He appear'd in *Britain* with great State and Grandure, and was receiv'd by the Soldiers with Fear and Reverence; but it appear'd ridiculous in the Eyes of the *Britains*, That ſuch a General and a victorious Army ſhould be accountable to a Slave. All Things were repreſented favourably to the Emperor, and *Suetonius* kept his Command; but not long after he was oblig'd to reſign all into the Hands of *Petronius Turpilianus*; which Governor without moleſting

Tacitus.

Suetonius *declines.*

Petronius *Governor.*

moleſting the Enemy, or being moleſted by them, gave the ſpecious Name of Peace to his ſlothful unactive Life. And without performing any Thing memorable, he deliver'd his Province to *Trebellius Maximus*, a Perſon more lazy and negligent than himſelf; and as he wanted both Experience and Valour, ſo he was contemn'd and hated by his Army for his Avarice and Sordidneſs. This Diſſatisfaction was continually fomented by *Cælius*, Commander of the twentieth Legion, who charg'd him with defrauding and impoveriſhing the Legions, as he did him with Sedition and Want of Diſcipline. At length the Diſorder grew ſo great, that *Trebellius* being deſerted by the Wings of his Army, who went over to *Cælius*, and laſtly affronted by the Auxiliaries, he was forc'd to fly to *Vitellius* in *Germany*.

Trebellius *Governor.*

Tacitus. In the mean Time the Emperor *Nero* put an End to his own Life, and during the ſhort Reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, *Britain* continu'd quiet and peaceable, tho' without a Conſular Lieutenant; being govern'd by the Commanders of the particular Legions, all of equal Authority; only *Cælius* by his daring Boldneſs ſeem'd to have gain'd the greateſt Command. When ſhortly after *Vitellius* came to the Empire, he ſent *Vectius Bolanus* to ſucceed *Trebellius*, a Perſon as little troubleſome to the Enemy as his Predeceſſor, and as careleſs of his Army; yet being of an innocent and obliging Temper, he gain'd the Affection of his Soldiers, tho' he wanted the Authority of a General. But when *Veſpaſian* had ſucceeded *Vitellius*, and with the reſt of the World had gain'd *Britain* alſo, he ſent thither brave Commanders and great Armies, which quite defeated the Hopes of their Enemies. He firſt ſent *Petilius Cerealis* to be Governor, who boldly enter'd the Country of the *Brigantes*, the moſt northern and numerous People of the *Roman* Province; to whom he gave many and ſingular Overthrows, and either ravag'd or conquer'd the greateſt Part of their Territories. So that *Cerealis* ſeem'd to have eclips'd the Fame and Conduct of any that could come after him; when *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, and as eminent as cou'd be expected after ſuch a Predeceſſor, ſucceeded by *Veſpaſian*'s Order in the ſame Charge, with no leſs Glory. For he ſubdu'd the ſtrong and warlike Nation of the *Silures*; where he had not only a potent Enemy to encounter, but likewiſe almoſt inſuperable Difficulties from the Nature and Situation of the Country. In the latter End of *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, *Frontinus* was ſucceeded by *Julius Agricola*, a Commander of the greateſt Fame both for Valour and Conduct, who enter'd upon the moſt memorable Expedition that had ever been known in *Britain*, continuing ſeven or eight Years with great Reputation and Renown. Of this great Man's Actions in this Country, we have an excellent Account from his Son-in-Law *Tacitus*.

GALBA. OTHO.

VITELLIUS. Bolanus *Governor.*

VESPASIAN.

Cerealis *Governor.*

Frontinus *Governor.*

Agricola *Governor.*

Not long before the Arrival of *Agricola*, the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of North-*Wales*, had almoſt entirely deſtroy'd a Wing of the *Roman* Legions; by which means the reſt of the conquer'd Nations were all ready for a Revolt, either out of Deſire of Liberty, or to diſcover the Ability of the new Lieutenant. *Agricola*, tho' the Seaſon was far advanc'd, with great Expedition gather'd together his diſpers'd Troops and Auxiliaries, and march'd towards theſe formidable People, who kept themſelves in Places of Advantage, and durſt not deſcend into indifferent Ground. He therefore with uncommon Bravery, placing himſelf foremoſt, advanc'd towards them with his Army, and being ſeconded with the Skill and Courage of his Veteran Soldiers, put them all to Flight and Sword, ſo that the whole Nation was almoſt extirpated. Finding that all Things were like to ſucceed according to the Event of his firſt Actions, he immediately determin'd to make himſelf Maſter of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, from whence *Suetonius* had been formerly recall'd; but this Deſign being ſuddenly laid, Ships were wanting for the Expedition, which Defect was notwithſtanding ſupply'd by the great Policy and Reſolution of the General. He commanded a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were well acquainted with the Shallows of the Water, ſuddenly to paſs over, and invade the Iſland; and theſe, by the Cuſtom of their native

A. D. 78.

Agricola's *firſt Year's Expedition.*

native Country, being able in ſwimming to govern themſelves, their Horſes and Arms, perform'd it ſo effectually, that the Enemy, who at firſt expected a Fleet, were extreamly ſurpriz'd and confounded, as ſuppoſing that nothing could be invincible to Men that begun a War with ſuch Reſolution. Whereupon they immediately deſir'd Peace, and ſurrender'd the Iſle to the Command of *Agricola*, who now became great and famous, as having upon his Entrance, a Time uſually ſpent in Ceremony and Oſtentation, encounter'd ſo much Toil and Hazard. In theſe proſperous Proceedings of his Fortunes, he ſought not with any glorious Relations or Letters to magnifie his Honour; but rather in ſeeking to ſuppreſs the Fame of his Actions, he render'd them more conſpicuous and ſplendent. And now knowing the Diſpoſition of his Province, and being taught by others Experience, that Affairs would never be ſettled by Fighting, while Wrongs continu'd unredreſs'd, he reſolv'd in the next Place to cut off all juſt Occaſions of War and Revolts. Thereupon he began to regulate many Abuſes, and reform many Corruptions, in his Family, in his Camp, and in the whole Province; eſpecially ſuch as afflicted the poorer ſort, as Exactions, Encreaſe of Tributes, and Payments of Corn, which had been very burdenſome to the *Britains*; all which he under-rated and levy'd in ſuch Manner, as they became eaſie to the Inhabitants. By which Means *Agricola* brought the Nation to a more general Inclination to Peace, which partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Avarice of former Governors, had been no leſs odious than War it ſelf.

He conquers the Iſle of Angleſey.

and reforms many Abuſes.

About this Time the Emperor *Veſpaſian* dy'd, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Titus*, who continu'd *Agricola* in his Government; who drawing his Army together the next Summer, obſerv'd excellent Methods, and exact Diſcipline. He choſe the Places for Encamping, and in Perſon try'd the Bogs and Woods; he gave the Enemy no Reſt, and when he had ſufficiently terrify'd them, he uſually with-held his Hand, and forbore Acts of Hoſtility, to allure them to the Pleaſures of Peace. Theſe Methods of Proceeding ſo wrought upon many Cities, that laying aſide Animoſities, they voluntarily ſubmitted, gave Hoſtages, and permitted Forts and Garriſons amongſt them; all which were effected with that Care and Prudence, that they were the only new Forts in *Britain* that never were attack'd afterwards. All Perſons began now to entertain an honourable Opinion of their new Governor; and as he was ſufficiently careful in Summer, ſo he ſpent the next Winter in a wiſe Project. Whereas the *Britains*, hitherto harraſs'd with Oppreſſions and Wars, had ſmall Leiſure or Inclination to apply themſelves to the Ornaments of Peace and ſettled Societies; therefore they were ready for Revolts and Inſurrections upon every ſlight Occaſion. The better to induce them by Pleaſures to Reſt and Quietneſs, he exhorted them in private, and aſſiſted them in publick to build Temples, Places of Reſort, and ſtately Houſes; and likewiſe provided, that the Sons of the Nobility ſhould be carefully inſtructed in the liberal Arts and Sciences, applauding their Pains and Induſtry, and preferring their Parts and Ingenuities before thoſe of the *Gauls*; ſo that they who but lately deſpis'd the *Roman* Language, did now affect and ſtudy the Graces of it. From that Time alſo the *Roman* Modes and Dreſſes became in requeſt, and the *Gown* was commonly worn; and from thence they gradually proceeded to all their Softneſs and Incentives to Luxury, as beautiful Portico's, pleaſant Baths, and exquiſite Banquets, which by the Ignorant were term'd Civility and Politeneſs, when in Reality, as *Tacitus* tells us, they were but the Trappings of their Yoke and Bondage. In the third Summer *Agricola* diſcover'd new Countries and Parts of *Britain* yet untouch'd, or at leaſt not fully ſubdu'd; and being ambitious of extending the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, he march'd Northwards up to the very Frith of *Tans* or *Tweed*, waſting all as he paſs'd, and without Reſiſtance fortify'd the Paſſages with Caſtles and Fortreſſes, which he ſtor'd with ſufficient Proviſions. By which Means every wintering Garriſon ſecur'd and guarded it ſelf, and with the Summer Service ever repair'd the Winter's Miſcarriages; which continually diſappointed the Enemy,

TITUS.

Agricola's ſecond Year's Expedition.

His third Year's Expedition.

Enemy, ſo that *Agricola* had all the Succeſs he could deſire. The fourth Summer was ſpent in ordering and ſettling what he had over-ran; and with ſuch Succeſs, that if his Armies, and the Glory of the *Roman* Empire would have permitted it, they needed not to have ſought any other Boundary in *Britain*. For the Friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, *Dunbrittaen* and *Edenburgh*, two Arms of two oppoſite Seas, ſhooting far into the Land, were only parted by a narrow Neck of Land, which *Agricola* had ſecur'd by Forts and Garriſons; ſo that the *Romans* were entire Maſters of all the South Side, and had pent up the Country as it were within another Iſland.

His fourth Year's Expedition.

For theſe great Succeſſes and Exploits in *Britain*, *Agricola* not only purchas'd much Fame, but the Emperor *Titus* alſo receiv'd great Honours upon his Account, particularly to be ſaluted *Imperator* the fifteenth Time. But dying ſhortly after, he was ſucceeded by his Brother *Domitian*, who ſtill kept *Agricola* in this Country, and ſtill with new Succeſs. For in the fifth Year of his Lieutenancy, he took Shipping, and ſail'd over to certain Nations unknown to the *Romans*, probably the *Orcades* and other Northern Iſles, which after many proſperous Encounters he ſubdu'd; and then plac'd Garriſons in thoſe Parts of *Britain* which lye towards *Ireland*, having ſome Thoughts of attempting that Iſland. After this, ſuſpecting a general Inſurrection of the *Caledonians*, thoſe fierce Northern Nations beyond *Bodotria*, in the following Year he mann'd out a Fleet to diſcover the Creeks and Harbours of that ample Region, and with his Army march'd for the North. Thus *Agricola* was the firſt who ſeconded his Land-Forces by a Navy, and brought War upon the *Britains* by Sea and Land at once. The *Britains* were extreamly amaz'd and confounded at this Sight, conſidering that if once their Seas were diſcover'd, all Hopes of retreating wou'd be loſt. Nevertheleſs the *Caledonians* arming with great Power, hop'd to diſcourage the *Romans* by being Aggreſſors; which had ſo much Effect, that ſeveral adviſ'd *Agricola* not to proceed, but to retreat with Honour, rather than be repell'd with Shame. But he harken'd not to theſe Perſuaſions, and underſtanding that the Enemy would make their Irruptions in ſeveral Bodies, to prevent being ſurrounded by their Numbers, he march'd in three Diviſions; which being known to the *Caledonians*, they chang'd their Reſolution, and with united Forces ſet upon the ninth Legion in the Night, and broke into the Camp with great Slaughter; but *Agricola* having Intelligence of their March, follow'd them, and commanded his lighteſt Horſe and Foot to charge them in the Rear, and the reſt to make a loud Shout. The Day dawning, the Glittering of the *Roman* Enſigns dazled the Eyes of the *Britains*, who after a ſharp Fight at the Gates of the Camp, drew off to the Woods and Bogs, which ſecur'd them; otherwiſe the War had then been finiſh'd by a compleat Victory. Upon this Succeſs the *Roman* Soldiers, preſuming there was nothing able to withſtand their Arms, cry'd out *to be led into* Caledonia, *that with a continual Courſe of Conqueſt they might find out the utmoſt Bounds of* Britain. They were further encou-
Dion. rag'd by this remarkable Accident, which happen'd the ſame Summer: A Cohort of *Germans* having ſlain their Centurion, and other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and to avoid Puniſhment fled on Shipboard, ſet ſail in three light Gallies without a Pilot; and by Tide and Weather were carry'd round the Coaſts, exerciſing Piracy wherever they landed, and after various Fortunes, were the firſt Diſcoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Iſland.

DOMITIAN.

Agricola's *fifth Year's Expedition.*

Britain *firſt diſcover'd to be an Iſland.*

Notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, the *Britains*, attributing all to the good Fortune and Conduct of the General, and not to any Valour in his Soldiers, were not dejected, but proceeded to arm their Youth, to convey their Wives and Children into ſafe Places, and by Aſſemblies and Religious Rites to eſtabliſh a Confederacy among themſelves. And being intent upon nothing but Revenge or Slavery, the following Year by Leagues and Treaties they muſter'd up their whole Power; being now ſenſible, tho' too late, that a common Danger muſt be repuls'd by Confederacy and Union. Theſe, as their laſt Effort, had gather'd together

A. D. 84.

The Britains *laſt Struggle under* Galgacus

together about thirty thouſand armed Men, beſides great Numbers of Youth, and vigorous old Men, who formerly had been excellent Soldiers, and ſtill retain'd the Scars and Badges of their Bravery. On the other ſide, *Agricola* having ſent his Fleet before, follow'd in Perſon ſhortly after with his whole Army, to which he had added ſome of the moſt valiant *Britains*, ſuch as after the Teſt of a long Peace he had found faithful, and march'd to the Hill *Grampius*, now *Grantzbain* in *Scotland*, where the Enemy had poſted themſelves. Upon the Approaches of both Armies, all Perſons with great Eagerneſs and Impatience attended the Succeſs of this deciding Battel; and *Galgacus*, both by Birth and Merit Commander of the *Britains*, with a furious Warmth and elevated Courage is ſaid to have ſpoken after this Manner to his Soldiers. *When I conſider the Cauſe of this War, and our preſent Urgency, I have reaſon to preſume, that the future Happineſs and Freedom of the whole Iſland will date their Birth from this important Day. For we are the moſt valiant Remains of the* Britains, *ſeated in the remoteſt Regions, beyond the Ken of thoſe Nations enſlav'd by the Enemy; ſo that our Eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of Foreign Tyranny; and this ſecret Receſs, unknown to Fame, has hitherto preſerv'd us in all the Bleſſings of Liberty. Beyond us is no Nation, nothing but Waves and Rocks; on that Side nothing but Bondage and Slavery, which is to be expected from the* Romans; *a People unſatiable in their Luſts, and unbounded in their Ambition. Thoſe Robbers of the World, and Ravagers of the Univerſe, now the exhauſted Land can no more furniſh their Rapines, endeavour to riſle the wide Seas and Ocean. When they meet with opulent Enemies, their Cruelty proceeds from Avarice; when with Poor, it ariſes from Ambition. The* Eaſt *and* Weſt, *vaſt as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious Minds; they, and they alone, with equal Greedineſs graſp at the Riches and Poverty of all Nations. Devaſtations, Murders and Extirpations, paſs with them under the falſe Names of* Empire *and* Government; *and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing Peace in thoſe Provinces they have render'd deſolate. Our Goods are their Tribute, our Corn their Proviſions, our Bodies their Tools for all Kinds of Drudgery; and if the Modeſty of our Wives and Daughters has preſerv'd them from open Violence, when they were Enemies, it cannot ſecure them from their laſcivious Friendſhip, now they are Gueſts. Other Slaves, whom Nature and Fortune have deſtin'd to Servitude, are nouriſh'd by their Maſters; but the* Britains *alone purchace their own Bondage, and maintain and ſupport their Oppreſſors. Were our Enemies Courage in War, equal to their Debaucheries in Peace, we might juſtly dread their Arms; but their Glory is all owing to our Diſſentions: Our Union will diſſipate their Forces which are gather'd out of many Nations; ſo that one Miſcarriage of theirs will diſſolve their whole Power. In ſumm, there you ſee Tributes and Slavery, here Death or Liberty; therefore let us conſider the Glory of our Anceſtors, and the Fate of our Poſterity.*

This Speech being deliver'd with the Fierceneſs of Lions and Tigers, and darting upon the Soldiers like Flaſhes of Lightning, was immediately ſeconded with the barbarous, and confus'd Acclamations of the whole Army. *Agricola* on the other ſide encourag'd his Men with all the Force and Charms of the *Roman* Eloquence; and fearing to be flank'd by reaſon of the Enemy's Numbers, he drew out his Front to the utmoſt Length, and advanc'd himſelf at the Head of his Foot. The Battel began at ſome Diſtance from the main Body, wherein the *Britains* ſhow'd great Art and Courage, by means of their broad Swords, and ſhort Bucklers, with which they bore off the Darts of their Enemies, and pour'd in upon them with Showers of their own. To prevent which Inconveniency, *Agricola* order'd the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* Cohorts to advance againſt them with their ſharp-pointed Bucklers, which render'd their pointleſs Swords unſerviceable, and ſo mangled their Faces, that they were oblig'd to retire with the greateſt Precipitation. This Advantage being ſeconded by the Emulation of the

the other Cohorts, who furiouſly bore down all before them; and being many Ways back'd and ſupported by the great Skill of their General, the *Britains* were at laſt diſpers'd: Whilſt many unarm'd ran deſperately upon their Enemies Swords, others tho' arm'd betook themſelves to Flight, leaving a Field diſmally ſtrew'd with Heaps of Arms, Carcaſſes, mangled Limbs and Blood, and many expiring Perſons, who ſtill retain'd their Courage and Fierceneſs. Night and Wearineſs put an end to the Chace, and Victory made it pleaſant to the Conquerors; but the unfortunate *Britains*, both Men and Women, wandering in a deplorable Manner, ſpent the Night in calling their loſt Friends, carrying off the Wounded, in burning their Houſes out of Deſpair, and ſhifting from one Corner to another. Sometimes they conſulted with each other, and conceiv'd ſome Hopes; then again they were broken with Pity and Compaſſion, and oftner with Rage and Madneſs at the Sight of their Wives and Children, ſeveral of whom they diſpatch'd with their own, rather than they ſhould ſuffer by their Enemies Swords. This ſignal Victory put a Stop to all future Reſiſtance, and *Agricola* ſending out his Fleet along the Coaſts, they alſo diſcover'd *Britain* to be an Iſland, and ſubdu'd the *Orcades*, which had not been heard of 'till that Time. Thus after forty two Years Struggle of an unciviliz'd and diſunited People, againſt the moſt powerful Nation in the Univerſe, the greateſt Part of *Britain* was conquer'd and reduc'd into an intire and civiliz'd Province of the *Roman* Empire, the further Part being left to the Barbarians, as neither pleaſant nor fruitful; the Government of which was ever annex'd and appropriated to the Emperors themſelves, and no ways at the Diſpoſal of the Senate, as ſeveral other Provinces were. This was compleated in the fourth Year of *Domitian*'s Reign, about 138 Years after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar*, in the latter End of the Year 84, or the Beginning of 85, when *Agricola* was recall'd out of *Britain*.

They are defeated.

and Britain *reduc'd to a* Roman *Province.*

III. From this Time forwards, for above 320 Years, the greateſt and richeſt Part of *Britain* became ſubject to the *Romans*, who made great Advantages of the Country, and laid heavy Tributes upon the Inhabitants. Yet with their grievous Yoke they bore down Barbariſm, and introduc'd Humanity and Civility, which daily made way and fitted Men for Chriſtianity; and they wanted not the Arts of obliging a conquer'd People, allowing ſome Kings amongſt them of their own Nation, which were commonly us'd for Inſtruments of enſlaving their Neighbours, and bearing off the Odium from the Conquerors. Partly by ſuch Arts, and partly through Neceſſity, the *Britains* began to love as well as fear their Maſters the *Romans*, and follow'd their Modes, Dreſſes and Cuſtoms to as great an Exceſs as any Nation; and their Buildings and other Works were ſo very ſtately, that we cannot now look upon their Remains without Admiration, and the ordinary People think them to be of more than human Structure. But of the Tranſactions of *Britain* after *Agricola*'s Departure, we have only ſhort and broken Accounts, which are gather'd from ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Hiſtorians. We are not certain who was *Agricola*'s Succeſſor, unleſs it be *Saluſtius Lucullus*, whom *Domitian* in a ſhort time ſacrific'd to his own ſuſpicious Humour. At which Time flouriſh'd King *Arviragus* in this Iſland, according to *Juvenal*; and alſo at *Rome* a *Britiſh* Lady nam'd *Claudia Ruſina*, celebrated by *Martial* for her extraordinary Beauty and Learning, whom many believe to have been a Chriſtian, and the ſame mention'd by St. *Paul* in his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, c. 4. v. 21. *Domitian* was ſucceeded by *Nerva*, in whoſe Time we have little concerning *Britain*, only that in his Reign, as alſo in that of *Trajan* his Succeſſor, there were great Commotions in this Iſland, but they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd and ended. But *Hadrian* the next Emperor being proclaim'd, he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Northern *Britains* made Incurſions into the *Roman* Part; whereupon he ſent *Julius Severus*, who being ſuddenly recall'd upon the Account of other Inſurrections, the Emperor himſelf

NERVA.
TRAJAN.
Spart. HADRIAN.

himſelf came over with an Army, encounter'd the barbarous People of the North, recover'd ſuch Forts as they had taken, and drove them into the Woods and Mountains. And for the better Eſtabliſhment of future Peace, in the Year A. D. 121, he caus'd a mighty Wall to be made of Wood and Earth, extending from the River *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty Miles in Length; after which he return'd triumphantly to *Rome*, where he gain'd the Title of *RESTORER OF BRITAIN*, which as a Motto was ſtamp'd upon his Coin. And now the Provincial *Britains*, fearing as much the Cruelty of their Northern Countrymen, as formerly the Invaſion of Strangers, readily conform'd themſelves to the *Roman* Laws, as well Civil as Martial, under the Direction of *Priſcus Licinius*, then *Pro-prætor*.

A. D. 121. Hadrian *makes a Wall in* Britain.

ANT. PIUS. The Emperor *Hadrian* was ſucceeded by *Antoninus Pius*, whoſe Lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus* defeated the *Brigantes*; and having driven back, and remov'd the barbarous Northern People, he built another Wall of Earth and Piles beyond the former, between *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton* Friths. For theſe two Expeditions, *Antoninus* obtain'd the Title of *Britannicus*, tho' he never ſaw *Britain* himſelf. After him *Antoninus Philoſophus* poſſeſs'd the Empire, who ſent *Calphurnius Agricola* to be his Lieutenant in *Britain*, a Perſon who partly by his Prudence, and partly by Force, appeas'd the Northern Tumults, and ſettled the Minds of thoſe People who were moſt uneaſie under the *Roman* Authority. In the latter End of this Emperor's Reign, we are inform'd by *Beda*, That *Lucius*, one of the Kings allow'd by the *Romans* in *Britain*, having an Inclination for *Chriſtianity*, which had been formerly planted, but not well water'd in this Nation, ſent to *Eleutherus* Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſignifie his pious Intentions, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance. *Eleutherus* ſent *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, two eminent Men, to this Iſland; at which Time, not only *Lucius* himſelf receiv'd the Faith, but by his Example, and the Diligence of the firſt Preachers, it ſpread in a ſhort Time through a great Part of the Nation, and *Chriſtianity* continu'd unmoleſted 'till the Reign of *Diocletian*. So that *Lucius* is ſuppos'd to be the firſt *Chriſtian* King in the World, and *Britain* the firſt Province that embrac'd the Goſpel by publick Authority. This Story has receiv'd ſo many Additions and Corruptions by later Writers, that it has occaſion'd many to disbelieve the whole, and to doubt whether there ever was ſuch a King as *Lucius* in *Britain*; for which the Reader may pleaſe to conſult B. *Stillingfleet*'s eleborate Work, *The Antiquities of the* Britiſh *Churches*.

Capitol. Beda.

A ſecond Wall in Britain.

ANT. PHILOS.

A. D. 178. *Lucius, a King in* Britain, *receives Chriſtianity with others*

COMMODUS. In the Reign of *Commodus*, the next Emperor, the Northern *Britains* became more troubleſome than ever; for having paſs'd the great Wall, they cut off the *Roman* General, and moſt of his Army, and then made terrible Devaſtations in the Country. The Emperor affrighted at their Progreſs, immediately ſent *Ulpius Marcellus* againſt them, a wiſe and magnanimous Governor, who ſoon put an end to this War that appear'd ſo formidable, ſeverely chaſtis'd the *Britains* for their Revolt, and reviv'd the loſt Diſcipline among the *Roman* Soldiers; for which Services, and his Virtues, the wicked Emperor deſign'd to have taken his Life, but upon ſecond Reflexions only diſcharg'd him of his Office. After his Departure, the *Roman* Army began to mutiny, and to diſown *Commodus* for their Emperor; which Diſorders, *Pereunes* his great Favourite undertook to redreſs, by Threats, Removing of Officers, and placing inferior Perſons in their Room; which had no better Effect than to bring the whole Storm upon himſelf. For the Soldiers, accuſing him of Treaſon againſt his Soveraign, gain'd ſo much Credit, as to cauſe him to be executed. Upon his Death *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, undertook the Charge of *Britain*; and he, after he had ſuppreſs'd the Seditions with the utmoſt Hazard of his Life, got leave to be diſmiſs'd. After him, by the Command of *Commodus*, *Albinus* had the Government of this Province aſſign'd to him, and might have been honour'd with the Title of *Cæſar*, but he declin'd it: But afterwards, in a Speech to his Soldiers, upon a falſe Report of the Emperor's Death, declaring for the Senatorian againſt the

Dion. &c.

the Imperial Power, he was diſcharg'd, and *Junius Severus* was ſent in his Place. *Commodus* not long after being ſlain, and the Reigns of *Pertinax* and *Julian* being ſhort, *Albinus* was found again at the Head of his Army in *Britain*, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Severus*, which he afterwards tranſported againſt him into *Gaul*; where, near *Lyons*, he was encounter'd by *Severus*, his Forces defeated, and himſelf ſlain. *Severus* being ſettled in the Empire, divided *Britain* into two Governments or Prefectures; the South Part was committed to *Heraclitus*, and the North, which was the moſt difficult to manage, to *Virius Lupus*, in Quality of *Pro-prætor*, where the *Caledonians* and others ſo infeſted him, that he was oblig'd to purchace a Truce with Mony. This new Diviſion was made in the fourth Year of *Severus*'s Reign, *A. D.* 197.

PERTINAX. JULIAN. SEVERUS.

Dig. Britain *divided into two Parts.*

Dion. Spart. Herod. In the fifteenth Year of this Prince's Reign, he receiv'd Advice that the Northern *Britains* were up in Arms, and had been ſo ſucceſsful, that the ſtanding Legions and the Province were in great Danger; which gave much Uneaſineſs to an Emperor who before had conquer'd the moſt powerful Enemies. But that the Empire ſhould not be diminiſh'd in his Reign by the Loſs of an Iſland of ſuch great Importance, he reſolv'd to come in Perſon, tho' very gouty and above ſixty Years of Age; taking with him his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Britains* underſtanding the Emperor's Approach, offer'd him an honourable Peace; but he had ſuch an inſatiable Deſire to add the glorious Name of *Britannicus* to his former Titles, that he refus'd their Propoſals. Upon his Entrance, he left his Son *Geta* in the Southern Parts of the Province, which had continu'd in Obedience; and march'd with his Son *Caracalla* againſt the Northern *Britains* and *Caledonians*; where with the cutting down of Woods, making of Bridges, draining of Bogs and Meers, the Enemies Ambuſcades, and Sickneſs, he loſt no leſs than fifty thouſand Men, according to *Dion*. The aged Emperor encounter'd theſe Miſeries and Difficulties with a noble Bravery, and proſecuted his Attempts with ſuch a vigorous Reſolution, that he forc'd them to a Submiſſion, with the Delivery of a conſiderable Part of their Country, and all their Arms. And for the better Security of the Province of *Britain*, he built, or rather repair'd that famous Wall begun by the Emperor *Hadrian*; which he made anſwerable to the Power and Grandure of the *Roman* Empire. For this, and his ſeveral Victories, he took upon him the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*, cauſing that Inſcription to be ſtamp'd upon his own, and his Sons Coins. The Emperor after this retir'd to *Eboricum* or *York*, leaving the Work to be finiſh'd by his Son *Caracalla*, who by his Popularity to the Soldiers, and his exceſſive Looſneſs, gave an Occaſion to the *Caledonians* to break their Articles, and revolt; which ſo inrag'd this old diſtemper'd Prince, that he gave Commands to make a general Maſſacre without Diſtinction, which was executed with great Severity. Having been nigh two Years in *Britain*, at *Eboricum* he grew weak, partly with Age and Travel, and partly with Grief for the ill Life of his eldeſt Son; and finding himſelf declining, he cry'd out, *I have been all that a Man can be, but it is of no Service to me now.* But at his Death ſhortly after, he ſeem'd to comfort himſelf by declaring, *That he had found the Empire diſorder'd in all its Parts, but now had left it in Peace, even among the* Britains. His Son *Caracalla* having made Peace with the *Britains*, and receiv'd Hoſtages from them, return'd to *Rome* with his Brother *Geta*.

A. D. 208.

Severus *comes into* Britain.

His Succeſſes.

He dyes at York.

CARACALLA.

For about ſixty Years, and the Reigns of twelve ſucceeding Emperors after *Caracalla*, namely *Macrinus*, *Elagabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Valerian*, *Gallienus* and *Claudius*, we have no Account of the Affairs of *Britain*; only in the Reign of *Gallienus*, ſome of the thirty Tyrants, as *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, the *Tetrici*, and *Marius*, are ſuppos'd to have uſurp'd the Government here, ſince their Coins are found in ſuch great Quantities in this Nation. Under *Claudius*'s Succeſſor *Aurelian*, *Bonoſus*, an inſatiable Vaſſal to *Bacchus*, and by Birth a *Britain*, together

MACRINUS. ELAGABALUS. ALEXANDER. MAXIMIN. PUPIENUS. GORDIAN. PHILIP. DECIUS. GALLUS. VALERIAN. GALLIENUS. CLAUDIUS. AURELIAN.

gether with *Proculus*, endeavour'd to make himſelf Emperor, claiming all *Britain*, *Spain* and Part of *Gaul*, in the Time both of *Aurelian* and his Succeſſor *Tacitus*; but being at laſt defeated by the next Emperor *Probus*, after a ſharp Engagement, he hang'd himſelf, and gave the Occaſion of the Jeſt, *That there hung a Bottle, not a Man*. After that, *Probus* prevented a new Rebellion in *Britain*, by the ſevere Loyalty of *Victorinus*, at whoſe Recommendation he had plac'd a Lieutenant here, who had ſet up for Emperor; for upbraiding *Victorinus* with the Diſloyalty of the Perſon he had recommended, he undertook to rectifie the Miſtake, by paſſing ſuddenly over into *Britain*, where by a Stratagem he found means to ſlay the Traitor, and ſave the Province. *Eutropius* alſo relates, that *Probus* was the firſt Emperor who gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britains* to plant Vines, and to make Wine. This Emperor alſo having ſubdu'd the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, he ſent great Numbers of them to inhabit *Britain*, where being well ſettled, they prov'd very ſerviceable to the Empire upon any Commotions or Inſurrections. Moſt ſuppoſe them to have had their Camp upon thoſe Hills near *Cambridge*, commonly call'd *Gogmagog-Hills*, where on the Top of one of them may be ſeen to this Day a Plain, ſurrounded with large double Trenches of a great Circumference. After *Probus*, *Carus* ſucceeded in the Empire, who put this Iſland with the Weſtern Provinces into the Hands of his Son *Carenus*; but he in two Years Time was ſlain by *Diocletian*, who ſucceeded in the Empire, *A.D.* 284.

TACITUS. PROBUS.

Vandals *and* Burgundians *ſetled in* Britain

CARUS.

DIOCLETIAN.

A. D. 287.

Zoſim.

In the Reign of this noted Emperor, *Carauſius*, a Man of mean Extract but great Courage, was employ'd to ſecure the *Belgick* and *Armorican* Coaſts, then infeſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and daily inriching himſelf with the Spoils of others, he became juſtly ſuſpected by the Emperor, who order'd his Partner *Maximian* to procure his Death. *Carauſius* finding his Crimes too great to hope for Safety, aſſum'd the Title of Emperor, and took Poſſeſſion of *Britain*; whither he brought his Fleet, built more Ships after the *Roman* Manner, was join'd by the *Roman* Legions, kept out foreign Forces, preſs'd the *Gallick* Merchants to his Service, garriſon'd *Bononia* in *Gaul*, and converted the Revenues of *Britain* and *Batavia* to his own Uſe. Moreover, by the Hopes of Booty in the Provinces, he drew no ſmall Forces of the *Barbarians* to his Alliance, particularly the *Franks*, whom he had train'd to Sea-Service, and infeſted all the Sea-Coaſts about him. *Maximian* with a brave Army march'd againſt him; being advanc'd to the Sea-Coaſt, the Want of Sea-Men, and the Danger of the *Britiſh* Seas, occaſion'd him to make an Hault, and to come to a Treaty, in which it was concluded, That *Carauſius* ſhou'd enjoy the Government of *Britain*, as the propereſt Perſon to defend the Inhabitants againſt all Invaſions; and this he held with great Authority and in perfect Peace for ſeven Years together. But when *Conſtantius* was made *Cæſar* by *Maximian*, and took the Town of *Bononia*, *Carauſius* was treacherouſly ſlain by *Allectus*, his boſom Friend and prime Miniſter; who thereupon uſurp'd the Government to himſelf, and retain'd it three Years longer. At length *Conſtantius* mann'd ſeveral diſtinct Fleets, ſo that *Allectus* not knowing what Courſe to take, or where to expect him, grew ſenſible that the Ocean was not ſo much his Defence, as his Priſon. The *Roman* Fleet ſetting out in bad Weather, had the Fortune by reaſon of a Miſt to eſcape the *Britiſh* Navy, which lay out by the Iſle of *Wight* to obſerve its Motions; and as ſoon as the Soldiers were landed, *Conſtantius* ſet fire to all the Ships, that they might confide in nothing but their own Valour. *Allectus* perceiving this retir'd, and in his Flight was accidentally met and attack'd by *Aſclepiadotus*, Captain of his Life-Guard; but his Confuſion was ſuch, that he ran deſperately to his own Ruin; for without drawing up his Army, after he had thrown off his Robes, he with his barbarous Mercenaries ruſh'd on upon the Enemy, and in a tumultuary Skirmiſh was kill'd without Diſtinction. The *Franks* and other ſurviving Barbarians, upon this determin'd to plunder the City of *London*, and eſcape by Sea with the Booty; but a Party of the *Romans*, that

Victor. Eutrop. Oroſius.

A. D. 287. Carauſius *in* Britain *claims the Empire.*

He is ſlain by Allectus, *who ſucceeds him.*

Allectus *ſlain.*

that were ſeparated from the Fleet in foggy Weather, came fortunately into the Aſſiſtance of the City, ſet upon them, and purſu'd them through the Streets with great Slaughter, not only to the Safety, but alſo to the Pleaſure of the Citizens, who were Eye-witneſſes of their Deliverance. By this Victory the Province of *Britain* was recover'd to the *Romans*, after it had been ten Years under the Governments of *Carauſius* and *Allectus*. Not long after, a dreadful Perſecution breaking out under *Diocletian*, ſeveral are believ'd to have ſuffer'd in *Britain*, as St. *Alba*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, &c. but the Narratives of their Chriſtian Zeal and Courage, are ſo obſcur'd by the fictitious Fancies of after Ages, that we can ſcarce diſcover what Perſons ſuffer'd, nor the Time, Place or Manner of their Martyrdoms.

A. D. 303.

A Perſecution in Britain.

Diocletian having reſign'd the Empire, the Weſtern Provinces with *Britain* fell to the Share of *Conſtantius*, who gave Liberty to the *Chriſtians*, and came over into this Iſle himſelf; where reinforcing the Garriſons towards the Borders, and eſtabliſhing a general Peace, at *York* he fell ſick of a languiſhing Diſeaſe, and dy'd. He was ſucceeded by his renowned Son *Conſtantine*, who was proclaim'd Emperor in *Britain*, and is by moſt Authors believ'd to have been a Native of this Country, tho' it is doubted by ſome others. This great Prince was the firſt who by Law eſtabliſh'd *Chriſtianity* in the *Roman* Empire; and in a few Years with great Fame he became Maſter of the whole, againſt the Power of all Uſurpers and Oppoſers. But afterwards removing his Imperial Seat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, and drawing many Forces from *Gaul*, *Germany* and *Britain*, towards the Eaſtern Parts, he open'd a Way for Invaſions and Incurſions into the Weſtern Provinces, and laid the Foundation not only of the Loſs of *Britain*, but alſo of the Ruin of the Empire. Yet for the better Security and Government of the Empire, he new modell'd the whole, dividing it into fourteen diſtinct Provinces call'd Dioceſes, and thoſe ſubject to four Prætorian Præfects. *Britain* was one of the fourteen, which was made ſubject to the Prætorian Præfect of *Gaul*, and inſtead of the two Diviſions made by the Emperor *Severus*, he divided it into three Provinces, namely *Britannia Prima*, containing all the Southern Parts of *Britain*, the Metropolis of which was *London*; *Britannia Secunda*, containing that Part now call'd *Wales*, the Metropolis of which was *Iſca*, now *Caer-leon*; and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, containing all the Northern Parts of *Britain*, the Metropolis of which was *Eboricum*, now *York*, which ſome ſay was the chief of the whole. This laſt Province was afterwards divided into two, *viz.* *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; but whether by *Conſtantine*, or ſome ſucceeding Emperor, is uncertain. In the Reign of *Conſtantine*, or not long after, there were twenty eight Cities in *Britain*, as we are aſſur'd from *Gildas* and *Beda*; all which are reaſonably believ'd to have been Biſhopricks. But tho' we are not certain of the Number of the Biſhopricks, yet we find the *Britiſh* Church was become ſo conſiderable in the Time of *Conſtantine*, that in the ninth Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 314, it ſent three Biſhops of the thirty three that compos'd the Council of *Arles*, namely *Eborius* Biſhop of *York*, *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of *London*, and *Adelphius* Biſhop of *Colcheſter*, or perhaps *Caer-Leon*. And tho' in the famous Council of *Nice*, eleven Years after, we have not the Names of the *Britiſh* Biſhops there, becauſe the Subſcriptions to that Council are loſt; yet there are many convincing Circumſtances to prove that they were there, and join'd in the Decrees of the Council.

CONSTANTIUS.

Conſtantius *dies at* York.

CONSTANTINE.

Conſtantine *divides* Britain *into three Provinces.*

Zoſimus. Am. Mar Sul. Sev.

IV. After the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, the Weſt being more naked and expos'd than formerly, the Affairs of *Britain* were in a declining Poſture; yet the *Romans* held Poſſeſſion of the Iſle for near a hundred Years after, and took as great Care of it as their Circumſtances would permit. *Conſtantine* dying, divided the Empire among his three Sons, *Conſtantinus*, *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*; and to the Eldeſt he gave *Britain* and the Weſt, who not ſatisfy'd with

A. D. 337.

CONSTANTIUS

with his Diviſion, invaded that of his Brother *Conſtans*, and was ſlain after three Years Reign. *Conſtans*, ſeizing on the Weſt, after eight or nine Years Poſſeſſion, was ſlain by the Treaſon of *Magnentius*, born of *Britiſh* Parents, who held thoſe Parts three Years againſt all the Power of the ſurviving Brother *Conſtantius*, and then ſlaying himſelf, left the whole to his Government. *Conſtantius* being poſſeſs'd of *Britain*, ſent over a Notary call'd *Paulus*, who coming into the Iſle, under a Pretence of ſearching for the Friends and Aſſiſtants of *Magnentius*, committed horrible Extortions and Cruelties, and like a Torrent bore away the Eſtates and Fortunes of many innocent Perſons, to the perpetual Infamy of his Maſter *Conſtantius*, who ſupported him in all his Outrages. *Martinus* was then Governor of the Province, who commiſerating the Fates of ſuch as he knew guiltleſs, interceded with *Paulus*, perſuading him to withdraw his Hand, or otherwiſe he would depart the Iſle; but he dreading the Effects of ſuch a Reſolution, accus'd the Governor himſelf as a Perſon guilty, and urg'd that he might be ſeiz'd, and carry'd bound to the Emperor. *Martinus*, provok'd at ſuch an Injury, drew out his Sword, and ſtruck at his Accuſer; but failing in his Aim, he turn'd the Point againſt his own Breaſt, and ſlew himſelf; which ſtill added to the Miſeries and Puniſhments of thoſe whom *Paulus* thought fit to pronounce guilty. *Conſtantius* in the latter End of his Reign committed the Government of *Britain* and the Weſt to *Julian*, afterwards call'd *The Apoſtate*; who, reſiding then at *Paris*, upon the News of the Incurſions and Ravages of the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and the *Picts* from *Caledonia* into the *Roman* Part of *Britain*, ſent *Lupicinus* to repel them, and eſtabliſh the Peace of the Iſland. *Lupicinus* paſs'd over with a conſiderable Army into *Kent*; and marching to *London* in order to manage the War, he was ſhortly after recall'd by the ſame Commander. About the ſame Time, the *Arian* Hereſie, which had infected Chriſtendom, gave this Iſland no ſmall Diſturbance; a Land, ſays *Gildas*, *greedy of every Thing new, ſtedfaſt in nothing*. In favour of which Doctrine, the Emperor *Conſtantius* conven'd a Council of four hundred Biſhops at *Ariminum*, allowing them all neceſſary Proviſions. But all choſe to live at their own Charges; only three out of *Britain*, by reaſon of their Poverty, accepted of the Emperor's Allowance, rather than be burdenſom to their Brethren.

Britain *oppreſſed by ſevere Governors,*

and diſturb'd by Arianiſm.

JULIAN. JOVIAN. VALENTINIAN. Britain *invaded by Barbarians.*

In the ſhort Reigns of *Julian the Apoſtate*, and *Jovian*, we find nothing concerning *Britain*; after whom *Valentinian* ſucceeded in the Weſtern Empire, who in his Paſſage through *Gaul*, receiv'd a ſad and aſtoniſhing Account, That the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and the *Picts* and *Attacots* from the North, together with the *Saxons* and *Francs* from the Eaſt and South, had harraſs'd and ruin'd almoſt all *Britain*; That they had kill'd *Nectaridius* Governor of the Sea-Coaſts, and ſurpriz'd *Buchobaudes* General of the Land Forces by a Stratagem. After *Valentinian* had with ſmall Succeſs ſent *Severus*, and then *Jovinus*, to ſuppreſs their Fury, he at length deputed *Theodoſius*, Father to the firſt Emperor of that Name, a Perſon of celebrated Valour and Conduct, who gathering together an Army of ſelect young Men, with the *Herulian*, *Batavian* and other Troops, march'd directly to *London*. There dividing his Forces into ſeveral Parties, he ſucceſsfully encounter'd the roving pillaging Enemy, laden with Spoils; from whom he recover'd the Priſoners and Plunder they had carry'd away; and having reſtor'd all to their reſpective Owners, except ſome ſmall Portion beſtow'd on the weary Soldiers, he enter'd *London* in a triumphant Manner, and reſtor'd it to its former Splendor. Having diſpers'd the whole Force, he proclaim'd Impunity to ſuch as wou'd immediately return to Obedience; but the Enemy being numerous, of many Nations, and in divers Parties, to finiſh all, he found it neceſſary to call in the Aſſiſtance of *Civiles* and *Dulcitius*, the former eminent for his Wiſdom and Honeſty, and the latter for his Military Abilities.

Am. Mar.

A. D. 368.

Theodoſius *repels them.*

Theodoſius having thus conquer'd and ſubdu'd theſe different Sorts of People, and being employ'd in repairing the ruin'd Cities and Caſtles, and in laying the

Am. Mar.

the Foundations of a laſting Peace, one *Valentinus* a *Pannonian*, a Perſon of a haughty Spirit, who for ſome notorious Crime was baniſh'd into *Britain*, with other Exiles and Soldiers, conſpir'd againſt him, as the only Obſtacle to his Deſign of gaining the Government of the Iſle. This Man being diſcover'd, he with ſome of his principal Accomplices were deliver'd over to *Dulcitius*, and receiv'd their juſt Rewards; but *Theodoſius* permitted others to eſcape, not making too ſevere an Inquiſition into a Conſpiracy where many were engag'd, leſt ſuch Methods of Proceeding might encreaſe the Danger. After which he proceeded to reform many Irregularities and Diſorders with great Succeſs, recover'd many Cities and Garriſons, and fortify'd the Borders with conſtant Watches and Guards, which had been formerly given up to the Enemy; ſo that the Northern Province being reſtor'd to its former Condition, he appointed a new Governor over it, and order'd it to be call'd *Valentia* for the future, in Honour of his Maſter *Valentinian*, and the City of *London* to be call'd *Auguſta*. And now the *Roman* Part of *Britain* conſiſted of five diſtinct Provinces, *viz. Britannia Prima* in the South, *Britannia Secunda* in the Weſt, *Flavia Cæſarienſis* in the Eaſt and middle Parts, *Maxima Cæſarienſis* towards the North, and *Valentia* beyond *Severus*'s Wall to *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton* Friths. All Things being happily executed, when *Theodoſius* was recall'd, he left the Iſland in Peace, and being attended with the general Applauſe of all Men to the Sea Side, he paſs'd over to wait upon the Emperor, who receiv'd him with the higheſt Commendations.

He reſtores Britain.

and divides it into five Provinces.

Zoſimus. Gildas. But the Quiet and good Fortune of the *Britains* did not laſt long; for not many Years after, when *Valentinian* was ſucceeded in the Empire by his two Sons *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, and the latter had made *Theodoſius* the Younger his Partner, one *Maximus* a *Britiſh* Commander, out of Hatred to *Gratian*, and Envy to *Theodoſius*, aſſum'd the Purple, and was ſaluted Emperor; which prov'd the firſt great Step to the Ruin of *Britain*. The firſt Eſſays of his uſurped Power were indeed employ'd to the Good and Preſervation of this Iſland, driving back the *Scots* into *Ireland*, and the *Picts* beyond the Walls: But proceeding in his Ambition againſt the legal Emperors, he not only quitted the Iſle, but drew over moſt of the *Roman* Forces from thence, and the beſt of the *Britiſh* Youth to his Aſſiſtance. Theſe never return'd to *Britain* again, for moſt of them periſh'd with their Commander not long after; or elſe ſettled themſelves in that Part of *Gaul* call'd *Armorica*, which afterwards from them and other *Britains* had the Name of *Britain*, now *Bretaigne*. The Departure of ſo many Soldiers ſo extreamly weaken'd the Nation, that the *Scots* and *Picts* now found it an eaſie Prey, and made freſh Ravages and Devaſtations. For the Reduction of theſe, *Chryſanthus*, the Son of *Marcian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, was made Governor, who diſcharg'd his Office with great Reputation; but whether he fully ſubdu'd theſe Northern Enemies, or whether *Stilico*, Governor to the young Emperor *Honorius*, or ſome other ſent by him, as *Claudian* ſeems to affirm, reduc'd them, it no where appears. Not long after, the Empire being in great Diſtreſs, the Legion ſent for this purpoſe into *Britain* was recall'd, and the *Vandals*, *Sweves* and *Alans* having over-run many Countries, became formidable to the Forces in *Britain*, who fearing to be imacled, in a Sedition elected one *Marcus* to be their Emperor, a Man of great Power in this Iſland; but not anſwering their Expectations, they ſoon diſpatch'd him, and ſet up one *Gratian*, who after four Months Reign, was alſo depriv'd of his Life and Empire. After this they proceeded to chuſe *Conſtantine*, a Common Soldier, thinking his Name fortunate, and ſufficient to preſerve the Empire; who taking with him the Remainder of the *Britiſh* Forces and Strength that *Maximus* had left, paſs'd over into *Gaul*, and never return'd again, but loſt his Life and his Army four Years after.

A. D. 382.

GRATIAN.

Maximus *in* Britain *claims the Empire.*

He begins the Ruin of Britain.

Some Britains *ſettle in* Armorica.

The Picts *and* Scots *grow troubleſome.*

HONORIUS.

The Britains *ſet up ſeveral Emperors.*

A. D. 407.

Zoſim. &c. From this Time, the publick Affairs were in a wretched and declining Poſture, in a great Part of *Europe* as well as *Britain*; the *Vandals* made Irruptions

Britain *declines*

ons

ons and Devaſtations into *Spain*, the *Alans* into *Portugal*, and the *Goths* into *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf. At the ſame Time the miſerable *Britains*, now deſtitute of the *Roman* Legions, and their beſt and nobleſt Inhabitants, became more expos'd than ever to the mercileſs Rage of the barbarous *Picts* and *Scots*, and other Northern People. And now they began to implore the Aſſiſtance of their old Maſters the *Romans*, ſuing to thoſe People as Patrons and Protectors, whom they anciently look'd upon as Tyrants and Uſurpers. Accordingly they ſent ſeveral Meſſages and Petitions to the Emperor *Honorius*, but he being in great Diſtreſs himſelf, and not able to defend *Rome* againſt *Alarick*, adviſ'd them by Letters to uſe their own Ways and Methods for their Safety, and freely acquitted them of all the *Roman* Juriſdiction. They being thus diſcharg'd and abandon'd, and having all the Right of Government in their own Hands, thence forward betook themſelves to live after their own Laws and Inſtitutions, and the *Armoricans*, who now obtain'd the Name of the *Britains* in *Gaul*, follow'd their Example. Thus fell the vaſt Empire of the *Romans*, firſt in *Britain*, and ſoon after in *Italy*; and with it all that was *Roman*, as Learning, Valour, Eloquence, Hiſtory, Civility, and even Language it ſelf, all equally diminiſhing and decaying. The firſt Diſcharge of the *Britains* from their Allegiance was about the Year 410, which was 463 Years after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar* into this Iſland, 367 after the *Romans* firſt got Poſſeſſion under the Emperor *Claudius*, and 326 after the full Conqueſt of it by *Agricola*, under *Domitian*.

The Britains *are diſcharg'd of their Allegiance to* Rome.

The Roman *State of* Britain

And here it will not be improper, before we finiſh this Chapter, to give ſome little Account of the *Roman* Government and Eſtabliſhment in *Britain*, whether Civil or Military; which we have from the *Notitia* of the Empire, ſuppos'd to have been publiſh'd about the Year 410. *Britain* being one of the Dioceſes belonging to the Diſtrict of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gaul*, it had a Governor of its own call'd a *Vicar*; whoſe Enſigns were a Book of Mandates, ſhut, cover'd with green, and mark'd on the Back, together with five Caſtles repreſenting ſo many Provinces, with their ſeveral Names inſcrib'd. According to the five Provinces, he had ſo many Magiſtrates under his Command, namely two *Conſulars*, and three *Preſidents*, the former of *Valentia*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and the other of *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, who were to determine all Cauſes whether Criminal or Civil. By the Vicar, and theſe five Magiſtrates, with a great Number of inferior Officers, was the whole Civil Government of *Britain* adminiſter'd. The Military Government was executed by three great Officers under the *Magiſtri Militum* of the Weſt, namely the *Comes Britanniarum*, the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; the firſt of theſe having his Command in the inward and middle Parts of the Iſle, and the two latter in the Eaſtern and Northern Coaſts. The *Comes* or Count of *Britain*, was the Chief of the three, who had many Officers under him; but governing in the middle Parts of the Iſle, we do not find any particular Garriſons belonging to him, only that the Forces which ſerv'd immediately under him were 3000 Foot, and 600 Horſe. The *Comes* or Count of the *Saxon* Shore, is ſuppos'd to be an Admiral to prevent the Ravages of the *Saxons*, then very powerful, who had alſo nine maritime Garriſons under his Command, and in theſe 2200 Foot, and 200 Horſe. The *Dux* or Duke of *Britain* commanded in the North, and had fourteen Garriſons under him, conſiſting of 6000 Foot and 300 Horſe, beſides twenty three Stations for Soldiers upon and about the Northern Walls, in which were 8000 Foot and 600 Horſe. So that according to *Panicrolls* Account the whole *Roman* Force in *Britain*, after the Time of *Conſtantine* the Great, conſiſted of 19200 Foot, and 1700 Horſe. But as for the Number of the *Romans* who were fixt in the Colonies, and in other Parts of the Nation, who mixt with the *Britains* in Marriage, and became in a manner Natives of the Land, we can make no Computation.

It

It was an uſual Cuſtom among the *Romans* to place their Garriſons and their Soldiers Quarters towards the outward Bounds of their Provinces, and fix their Colonies in the more inward Parts of their Conqueſts, as well to cultivate the People, as to keep them in Subjection, for they were all Places of Strength, tho' leſs exercis'd in War than thoſe on the Frontiers; ſo we find it in *Britain*, where the Guards and Garriſons were chiefly on the Borders of *Caledonia*, and Sea-Coaſts; not but that they had alſo their fix'd and ſtanding Camps in the Fields and middle Parts of the Nation, ſuch as *Gogmagog* Hills in *Cambridgeſhire*, and ſeveral others. The *Romans* alſo, for the greater Conveniency of Paſſage from Garriſon to Garriſon, Station to Station, Colony to Colony, and from one *Municipium* or Corporation to another, had their publick High-ways, call'd the *Conſulary*, *Prætorian*, *Regal* and *Military Ways*, &c. by *Beda*, and by the Moderns *Strates*, or *Streets*. In *Britain* there were many, but four were of principal Note, namely, *Via Vetelingiana*, ſince call'd *Watling-Street*, *Via Icenorum*, or *Ikenild-Street*, *Erming-Street*, and the *Foſs-Way*; two whereof extended croſs the Breadth of the Nation, and the other through the Length of it. Theſe and other magnificent Works were perform'd by the Soldiers and People, as well to prevent the Miſchiefs ariſing from Idleneſs, as for the Conveniency of the *Romans*, but not without the hard Labour of the *Provincials*, as the *Britains* grievouſly complain'd, That their Bodies were worn out and conſum'd in clearing of Woods, and making Ways over Fens and Bogs; the Labour and Charge of which Ways may be conceiv'd from the Carriage of Gravel, Sand and Stones many Miles, where the Soil it ſelf afforded no ſuch Materials. And that there were more than theſe four fam'd High-Ways, that Part of the Itinerary which relates to *Britain*, is a ſufficient Proof, where there are deſcrib'd ſixteen ſeveral Journeys in ſeveral Traverſes and Windings in the Country, out of theſe Ways; yet it is not improbable, that whereſoever theſe Ways have appear'd, or however they have been deſcribed, they might be Branches, and terminate in the great Ways. Theſe Ways had ſeveral Immunities and Privileges, where Strangers were protected from Arreſts and other Troubles; and they had many Manſions where Travellers might reſt themſelves, Inns for Reception and Entertainment, and Mutations where they chang'd their Poſt-Horſes, Waggons, and Chariots. Theſe and other Works of the *Romans* were ſo ſtupendious, that in theſe latter Ages, they almoſt exceed the Belief of Human Performance, and have been thought impoſſible to have been done by Men. As for Edifices and Fortifications, *Beda* from *Gildas* tells us that there were in theſe Times twenty eight moſt noble Cities in *Britain*, beſides innumerable Caſtles furniſh'd and fortify'd with mighty Walls, Towers, Gates and Locks. But the Nation being now abandon'd by the *Romans*, enervated with Luxury, and exhauſted of its braveſt Youth, ſoon became a Prey to its Barbarian Neighbours, as ſhall be ſhown in the following Hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

From the Romans *first quitting their Juriſdiction of the Iſland, to the Deſtruction of* Britain, *or the forcing up of the Inhabitants into the Mountainous Places by the* Picts, Scots *and* Saxons.

Containing the Space of about 186 *Years.*

A. D. 410. I. THE *Britains* for three or four hundred Years had been in a State of Subjection, but with a Mixture of many Conveniencies and Advantages; but being now acquitted of their Allegiance, and left to their own Laws and Government, they ſoon fell into greater Inconveniencies and Miſeries than ever they found from the *Romans*. At firſt they proceeded in their Adminiſtration with ſome Vigour and Reſolution; but as People more fond of the Name of Liberty, than apprehenſive of the Difficulties of well governing, they grew heady and violent in what they underſtood not; none were more brave and daring in Council, and none ſo fearful and relenting in Action; all underſtanding the Scheme, yet all declining the Performance. Thus in a ſhort time, when the Heat of Liberty was ſpent, and the Enemy daily encreas'd, they ſoon found their own Temper returning upon them, a Slothfulneſs of Body, and a Slaviſhneſs of Mind; and then they perceiv'd that it was not a vehement Love of Freedom could protect them, but ſuch Diligence, Wiſdom and Bravery as they wanted, ſo that they ſhrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Liberty, than before under a Foreign Yoak. For being no longer able to ſupport themſelves againſt the Incurſions of the barbarous *Picts* and *Scots*, they a ſecond Time ſent mournful Letters to the Emperor *Honorius*, humbly imploring his Protection, and vowing perpetual Obedience to *Rome*, if their Enemies were once remov'd. *Honorius* being now more at Liberty than before, out of Compaſſion rather than Ambition, ſent them a Legion, who coming ſuddenly over made great Slaughter of the *Picts*, ſoon drove them beyond the Borders, and having clear'd the Frontiers, caus'd a Wall or Rampier to be built croſs the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, where *Agricola* and *Antoninus Pius* had formerly made theirs, namely between the Friths of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*, which might be a Terror to the Enemies, and a Defence to the Natives. But this Wall being caſt up with Turf only, and not very ſtrong, as ſoon as the *Romans* were departed in Triumph, the barbarous People broke it down and over-ran it, and pouring in upon the Province like a Torrent, made terrible Devaſtations, killing, burning and deſtroying whereſoever they came. The *Scots*, on the other ſide, out of their Carroughs, or Leather Veſſels, wherein they us'd to paſs the *Iriſh* Seas, landed in prodigious Swarms, and with no leſs Fury, Outrage and Cruelty, waſted all before them. So that the poor *Britains* were miſerably bandied between two inſolent and mercileſs Enemies, ſtriving which ſhould exceed the other in Spoil and Rapine.

Gildas. Beda.

The Miſeries of the Britains.

A. D. 418. *The* Romans *aſſiſt them, and return.*

Their Miſeries encreaſe.

After many Miſeries and Calamities, the *Britains* a third Time ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, after the humbleſt Manner, with their Garments rent, and Duſt on their Heads, begging, *That the Emperor would not permit ſo ancient a Province, and ſerviceable to the* Roman *State, to become a Prey and Scorn to Barbarians. Valentinian* the Third then reigning, pity'd their Misfortunes, and

Gildas. Beda.

and ſent new Forces to their Relief, which coming unexpectedly upon theſe greedy Ravagers, whoſe Minds were intent upon Spoil and Plunder, made a vaſt Slaughter among them, reſcu'd the diſtreſſed *Britains*, and clear'd the whole Province. Then partly at the publick Charges of the State, and partly by the Contributions of private Men, they built another Wall, not of Turf as the former, but of ſolid Stone, twelve Foot high, and eight in Breadth, with many Towers, croſſing the Iſle in a direct Line from Eaſt to Weſt, where *Adrian* and *Severus* had built theirs, from *Eden* to *Tine*, eighty Miles in Length, of which there are famous Remains to this Day, vulgarly call'd by the Name of *the Picts Wall*. That Part of *Britain* call'd *Valentia* was left wholly to the Enemy, and in ſeveral Parts of the Sea-Coaſts were built Towers, Forts and Block-Houſes at convenient Diſtances, to prevent all future Incurſions. Having thus ſecur'd the Nation, the *Romans* who came not to govern, but charitably to aſſiſt, let them underſtand, *That they were not to expect that they ſhould weary themſelves with any more of ſuch laborious Expeditions for their Security*; exhorting them, *for the future to ſtand up in their own Defence, and couragiouſly to maintain their Country and Liberties againſt rude and barbarous People, not more powerful than themſelves, if their own Fears had not made them ſo.* To which purpoſe they inſtructed them in the Arts of War, and left Patterns of their Arms and Weapons behind them, and after many encouraging Exhortations, and Lectures of Valour, to a diſpirited Auditory, gave them a final Farewel, with Intention never to return again. This laſt friendly Expedition of the *Romans*, which was different from thoſe in ancient Times, was under the Conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; not long before which, the *Romans* in the Iſle, finding all Things declining, bury'd a great Part of their Treaſure in the Earth, whereof much has been found, and more ſought for. They took their laſt leave of *Britain* about the Year 435, which was 488 after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar*; leaving a Province which was accounted the faireſt Flower in their Triumphant Garlands, and which ſome of the Emperors thought worthy of the Reſidence of the Imperial Throne.

The Romans *again aſſiſt them.*

and build the laſt Wall.

The Romans *intirely abandon the Iſland.*

Beda. Gildas.

II. The *Romans* having utterly abandon'd the Iſle, the *Scots* and *Picts* with greater Confidence than ever, like Flies and Vermin in the Heat of Summer, in prodigious Swarms iſſu'd out of their narrow Holes and Caves, and immediately ſeiz'd on all the Country as far as the Wall, and without Reſiſtance took Poſſeſſion of it. In the mean Time, the Guards on the Wall, like idle Spectators with cowardly Hearts ſtood trembling upon the Battlements, as tho' they were plac'd there rather to view their Loſſes than revenge them. Thus ſtanding Day and Night with Weapons in their Hands, they tamely ſuffer'd the half-naked *Picts* from below with their Engines and long Hooks to pluck them down headlong, and daſh them againſt the Ground. So that in a ſhort Time, the Wall and Frontier Towns being deſerted, the Inhabitants betook themſelves to Flight, which yet could not long ſecure them, for the Barbarians purſuing them, a freſh Slaughter immediately follow'd more bloody than the former; and what ſtill added to their Misfortunes, being tormented with Famine, to get Subſiſtance they were conſtrain'd to rob and pillage each other; for thoſe who had fled from the Enemy in the North, being unable to pay for their Quarters in the Southern Parts, ſeiz'd on what they could find. From whence aroſe new Miſchiefs and Diſcords among themſelves, and thence Civil Wars; for this Nation, as *Gildas* obſerves, tho' feeble in repelling foreign Enemies, yet in Domeſtick Conteſts were very hardy and obſtinate. And now whilſt they wore themſelves out with continual Acts of Hoſtility, the Famine became general, and rag'd to that degree, that thoſe half-ſtarv'd People that remain'd were forced to maintain their Lives by Hunting, and ſuch like Prey as the wild Foreſts would afford. In the Time of theſe great Troubles and Calamities in the State, there happen'd new Diviſions in the Church, by means of *Agricola*, Diſciple to

A. D. 435. *The* Picts *and* Scots *invade the* Britains.

The Nation in great Diſtreſs.

The Church diſturbed with Pelagianiſm.

Pelagius a Monk, ſometime of *Bangor* in *Flintſhire*, who propagated his Hereſie here to the great Diſturbance of the weak *Chriſtians*, who not being able to withſtand his Errors, call'd in to their Aſſiſtance *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Biſhop of *Tryes* in *Gaul*. Theſe two coming into *Britain*, by aſſiduous Preaching in Churches, Fields and Streets, and as ſome write by working of Miracles, confirm'd many in the Faith, regain'd many more, and laſtly in publick Diſputation at *Verulam* confuted the Chief of the Hereticks.

A. D. 446. *Gildas. Beda.*

And now the miſerable Remains of the *Britains* being harraſs'd by their Enemies, and afflicted with all ſorts of Calamities, addreſs'd themſelves by doleful Letters to the renown'd *Ætius*, the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Gaul*, who had by ſeveral famous Succeſſes, for a Time, repell'd the Violence of the *Gothick* Arms. They began in theſe Words, *To* Ætius, *thrice Conſul*; *The Groans of the* Britains. After which, they thus complain'd: *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the Choice of theſe two Deaths, either to be ſlaughter'd by one, or drown'd by the other.* And the more to move Compaſſion they further urg'd, *We the poor Remnant of the* Britains, *and your Vaſſals, beſides the Enemy, are puniſh'd by Famine and Mortality, which at this time violently rage in our Land.* Withal they us'd ſeveral Arguments to engage him to come over, particularly, *That it was the* Romans *Occaſions, not their own, that had reduc'd them to theſe Extremities; ſince the Strength of the* Britiſh *Youth had been exhauſted in their Service, and the Land left defenceleſs to ſupport the Grandure of the Empire. And beſides the Loſs of their Men, their Wealth had been conſum'd in maintaining ſo many Legions in foreign Service, and their Corn ſpent in ſupplying the* Roman *Provinces abroad.* They receiv'd no Anſwer to theſe urgent Petitions, for the Empire being grievouſly infeſted with *Huns*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, was not in any Condition to afford them Relief; inſomuch that weary'd out with continual Complaints, and the Famine daily encreaſing amongſt them, like Men in a deſperate Condition, to get Suſtenance, ſome yielded themſelves to the Diſpoſal of the Enemy, whilſt others more hardy and reſolute, ſupported themſelves with what the Woods and Foreſts would afford, and oftentimes as their Neceſſities urg'd, or Advantage united them, would make Sallies upon their Enemies, and that with good Succeſs; led on, as may be conceiv'd, by ſome worthy Commander, who adviſ'd them not to confide in their own Power, but in the Divine Aſſiſtance.

The Britains *write doleful Letters to* Ætius, *in vain.*

Their Miſeries encreaſe.

Their Enemies give them ſome Eaſe.

The *Scots* and *Picts* finding ſuch ſtout Reſiſtance where they leaſt expected it, for a while retir'd home, the former into *Ireland*, and the latter to their new Habitations about the Wall, and excepting a few Inroads about the Borders, were not very burdenſom; ſo that the *Britains*, eas'd from their cruel Enemies, began again to cultivate the Land, which after a long Diſcontinuance, yielded ſuch a vaſt Increaſe, as in no Age had been remember'd. But the Miſchiefs of Famine being cured, others more virulent broke out, as Riot, Luxury and Wantonneſs, the uſual Attendants of Plenty and Opulence, and with them all the Vices incident to human Nature. But what *Gildas* ſays principally conduc'd to the Corrupting of Affairs, and the Subverſion of all Piety in the Land, was the Hatred of Truth, and the Maintainers of it, the Love of Lies, and the Forgers of them. Evil was call'd good, and Good evil; to be lewd was honourable, to be virtuous diſgraceful; being blind themſelves, they became Haters of the Light; and the Meaſures of their Actions were what was moſt pleaſing to themſelves. All Things were tranſacted directly contrary to the publick Welfare and Safety, not only of the Laity, but alſo the Clergy; and thoſe who ſhould have been Examples of Virtue, often prov'd the Ring-leaders of Vice. Many of them were Lovers of Wine and Drunkenneſs, wallowing in which Sea they became ſtupid and inſenſible; others ſwell'd with Pride became envious and litigious, indiſcreet and incompetent Judges of what in the common Practice of Life was good or evil, lawful or unlawful. Thus wretchedly qua-

Gildas.

They become ſhamefully immoral.

lify'd

lify'd both Prieſts and People, they reſolv'd to chuſe ſeveral Kings of their own; but, as *Gildas* proceeds in his mournful Story, Kings were anointed not according to Divine Approbation, but by the Voices and Suffrages of ſuch as were more cruel than others, and again as ſuddenly depos'd and murder'd by their Electors, in order to ſet up others more fierce and tyrannical: But if any of their Princes appear'd milder, and more inclinable to good Counſel, the Hatred of all Men was levell'd againſt him, as the Subverter of his Country. *They chuſe ſeveral Kings.*

Beda. Gildas. Thus Affairs proceeded in the State, and no leſs Commotions enſu'd in the Church; for *Pelagianiſm* ſpreading again in the Country, the *Britiſh* Clergy, unable to withſtand it, a ſecond Time begg'd the Aſſiſtance of *Germanus* out of *Gaul*. He with *Severus*, a Diſciple of his former Aſſociate *Lupus*, coming into the Iſland, and finding that the Generality was not infected with the Hereſie, would not ſtand to diſpute as formerly, but finding the Heads and Teachers of this new Doctrine, adjudg'd them to Exile; who being by the ſecular Power deliver'd over to him, were convey'd beyond Sea, where he diſpos'd of them in ſuch Places as they could neither infeſt others, nor conſult with their Teachers to confirm themſelves. This *Germanus* is ſaid to have ſucceſsfully aſſiſted the *Britains* againſt their Enemies, and to have obtain'd an extraordinary Victory. But however, ſoon after his Departure, the *Britains* receiv'd News that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with greater Preparations than ever, that they threaten'd the Deſtruction of the whole Land, deſigning to plant themſelves from one End to the other. But before their Arrival, as if the Inſtruments of Divine Vengeance were contending which ſhould firſt deſtroy a wicked Nation, the Reſidue that had been left by the Sword and Famine, were now almoſt ſwept away by a dreadful Peſtilence, inſomuch that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead. But for the preſent, as one Evil drives off another, the deſtroying Plague preſerv'd the Land from the more barbarous Invaders, who dreading the Contagion durſt not engage too far in the Inland Countries; but as ſoon as the Infection ceas'd, the Enemy ſoon advanc'd with mercileſs Fury, and enter'd as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*. Pelagianiſm *extirpated from the Iſland*

The Picts *and* Scots *afreſh invade the Land.*

Ibid. *Vortigern* was then chief King of the *Britains*, a haughty and inſolent Prince, neither wiſe in Counſel, nor experienc'd in War, yet doted on by the People, for his Vices ſo agreeable to their own; heedleſs of the common Danger, and eſteeming the publick Treaſury as a Fund only to ſatisfie his Luſts and Extravagancies. But being awaken'd with the Clamours of the People, he ſummon'd a grand Council, to provide againſt the frequent Incurſions of the Enemy; where all being in a manner infatuated, they agreed upon ſuch a Defence as afterwards prov'd the Deſtruction of their Country, which was that the Heathen *Saxons*, then hateful to God and Man, whom abſent they dreaded like Death it ſelf, ſhould be ſent for to repel the Northern Nations; which ſeems to have been ordain'd by Divine Providence, to take a full Vengeance on an impious Nation. At preſent the Expedient ſeem'd ſpecious, to moſt Men, becauſe the *Saxons* were then a powerful Nation, and terrible to all others; and Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatcht into *Germany*, repreſenting the *Britains* Requeſts to the *Saxons*, and promiſing them very advantagious Conditions, if they would come over to their Aſſiſtance. The *Saxons* were highly pleas'd with the Propoſal, and their Country being then over-charg'd with People, they immediately yielded to their Requeſt; and being as is ſaid choſen out by Lot, were put on board three long Ships or Veſſels, call'd in their Language *Chiules*, under the Conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two Brothers, deſcended from that ancient *Woden*, from whom all the Royal Family of the *Saxons* derive their Pedigree. Theſe Leaders, with about fifteen hundred Followers, arriving in *Britain*, were welcom'd with great Applauſes both from the Prince and People, and had the Iſle of *Thanet*, where they landed, allow'd them for their Habitation; and a League was immediately made with them, where the one Part ſtipulated to defend the *Britains* Country, the other that beſides their Place

The Britains *under* Vortigern *agree to invite the* Saxons *over.*

The Saxons *arrive under the Conduct of* Hengiſt *and* Horſa.

Place of Abode, they ſhould receive ſufficient Pay and Rewards for their Services done them. By this means a new and great Change happen'd in *Britain*, which now began in the Year 449, and twenty fourth of *Pharamond* the firſt King of *France*, which was 39 Years after the *Romans* firſt quitted the *Britains*, and 14 after they had totally abandon'd the Iſle.

A. D. 449. III. And now a new Race of People began to inhabit this Iſland, call'd *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous Nation, one Branch of thoſe *Gothick* Multitudes, which ſwarming from the Northern Hive, had under the Conduct of *Woden* poſſeſs'd themſelves of all thoſe vaſt Tracts that ſurround the *Baltick* Sea. Theſe inhabited, or rather committed Piracies from all the Sea-Coaſts of *Germany*, between the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, and alſo upon the Coaſts of the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſe*, ſince call'd *Denmark*, and had the Name of *Saxons* from the *Gothick* or *Punick* Word *Seax*, which ſignifies a Falchion, or ſhort hook'd Sword, or long Knife, which they wore as their uſual Weapons. At firſt they came over in ſmall Numbers under *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, and joining with the *Britains*, prov'd very ſerviceable to them, in overthrowing the Forces of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that had made an Irruption into the Nation as far as *Stamford*. But in a ſhort Time, finding the Iſland to be rich and fruitful, and the Inhabitants enervated with Vice and Luxury, they ſent home to invite greater Numbers to be Sharers of their future Succeſs and Expectations. Thoſe glad of the Opportunity, readily comply'd with the Invitation, and in ſeventeen freſh Veſſels, there came great Numbers of People of three Nations in *Germany*, namely *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*, which with thoſe who were here before, made up a compleat Army. Theſe two latter People are ſuppos'd to be Branches of the *Saxons*, both inhabiting the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſe*, from whom we have ſtill the Names of *Juteland* and *Anglen*; the former being call'd *Jutes* from the Word *Goth*, and the latter *Angles* from the Word *Angulus* a Corner, as ſome conjecture, tho' of the laſt there is not much Probability.

Beda, &c.

More Saxons come over with Jutes and Angles.

Theſe laſt Supplies, according to *Nennius*, brought over with them *Rowena*, Daughter of *Hengiſt*, a Lady of admirable Beauty, who ſerving *Vortigern* with Wine at a ſplendid Entertainment *Hengiſt* had made for him, the *Britiſh* King was ſo captivated by her Charms, that he immediately offer'd to make her his Wife. *Hengiſt* with a ſubtle Modeſty declin'd what he moſt deſir'd, alledging it was too great an Honour; but finding the King urgent, and that he was willing to reward him with a conſiderable Share of his Dominions, after a private Conſultation, he gave him his Daughter, and receiv'd all *Kent* for a Gratuity, which before had been well govern'd by one *Gorvagus*. *Vortigern* was ſo enamour'd with his new Bride, that he not only divorc'd his former Wife, by whom he had ſeveral worthy Sons, but alſo ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſo prevail'd upon by his Father-in-Law, as to ſend for more *Saxons* into the Northern Parts, under *Octa* and *Ebuſa*, Son and Nephew to *Hengiſt*, upon the ſpecious Notion of ſecuring thoſe Parts, as *Hengiſt* did the Southern. Accordingly with forty Veſſels they coaſted about *Britain*, and arriving at the *Orcades*, ſuppreſs'd both the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in that Part of the Iſland afterwards call'd *Northumberland*, ſeated themſelves, tho' without any Title or Name of Regality 'till near a hundred Years after, when *Ida* erected the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. *Hengiſt* ſtill made the beſt uſe of the King's Imprudence, and by degrees ſent for more Men and Ships, 'till at length the Countries from whence they came were almoſt left without Inhabitants; and now being ſufficienly encreas'd in Number and Power, they wholly planted the Country of *Kent* with *Jutes*, as alſo they did ſome others with *Saxons* and *Angles*.

Nennius, &c.

Vortigern gives Kent to Hengiſt.

and the Northern Parts to Octa and Ebuſa.

The Confluence of ſuch numerous Troops into the Iſle ſoon became a Terror to thoſe who invited them over, and now began to find Occaſions of Quarrels with their Entertainers; and firſt they demanded larger Allowances of Corn and Proviſions, declaring, *if they were not ſupply'd, they would break the League,*

Gildas. Beda.

League, and waſte the whole Country. The *Britains* civilly refuſing their Demands, deſir'd them to return home, ſince their Numbers were encreas'd beyond what they were able to maintain. Whereupon the *Saxon* Commanders, reſolving to proceed to the Extremity, ſecretly made a Peace with the *Picts*, and ſuddenly turn'd their Arms againſt their Allies, waſting the Country with Fire and Sword, from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Sea, after a barbarous and unheard of Manner: The Stately Buildings, as well publick as private, were demoliſhed; the *Chriſtian* Prieſts were commonly ſlain at the very Altars, and the Biſhops maſſacred without Reſpect, together with great Numbers of People, ſo that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead. Whilſt ſome of the miſerable Remains of the *Britains*, being taken among the Mountains, were ſlain in Heaps; others pinch'd by the Extremity of Famine, yielded themſelves to their Enemies, exchanging their Liberties for their Subſiſtance; others were conſtrain'd to ſeek for Refuge among foreign Nations, particularly among their Country-men in *Armorica*; but ſuch as remain'd at home, living in perpetual Fears, led a moſt hard and miſerable Life among the Woods and Mountains.

The Saxons *turn againſt the* Britains, *and make a miſerable Deſtruction of them.*

Nennius. &c. In the midſt of theſe Times of Confuſion and Deſolation, the *Britiſh* Writers tell us that *Vortimer*, the Son of *Vortigern*, a brave and valiant Youth, undertook to fight for his diſtreſſed Country, and that with great Succeſs. He thrice ſtraiten'd and beſieg'd the *Saxons* in the Iſle of *Thanet*; and when by reaſon of freſh Supplies from *Saxony*, they broke through and eſcap'd the Danger, he fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are ſpecify'd by Place and Circumſtance: The firſt on the River *Darwent* in *Kent*, the ſecond at *Epiſford*, wherein *Horſa* the Brother of *Hengiſt*, fell together with *Katigern*, the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third was in a Field by *Stonar*, now *Folkſtone* in *Kent*; where the *Britains* beat the *Saxons* into their Ships with ſuch Execution and Conſternation, that they ventur'd no more to land for the full ſpace of five Years. This might ſeem wholly incredible, but that *Gildas* tells us how, after ſuch vaſt Miſchiefs and Devaſtations, the *Saxons* retir'd, and as ſome ſuppoſe return'd home, notwithſtanding the ſeeming Eaſineſs of the Conqueſt. After five Years Abſence, they will have *Vortimer* to have dy'd, who deſir'd the People, that he might be bury'd in the Port of *Stonar*, being perſuaded that the ſecret Virtue of his Bones would keep off the *Saxons* from Landing near that Place; but they neglecting his Commands, bury'd him at *Lincoln*. The Tranſactions of theſe dark Times are uncertainly and variouſly related; but moſt agree that after the Death of *Vortimer*, in the Year 457, *Hengiſt* and his Son *Eſk* fought againſt the *Britains* in a Place call'd *Crecanford*; and overthrowing them with the Loſs of four thouſand Men, the *Britains* deſerted *Kent*, and fled to *London* in a great Conſternation. From which Victory, they generally date the Beginning of the *Kingdom* of *Kent* under *Hengiſt*, who began it about eight Years after his firſt Arrival in the Iſle, and reign'd thirty one Years after. But *Vortigern* ſtill maintaining the War againſt the *Saxons*, they took Counſel how they might intrap him and his Army, and accordingly ſent Ambaſſadors to him to offer a Peace, and to deſire that their former Amity might be renew'd. *Vortigern* too raſhly conſented to have an Enterview without Arms, and to meet as at an Entertainment. But the treacherous *Hengiſt* commanded all his Followers to have their Daggers or Seaxes in readineſs under their Garments, and that when he gave the Word *Pull out your Seaxes*, they ſhould then ſet upon the *Britains* and kill them, only they ſhould ſpare the King, and make him a Priſoner. And thus having met according to Agreement at a publick Feaſt, at firſt they convers'd after a friendly manner, 'till being heated with Wine, they proceeded to harder Expreſſions; when *Hengiſt* ſuddenly giving the Word, the *Saxons* roſe up and immediately diſpatch'd three hundred of the *Britiſh* Nobility. *Vortigern* alone being taken alive, and put in Chains, was conſtrain'd for his Ranſom to ſurrender to the *Saxons* all thoſe Countries which afterwards were call'd *Eſſex*, *Middleſex* and *Suſſex*; which ſtrengthen'd *Hengiſt*

Vortimer *drives the* Saxons *back.*

His Death.

The Saxons *return*

The firſt Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. KENT.

Vortigern *treacherouſly made Priſoner.*

giſt and confirm'd him in his new Kingdom of *Kent*, and gave the *Saxons* ſuch Footing in the Iſle, that they never after could be repell'd by the *Britains*.

A. D. 457. IV. From this Time forwards, there never wanted a *Saxon* Monarch in this Iſle for many ſucceeding Centuries; yet the *Britains*, tho' weaken'd by all Kinds of Calamities, had ſeveral noble Struggles, and memorable Conteſts, before they were utterly driven from their Habitations. Having loſt the Flower of their Nation by this laſt and other Misfortunes, they began to reflect upon their vicious Courſes, and to betake themſelves to the Divine Aſſiſtance. And they were further encourag'd by ſome Retreat of the *Saxons*, and by the great Hopes conceiv'd of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who being deſcended of *Roman* Anceſtors, and ſuch as had born Regal Dignity in the Iſland, had with great Applauſe ſucceeded *Vortigern*; firſt as General, and afterwards as King. Under the Conduct of this eminent Man, the *Britains* in a ſhort Time obtain'd a great Victory over the *Saxons*, as *Gildas* aſſures us, tho' he names not the Place. After this Victory, as others report, *Ambroſius* call'd the Princes and Nobility together at *York*, and gave Order for the repairing the Churches, which the *Saxons* had deſtroy'd; and that after due Care taken in other Places, he march'd to *London*, and then to *Wincheſter* and *Salisbury*, in all Places endeavouring to reſtore the declining State of the Church and Kingdom. He fill'd up the vacant Metropolitan Sees of *York* and *Caer-leon*, with two worthy Biſhops call'd *Samptſon* and *Dubricius*; and is ſuppos'd by ſome to have erected thoſe famous Piles of Stones in *Salisbury* Plain call'd *Stonehenge*, in honour of thoſe three hundred Noblemen maſſacred by *Hengiſt*. But of this, and many other Actions of *Ambroſius*, there is great Difference and Uncertainty.

Gild. &c.

Aurelius Ambroſius *relieves the* Britains.

A. D. 465. After the *Britains* had ſome little Reſpite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil Diſſentions among themſelves; and we are told that one of *Vortigern*'s Sons nam'd *Paſcentius*, rais'd a Rebellion in the North againſt *Ambroſius*, but was overcome by him, and put to flight; but what happen'd to the Father is uncertain, nor can the *Britiſh* Writers agree either about the Time or the Manner of his Death. After eight Years Intermiſſion, we find that *Hengiſt* and his Son *Esk* again engag'd the *Britains* in Battel, worſted them, and took a great Booty; which Succeſs gave Occaſion to new Bodies of *Saxons* to come over under the Conduct of *Ella* and his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing* and *Ciſſa*. Theſe arriving in three Ships, landed at a Place call'd *Cymen-ſhore* in *Suſſex*, whereupon the Inhabitants in a great Conſternation, gather'd together in vaſt Multitudes to oppoſe them. The *Saxons* being tall of Stature, ſtrong and vigorous, receiv'd them ſharply who came tumultuouſly upon them; and notwithſtanding their great Numbers, put them to flight with ſuch a Slaughter as might be expected from ſo unequal an Ingagement, and drove them into a Wood, which the *Saxon* Chronicle calls *Andredes Leage*. They ſeiz'd upon all the Maritime Parts of *Suſſex*, and ſtill enlarg'd their Territories 'till the ninth Year after their Arrival, when the *Britains* found themſelves ſo nearly concern'd, that they united their Forces and bravely engag'd them near a Place call'd *Mearcredes* or *Burnamſtede*. This Victory remain'd doubtful, both Parties drawing off with great Loſs, which caus'd *Ella* to ſend for freſh Supplies out of his own Country, according to *H.* of *Huntington*. Not long after, *Hengiſt* King of *Kent* dy'd, in the Year 488, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Esk*, who reign'd twenty four Years, without endeavouring to enlarge his Dominions. In the mean Time *Ella* having encreas'd his Forces, proceeded with Succeſs againſt the *Britains*, and at length having laid Siege to a little City call'd *Andredes Ceaſter*, he took it, and us'd his Conqueſt with ſuch Severity that not one Perſon eſcap'd the Sword. Thus *Ella*, three Years after the Death of *Hengiſt*, began the ſecond Kingdom in the Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, now *Holſtein* in *Denmark*, and beſides had at his Command all thoſe Provinces, which

Sax. An. Hunting. &c.

More Saxons *arrive in the South under the Conduct of* Ella.

The ſecond Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain.

SOUTH-SAXONS.

which the *Saxons* had won on this ſide the River *Humber*. This Kingdom conſiſted of thoſe Parts of the Iſle afterwards call'd *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, and was began in the Year 491, about 34 Years after the Beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent*.

Sax. An. &c. *Britain* being now the Field of Fortune, new Adventurers came daily from *Germany*; particularly Count *Cerdick*, the tenth in Lineage from *Woden*, an experienc'd Soldier, who with his Son *Cenrick*, and ſo many Men as he could tranſport in five Veſſels, landed at a Place which from him was call'd *Cerdick*'s *Shore*. Upon the firſt Appearance of their Veſſels, the Inhabitants ſtood upon their Guard, and vigorouſly oppos'd their Landing; but the *Saxons* ſtill advanced, and maintain'd their Ground, 'till at length, the *Britains* in vain reſiſting, *Cerdick* and his Son got Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Countries upon the Sea-Coaſts, tho' not without divers Battels. About ſix Years after, one *Porta*, with his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla*, with two Veſſels arriv'd at a Place which from him is ſtill call'd *Portſmouth*; and without much Difficulty repelling ſuch as unadviſedly oppos'd them, and having ſlain a young *Britiſh* Prince, carved for himſelf and his Followers another Share out of the Country. Yet ſtill the Succeſſes of *Cerdick* made the *Britains* moſt apprehenſive, therefore ſeven Years after the Arrival of *Porta*, they united their Forces under the Conduct of *Nazaleod*, one of the greateſt of the *Britiſh* Kings, who is ſuppos'd to have ſucceeded *Ambroſius*, and to be the ſame with *Uther Pendragon*. *Cerdick* being ſenſible of his great Power, was oblig'd to ſend for Aſſiſtance to *Esk* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of the South-*Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his Sons; which done, he divided his Army into two Bodies or Wings, whereof he led the Right himſelf, and committed the Left to the Conduct of his Son *Cenrick*. King *Nazaleod*, perceiving the Right to be the ſtronger of the two, turn'd his whole Strength againſt it with ſo much Fury and Execution, that after a great Slaughter he put *Cerdick* to flight; but purſuing with more Heat than Caution, the Left Wing commanded by *Cenrick* took the Advantage, and falling on his Rear renew'd the Battel with ſo much Vigour, that he recover'd all, ſlew *Nazaleod* on the Spot, with five thouſand of his Soldiers. From which Time, the *Saxons* remain'd unmoleſted for a conſiderable Space.

More Saxons arrive under Cerdick. A. D. 495.

and under Porta

Nazaleod *ſucceeds* Ambroſius *in* Britain.

His Death.

After an Interregnum of about ſix Years *Nazaleod* or *Uther* was ſucceeded by the famous *Arthur*, ſuppos'd to be his Son, and reported to have been the moſt renowned Champion of the *Britiſh* Nation. So many fabulous and Romantick Things have been related of this Prince, that ſeveral have doubted whether there ever was ſuch a Perſon. But yet the Generality of Writers agree that there was ſuch a Man, and that he made a powerful Reſiſtance againſt the *Pagan Saxons*; but whether he was King of the *Britains* in General, or only King of *Cornwall*, is uncertain. *Nennius*, who liv'd about three hundred Years after him, aſſures us that he overthrew the *Saxons* in no leſs than twelve Battels: The firſt was fought near the Mouth of a certain River call'd *Glenn*; the ſecond, third, fourth and fifth, near another River call'd *Dug* or *Duc*; the ſixth at a River's ſide call'd *Baſſus*; the ſeventh in the Wood of *Chelidon*, which in *Britiſh* had the Name of *Cattoit Celidon*; the eighth near the Caſtle of *Suinnion*; the ninth in the City of *Lergis*, in *Britiſh* call'd *Caer-leon*; the the tenth near a River call'd *Arderick*; the eleventh upon the Hill *Brenoin*; and the twelfth on the Hill of *Baden*, near *Bath*. The reſt of the Acts of King *Arthur* are ſo improbable, that they are not worth the mentioning; nor are we certain how far the others are true. However we are told from *Higden* with great Probability, That King *Cerdick* fighting often with *Arthur*, tho' he was overcome, yet ſtill he came on again with new Forces; 'till *Arthur* being wearied out, at length gave him up *Hampſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, which Countries he then call'd *Weſt-Sexa*. Whatever Oppoſition was made by *Arthur*, *Cerdick* at length prevail'd, and having got the Aſſiſtance of his Nephews *Stufe* and *Withgar*, who came over with three Ships, he gain'd ſeveral Advantages over

A. D. 514. Arthur *ſucceeds him.*

He gains twelve Battels over the Saxons.

The third Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. WEST-SAXONS.

the *Britains*, and after he had been twenty four Years in the Isle, he took upon him the Title of King, and founded the third Kingdom in the Nation, call'd the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*. This Kingdom contain'd all the Countries of *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Barkshire*, to which afterwards was added *Cornwall*. It was founded in the Year 519, about sixty one Years after the *Saxons* first Arrival in the Nation; and the Time of this Kingdom's Beginning is more observable, because at last it conquer'd all the other *Saxon* Kingdoms, and so obtain'd the sole Command of all *England*.

A. D. 519.

V. The *Britains* were now reduc'd to a smaller Compass of Land, yet still they wanted not Courage to oppose the common Enemy; and in the Year after *Cerdick* was made King, they fought a memorable Battel at *Badon* Hill, or *Banesdown* near *Bath*, where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in and entirely routed. This Battel is mention'd by *Gildas*, and is suppos'd to be the last of the twelve fought by King *Arthur*; which gave the *Saxons* such a Blow, that the *Britains* enjoy'd a long Peace after it. Yet still the *Saxons* daily encreasing in Numbers, continu'd to make new Incroachments, and in seven Years time founded a fourth Kingdom in *Britain*, call'd the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*, consisting of the two Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, with Part of *Hartfordshire*. It was begun in the Year 527, by *Erchenwin* the Son of *Osfa*, who seems to have been the only Prince who is deriv'd from one *Saxnat*, and not from *Woden*; tho' of this Prince they tell us nothing, except his Name and Pedigree, relating neither the Number of his Forces, the Place of his Landing, nor so much as the least Encounter he had with the *Britains*. This Kingdom being at first tributary to that of *Kent*, and afterwards to that of the *Mercians*, never came to be very considerable, tho' it had *London*, the Metropolis of *England*, under its Dominions. Nor did the Kingdom of the South-*Saxons* bear any great Sway after the Death of its first King *Ella*; but grew weaker and weaker 'till it became subject to other Kingdoms.

Gildas. Sax. An.

The fourth Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. EAST-SAXONS.

The *Britains* had now Peace with their incroaching Neighbours; and we hear but little concerning them, but only about fifteen Years after the founding of the East-*Saxon* Kingdom, in the Year 542, the great King *Arthur* dy'd, and is suppos'd to have been succeeded by *Constantine*. About five Years after which, *Ida* the *Saxon*, sprung also from *Woden* in the tenth Descent, founded the fifth Kingdom in this Isle, call'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, as consisting of that Part of the *British* Province that was North of the River *Humber*. The *Saxons* had been fix'd in those Parts about ninety Years before, under *Octa* and *Ebusa*, upon a Pretence of warring against the *Picts*; and tho' they were so far distant from *Kent*, and not without sufficient Power, yet they kept themselves within Moderation, and as inferior Governors, they and their Progeny paid Obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family: 'Till at length, following the Example of the Age, when no less than Kingdoms were the Prize of every fortunate Commander, they resolv'd to assume the Regal Title. Of whom *Ida* was the first, a Man who had a numerous Issue, and whose Virtues render'd him no less noble than his Birth; in War invincible, and in Peace continually tempering the Awe of Majesty, with his natural Affability. This prov'd a powerful Kingdom, and consisted of all *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edinburgh* Frith. Within twelve Years Time, this Kingdom was divided into two Parts, one call'd *Bernicia*, and the other *Deira*.

Sax. An. &c.

King Arthur *dies:* Constantine *succeeds.*

A. D. 547.

The fifth Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 561.

Shortly after this Division, *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*, who was the fifth King of that Country, and the first who rais'd Civil Wars and Disturbances among the *Saxons* themselves. At his first Entrance he was young and ambitious, and claim'd from the Priority of Time in which *Hengist* erected his Kingdom, a Kind of a Right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon gave great Disturbances

The first Civil Wars among the Saxons.

ſturbances to his neighbouring Princes. But he was twice defeated by them, ſo that he who at firſt was formidable, in a ſhort time became in a manner deſpicable; and *Keaulin* King of the Weſt-*Saxons* purſu'd him into his own Territories, and at *Wibbandum* flew *Oſlac* and *Cnebba*, two of his chief Commanders.

Gildas. By means of theſe Civil Conteſts, but chiefly by the laſt Victory at *Badon*-Hill, the *Britains* for the Space of fifty Years receiv'd no conſiderable Annoyance from the *Saxons*; but this long Peace they enjoy'd, by the Abuſe of Heaven's Favours, prov'd more deſtructive to them than War. For being ſuddenly rais'd from a miſerable State of Slavery, by two ſignal Succeſſes under *Ambroſius* and *Arthur*, they were taught by the Experience of either Fortune, to live in a reaſonable Decency and Order: But when the next Age, forgetting paſt Misfortunes, and only ſenſible of preſent Eaſe, ſucceeded, immediately there follow'd an apparent Subverſion of all Truth and Juſtice in the Minds of moſt Men; which in a ſhort Space became not only manifeſt, but odious to all the neighbouring Nations. Scarce the leaſt Footſtep or Impreſſion of Goodneſs was left remaining among all the Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in ſo ſmall a Number, as to be hardly viſible in a general Corruption. Their Kings and Magiſtrates were guilty of all Kinds of tyrannous and oppreſſive Actions, and the Clergy had ſtain'd themſelves by all manner of Vices and Corruptions, being rather more ſcandalous than when firſt the *Saxons* enter'd. This in a Word was the State of Government and Religion among the *Britains*, in that long Calm of Peace which *Badon*-Hill had produc'd; by which means the Fruits of that Victory were of no Advantage; Cities and Towns were not inhabited as formerly, but lay in a State of Ruin and Deſolation; nor was it long before Civil Wars breaking out, brought all Things into the moſt miſerable Condition. For *Britain*, as at other Times, had then ſeveral Kings; five of whom, *Gildas* then in *Armorica*, boldly reproves by Name. Firſt *Conſtantine*, who reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, a tyrannical and bloody Prince, polluted alſo with many Adulteries. In another Part, but not mention'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King, whom he charges with Adulteries and Parricide, and Cruelties worſe than the former. The third reigning in *Demetia* or *South-Wales*, was *Vortipore*, a Man old not only in Years, but in Adulteries, and in Governing full of Falſhood and barbarous Actions. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, ſuppos'd to be King of the Northern or *Cimbrian Britains*, a great Enemy to the Clergy, high minded, and truſting wholly to his Riches. The laſt but greateſt of all in Power was *Maglocune*, and greateſt alſo in Impiety, who had expell'd or ſlain many other Kings or Tyrants, and was call'd the *Iſland Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Angleſey*; a profuſe Giver, a great Warrior, and of a remarkable Stature. This is the Subſtance of what we can learn of all that paſs'd among the *Britains* from the Time of their uſeleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the Time that *Gildas* wrot his Account, namely from the Year 520, to 571.

The horrid Corruptions of the Britains, *and of their Kings.*

Sax. An. &c. Not long after began the ſixth Kingdom in this Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, conſiſting of thoſe Parts, ſince call'd *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, with the Iſle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Uſfa*, the eighth from *Woden*, tho' it ſeems there were before him divers other petty Princes in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; but *Uſfa* in Strength and Policy over-pow'ring thoſe Princes, made himſelf ſole King, and govern'd with that Reputation, that *H. Huntington* tells us, the Kings deſcended from him were call'd *Uſfings*; and the Subjects of this Kingdom are the more remarkable, becauſe they afterwards gave Name to the whole Kingdom of *England*. And now the *Saxons*, who for a long Space had been out of Action, unleſs among themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault the *Britains*, and in a few Years Time drove them out of all they yet held on this Side of *Wales*. For *Cuthwulf*, the Brother of *Keaulin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford* or *Bedford*, took from them

A. D. 575. *The ſixth* Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. EAST-ANGLES.

The Britains *decline.*

them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, now *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*, *Egleſburgh*, now *Ailesbury* in *Bucks*, with *Bennington* and *Igneſham*, now *Benſon* and *Eveſham* in *Oxfordſhire*. And after ſix Years more, *Keaulin* and his Son *Cuthwin* gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorham* in *Gloceſterſhire*, ſlew three of their Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmaile*, and took three of their chief Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter* and *Badenceſter*, or *Bath*. The *Britains* notwithſtanding, after ſome Space of Time, thinking to have outgrown their Loſſes, gather'd together and engag'd *Keaulin* and his Son *Cutha*, at *Fethamleage*, in which Battel *Cutha* was ſlain, and the *Saxons* oblig'd to retire; but *Keaulin* renewing the Fight, at length routed the *Britains*, and purſuing his Advantage, took many Towns, and return'd richly laden with Booty.

A. D. 585. *The ſeventh Saxon Kingdom in* Britain. MERCIA.

The laſt of thoſe *Saxons* who rais'd their own Atchievments to a Monarchy was *Crida*, who about this Time founded the ſeventh Kingdom in this Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of *Mercia*; which tho' it was laſt erected, yet was one of the largeſt of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kingdoms, and alſo one of the laſt that was conquer'd by the *Weſt-Saxons*. It conſiſted of all the middle Parts of the Nation, which now compoſe ſeventeen Counties, namely, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutland*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire* and *Cheſhire*, beſides Part of *Hartfordſhire*. And now the *Britains* were more preſs'd and confin'd than ever; yet before they quitted all on this Side of the Mountains, they ſhew'd ſome Remainders of their ancient Valour: For meeting with *Keaulin* at a Place call'd *Woden's Mount* in *Wiltſhire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or aſſiſted by ſome of the *Angles*, whoſe Hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they deſtroy'd his Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, who flying from thence, dy'd the next Year in great Poverty, tho' but lately he had been moſt potent and indeed ſole Monarch of all the *Saxons* on this ſide the River *Humber*. This Victory prov'd of little Advantage to the *Britains*; for in a very few Years, the miſerable Inhabitants, partly by the *Picts* and *Scots*, but principally by the *Saxons*, were gradually forc'd out of their ancient Seats, and ſuch as fled not beyond the Seas were driven to the craggy and mountainous Places in the Weſt of the Iſland, now call'd *Wales*, naturally fenc'd with Hills, and the Inlets of the Sea, whither their ravenous Enemies could not eaſily follow them. Some were driven into that Part call'd *Cornwall*, and others fled to their Countrymen in *Armorica*; the poor Remains that were ſcatter'd among the *Saxons*, were in effect made Slaves by them, and kept to the moſt ſervile Offices; from whom began Villenage in *England*, which laſted to the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh.

Sax. An. &c.

A. D. 591.

The Britains *driven out of their Habitations into* Wales, *and other Parts*

Thus, omitting fabulous and improbable Relations, we have repreſented the main View of what was tranſacted in *Britain*, ſince the *Romans* abandon'd it. Wherein may be obſerv'd the Miſeries and Deſolations brought by Divine Providence on a vile and degenerate Nation; driven, when nothing elſe could reform them, out of a fair and rich Country, into a mountainous and barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tollerable is downright Infidelity in the Eye of Heav'n, than the diſhonouring the *Chriſtian* Faith by ſuch Unchriſtian Works.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Deſtruction of Britain *by the* Saxons *and other Nations, to the new Eſtabliſhment made by King* Egbert, *who became the firſt ſupreme Monarch of* England.

Containing the Space of about 232 *Years.*

I. THE unfortunate *Britains* being driven out of their beſt and faireſt Habitations, Foreigners gain'd a full and entire Poſſeſſion of them, under the Names of *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*; tho' the moſt general Name was that of *Saxons*, which occaſion'd the whole Nation to be called by ſome *New-Saxony*. The proper *Saxons* had for their Share moſt of the Southern Parts of the Nation, with a little of the Eaſtern, after this diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Weſt-Sex*, *South-Sex*, and *Eaſt-Sex*; the *Jutes* had the South-Eaſtern Parts, namely *Kent*, the Iſle of *Wight*, and Part of *Hampſhire*; and the *Angles* had the greateſt Share, *viz.* all the Midland and Northern Parts, with Part of the Eaſtern, diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mercian-Angles* and *Northumbrian-Angles*. Theſe were not only ſufficient to conquer and waſte the whole Province, but even to plant and people it in a ſhort Time with numerous and new Inhabitants. So that we are now to begin with a new Body of People, and with a new State and Government of the Land; which introduc'd a general Change of Names, of Language, of Cuſtoms, of Laws, of Arms, of Diſcipline, of Poſſeſſions, of Titles, of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, throughout the Nation. Upon which account we may juſtly date the Original of all theſe among us, as well as our Nation it ſelf, from theſe our *Saxon* Anceſtors: *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was now a *Saxon* Nation: The Language, which was either *Latin* or *Britiſh*, was now grown wholly *Saxon* or *Engliſh*: The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers, and Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the *Saxon* Forms and Uſage: The Laws of this Country, which before were *Roman*, were chang'd now into old *Saxon* Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions: The Religion, which before was *Chriſtian*, became now *Pagan*, introducing the Worſhip of ſeveral Gods, particularly *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea*, whoſe Memory are ſtill preſerv'd by the common Names of three Days in the Week: And laſtly the Land it ſelf, which before had been divided into *Roman* Provinces, was now divided into ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms, govern'd by their own proper Kings. The Foundation of theſe Kingdoms have been already mention'd; but for the Reader's Eaſe, and the better clearing of the Story, it will be convenient to ſay ſomething of all in one Place, and to give a general Account of each 'till the Time of *Egbert*, the firſt ſupreme Monarch of this Nation. A. D. 596. *The Diſtribution of the Saxons.*

The firſt of the ſeven Kingdoms was that of KENT, which conſiſted of *Jutes* of the County of *Kent*, and probably ſome of *Hampſhire*, and had a Succeſſion of ſeventeen Kings, four *Pagans*, and thirteen *Chriſtians*, viz. *Hengiſt*, *Eſk*, *Octa*, *Ermiric*, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbald*, *Ercombert*, *Egbert*, *Lothair*, *Edric*, *Withred*, *Edbert*, *Edilbert*, *Alric*, *Edilbert*, *Cuthred*, and *Baldred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 457, and ended in 823, continuing 366 Years; its Royal Seat being *Canterbury*, and ſometimes *Reculver*, near the Sea- 1. KENT.

Sea-Shore. The ſecond Kingdom was that of the SOUTH-SAXONS, which conſiſted of the two Counties of *Suſſex* and *Surry*; and this being moſtly under the Power of the Kings of *Kent* and the *Weſt-Saxons*, we find but five Kings, two *Pagans*, and three *Chriſtians*, viz. *Ella*, *Ciſſa*, *Ethelwolf*, *Berthrum* and *Authum*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 491, and ended in 600, continuing 109 Years; its Royal Seat being *Ciſſanceſter*, now *Chicheſter*.

2. SOUTH-SAXONY.

The third Kingdom was that of the WEST-SAXONS, conſiſting of ſix Counties, viz. *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Barkſhire*, beſides *Cornwall*, which was afterwards added to it, and had a Succeſſion of ſixteen Kings before *Egbert*, five *Pagans*, and eleven *Chriſtians*, viz. *Cerdic*, *Kenric*, *Ceaulin*, *Ceolric*, *Ceolwulf*, *Cynegils* cum *Quincelm*, *Kenewalch* cum *Sexburge*, *Eskwine*, *Kentwine*, *Cedwalla*, *Ina*, *Ethelheard*, *Cuthred*, *Sigebert*, *Cynewulf*, and *Birthric*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 519, and continu'd 'till the Time of *Egbert*, 283 Years; its Royal Seat being *Ventceaſter*, now *Wincheſter*.

3. WEST-SAXONY.

The fourth Kingdom was that of the EAST-SAXONS, which conſiſted of the two Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, with the South Part of *Hartfordſhire*, being generally tributary to *Kent* and *Mercia*, and had a Succeſſion of twelve Kings, two *Pagans*, and ten *Chriſtians*, viz. *Erchenwin*, *Sledda*, *Sexred* cum *Fratris Sigebert* the little, *Sigebert* the good, *Swithelm*, *Sigher* cum *Seba*, *Sigehard* cum *Swanfred*, *Oſfa*, *Selred* and *Swithred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 527, and ended in 747, continuing 220 Years; its Royal Seat being *London*.

4. EAST-SAXONY.

The fifth Kingdom was that of NORTHUMBERLAND, which conſiſted of *Angles*, and of ſix Counties, viz. *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, with Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edinburgh* Frith. For above a hundred Years this Kingdom was divided into two, namely *Bernicia* in the North, and *Deira* in the South, and had a Succeſſion of twenty one Kings, beſides five in *Deira*, four *Pagans*, and ſeventeen *Chriſtians*, viz. *Ida*, *Ella*, *Edelric*, *Edelfrid*, *Edwin*, *Oſwald*, *Oſmy*, *Egfrid*, *Alfrid*, *Oſred*, *Kenred*, *Oſric*, *Ceolwulf*, *Eadbert*, *Oſulf*, *Ethelwald*, *Alured*, *Ethelred*, *Alfwold*, *Oſred* and *Ethelred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 547, and ended in 792, continuing 245 Years, beſides an Interregnum of 33 Years after; its Royal Seat being the City of *York*.

5. NORTHUMBERLAND.

The ſixth Kingdom was that of the EAST-ANGLES, which conſiſted of the three Counties of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and had a Succeſſion of fourteen Kings, four *Pagans*, and ten *Chriſtians*, viz. *Uſfa*, *Titylus*, *Redwald*, *Eorpwald*, *Sigebert*, *Egric*, *Anna*, *Ethelherd*, *Ethelwald*, *Aldulf*, *Elfwald*, *Beorne*, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 575, and ended in 792, continuing 218 Years; its Royal Seat being *Domoc* or *Dummoc*, now *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*, and ſometimes St. *Edmund*'s Bury.

6. EAST-ENGLAND.

The ſeventh and laſt Kingdom was that of MERCIA, which conſiſted of *Angles*, and of ſixteen Counties, viz. *Gloceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutland*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire* and *Cheſhire*, beſides Part of *Hartfordſhire*, and had a Succeſſion of fifteen Kings before the Reign of *Egbert*, and ſix after, four *Pagans*, and ſeventeen *Chriſtians*, viz. *Crida*, *Wibba*, *Ceorl*, *Penda*, *Peada*, *Wulfer*, *Ethelred*, *Kenred*, *Ceorlred*, *Ethelbald*, *Beornred*, *Oſfa*, *Egfrid*, *Kenulf*, *Kenelm*, *Beornwulf*, *Ludecom*, *Withlaf*, *Bertulf*, *Burtred* and *Ceolwulf*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 585, and ended in 874, continuing 289 Years; its Royal Seat being *Lincoln*. The whole Number of the *Saxon* Kings before the Reign of *Egbert*, and a little after, was a hundred and eleven, of which twenty five were *Pagans*, and eighty ſix *Chriſtians*. This Eſtabliſhment of the ſeven Kingdoms is generally call'd by the Name of the HEPTARCHY.

7. MERCIA.

As

As to the Lives and Actions of theſe ſeveral Monarchs, during the Heptarchy, they have been ſo exceeding lamely and confus'dly tranſmitted to us, that we can give but little Satisfaction to a curious Reader. We find a ſhort and broken Account of many of them, and that after they had diſpoſſeſs'd the miſerable *Britains*, having leiſure to ſurvey each others Greatneſs, they fell into mutual Emulations and Wars among themſelves; ſo that in the Conſequence whoſoever had moſt Power, was generally reputed and acknowledg'd King of moſt if not all the reſt. Of theſe, *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, in the Beginning of this Period, was the moſt conſiderable and powerful Monarch, who tho' he had been unſucceſsful in his juvenile Attempts, had now by his Conduct and Policy reduc'd all the Kingdoms on the South Side the *Humber* to his Devotion. And tho' he was a *Pagan*, to advance his Grandure, he marry'd *Bertha*, the King of *France*'s Daughter, with this Article, that ſhe ſhould have the free Exerciſe of the Chriſtian Religion, under the Care and Inſtruction of *Lethard* a Biſhop, who was ſent by her Parents along with her. This prov'd one Step towards the diſplaying the Light of the Goſpel to a rude and Heathen People; and about the ſame Time there happen'd a remarkable Tranſaction in Foreign Parts, which being purſu'd, by Degrees brought this great Work to the full Perfection. But before we mention this happy Change of Religion among the *Saxons*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, That there were yet remaining among the *Britains* in *Wales*, many Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſts, Religious Perſons and Monaſteries; and at the Command of *Oudoceus* Biſhop of *Landaf*, there were at that Place three Synods conven'd, in which three *Britiſh* Princes, *Mouric*, *Morcant* and *Guidnirth*, were excommunicated for Murders, and compell'd to expiate theſe Scandals by Alms, Prayers and Faſtings.

Beda. Malmſb. I. ETHELBERT *of* Kent *chief Monarch.*

Speiman.

Beda. The firſt Beginning of Chriſtianity among the *Saxons*, as we are inform'd from *Beda*, was occaſion'd by this Accident: The *Northumbrians* had now a Cuſtom among them of long Continuance of ſelling their Children and other Relations into foreign Lands; of which Number ſome beautiful Youths were expos'd to ſale at *Rome*, whoſe fair and graceful Countenances invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that City, among others, to demand who and what they were. Being inform'd that they were *Angles* of *Deira*, and Pagans by Education, pitying their Condition, he with a deep Sigh cry'd out *What a deplorable Thing it was that the Father of Darkneſs ſhould be Maſter of ſuch Angelick Faces!* and immediately obtaining Licence of Pope *Benedict*, he began his Journey towards *Britain*; but the Citizens of *Rome*, who could not ſuffer the Abſence of ſo vigilant a Paſtor, caus'd him to be recall'd. But *Gregory* not long after being advanc'd to the Papacy, in his fourth Year, being mov'd, as *Beda* tells us, by a divine Impulſe, he ſent *Auſtin* a Monk, whom he deſign'd for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, with other zealous Monks along with him, to preach the Goſpel in *Britain*. Theſe being on their Journey, diſcourag'd by ſome Reports, or their own carnal Fears, diſpatch'd *Auſtin* in the Name of all the reſt, beſeeching *Gregory that they might return home, and not be ſent on an Expedition ſo full of Hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whoſe Language they underſtood not*. But the Pope immediately ſent back their Meſſenger with pious exhortary Letters to them, 'not to be diſcourag'd by vain Reports, but 'vigorouſly to purſue the great Work they had undertaken, ſince their Labours 'would be attended with perpetual Glory; and that they ſhould obey *Auſtin*, 'whom he had appointed for their Abbot. Beſides which Letters the Pope alſo wrote to *Eutherius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, wherein he recommended them to his Care and Protection, and that he would furniſh them with all Neceſſaries; alſo recommending to him *Candidus* a Presbiter, whom he had ſent to receive and diſpoſe of the Church's Revenues in *France*.

The Beginning of Chriſtianity among the Saxons.

Auſtin *the Monk ſent into* England.

Beda. *Auſtin* and his Companions being thus confirm'd by the Pope's Exhortations, proceeded in their Voyage, and landed at the Iſle of *Thanet* near *Kent*, with about forty Perſons, together with ſome Interpreters of the *French* Nation. At their

A. D. 597. *He arrives in* Kent.

first Arrival, *Austin* sent a surprising Message to King *Ethelbert*, informing him, *That he came from* Rome, *and had brought the Promise of Eternal Felicity to all that would receive it*; which when the King heard, he civilly order'd them to remain in the Place where they landed, and that they should be plentifully supply'd with all Necessaries, 'till he had determin'd how to receive them. After a few Days, passing into the Island, the King chose a Place to meet them under the open Sky, possess'd with an old Persuasion, that all Spells and Inchantments, if they should use any, would be unavailable, if they were not within Doors. But *Austin* and his Companions, arm'd with the Divine Power, and bearing for his Banner a silver Cross, with the painted Image of our Saviour, advanc'd slowly, singing their solemn Litanies, and praying for the Salvation of those to whom they were sent. Then sitting down with the King, and preaching the Word of Life to him and his Nobles, the King with no small Courtesie told them, *That the Doctrines and Promises they brought were indeed specious and inviting, but being new and uncertain, he could not suddenly consent to quit the Religion of his Ancestors; but because they were Strangers, and came from far Countries purely to communicate such Things as they believ'd to be most valuable, they should receive all Protection and necessary Accommodations; nor would he prohibit them from gaining what Persons they could, to the Belief of their Religion.* And accordingly he allotted them their Residence in his Royal City of *Daroverne* or *Canterbury*, made provision for their Maintenance, and gave them free Liberty to preach their Doctrine where they pleas'd.

He is civilly receiv'd by Ethelbert.

Being settled in the Place provided for them, they began to imitate the Lives of the Primitive Christians, applying themselves to constant Prayers and Fasting, especially to Preaching to all that would hear them, despising the Riches of this World, being content with the bare Necessaries of Life, and carefully living up to the Rules they taught others. The Success of which was, That many believ'd, and were baptiz'd, admiring the Simplicity of their Lives, as well as the Purity of their Doctrine. They first held their Religious Assemblies at an old ruinous Church on East-side of the City, built in Honour of St. *Martin*, when the *Romans* inhabited *Britain*, in which the Queen usually perform'd her Devotions; 'till the King himself, being convinc'd by the Purity of their Lives, and by their Miracles, as our Author assures us, they obtain'd a full Liberty of Preaching and Building of Churches. The Conversion and Baptism of this Prince caus'd great Numbers to repair from all Parts to hear the Gospel, and leaving their Heathenism, join'd themselves to the Church of Christ; so powerful a Motive is the Example of a Prince to his Subjects. The King shew'd a great Satisfaction at the Faith and Conversion of any of his Subjects, and cherish'd all such as believ'd with a more tender Regard; yet nevertheless he would not compel any to receive Christianity, being taught by the Authors of his Salvation, *That the Service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not constrain'd:* Nor was it long before he granted his Teachers Places fitting for their Function, in his City of *Canterbury*, and conferr'd upon them large Immunities and Possessions.

Beda.

He and his Followers convert great Numbers, and Ethelbert *himself.*

A. D. 598. Austin *made Arch Bishop of the* English.

In the following Year, when *Austin* had converted the greatest Part of the *Kentish* Nation, he pass'd over into *France*, where according to the Commands of Pope *Gregory*, he was ordain'd Arch-Bishop of the whole *English* Nation, by *Eutherius* Arch-Bishop of *Arles*. Then returning to *Kent*, he sent two of his Associates nam'd *Laurence* and *Peter* to *Rome*, acquainting the Pope of his good Success in this Isle, and desiring to be resolv'd in certain Theological, or rather Levitical Questions, some of which were very peculiar, and the Answers no less. And now being exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority he recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uses a Christian Church in *Canterbury*, anciently built by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christ's Church*, and appointed it as a See for himself and his Successors. He likewise founded a Monastery

Beda.

Monaſtery towards the Eaſt, not far from the City, where alſo King *Ethelbert* by his Perſuaſion built and endow'd the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; in which the Bodies of St. *Auſtin* himſelf, and all the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Canterbury*, as alſo of the Kings of *Kent*, ſhould be interr'd. Within a Year or two after, *Auſtin* informing the Pope that there was a Want of Preachers in this Iſle, *Gregory* ſent over ſeveral, particularly *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus* and *Rufinian*, and with them an Archiepiſcopal Pall, Altar Cloaths, Sacerdotal Veſtments, Holy Veſſels, divers Relicts, and a great many Books; and gave *Auſtin* Power to ordain twelve Suffragan Biſhops under him, and an Arch-Biſhop of *York*, when that City and Country adjoining ſhould receive Chriſtianity; ſo that he alſo ſhould be a Metropolitan, and have twelve Biſhops under him, to whom he ſhould likewiſe ſend a Pall, but ſo as to be under the Direction of *Auſtin*. With theſe alſo he ſent Letters both to *Auſtin* and to King *Ethelbert*, containing many pious Inſtructions; which ſhews that the primitive Chriſtian Temper had not yet left the Biſhops of *Rome*, tho' infected with ſome Superſtitions. As the Number of Chriſtians encreas'd, *Auſtin* ordain'd two of his Aſſiſtants for Biſhops, *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, and ſent them both to diſtant Parts. The former by Preaching converted the *Eaſt-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by Permiſſion of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Siſter *Ricula*, then reign'd. To congratulate whoſe Converſion, *Ethelbert* built them the great Church of St. *Paul*'s in *London* to be their Biſhop's Cathedral; and *Juſtus* alſo had another built at *Rocheſter*, dedicated to St. *Andrew*, and endow'd by the ſame King with large Poſſeſſions.

New Preachers ſent over.

The East-Saxons *converted.*

Beda. &c. II. Hitherto *Auſtin* had labour'd only to convert Pagans and Infidels; but now by vertue of his Archiepiſcopal, or rather Legatine Authority conferr'd on him by the Pope, he took upon him to make a general Viſitation of his Province: And coming near the Borders of *Wales*, and aſſiſted by the Power of King *Ethelbert*, he ſummon'd all the *Britiſh* Biſhops of the adjoining Province to a Synod, at a Place on the Borders of *Worceſterſhire*, in *Beda*'s Time call'd *Auſtin*'s *Oak*; and began to perſuade them by brotherly Admonitions to conform with the *Romiſh* Church in celebrating of *Eaſter*, and ſome other particular Points. But not prevailing with them either by Promiſes or Threats, he appeal'd to a Miracle, as *Beda* aſſures us, and reſtor'd a blind Man to Sight, to whom the *Britains* could give no Relief. Being ſomewhat mov'd at this, tho' not inclinable to recede from their ancient Uſages, without further Conſultation, they requeſted a ſecond Meeting; to which repair'd ſeven *Britiſh* Biſhops, with many other learned Men, eſpecially from the famous Monaſtery of *Bangor*, where *Dinooth* was Abbot, in which were ſaid to be ſo many Monks living by their own Labour, that being divided under ſeven Rectors, each Diviſion had no leſs than three hundred. One who led an Anchoret's Life amongſt them, ſtaid behind, and by his Wiſdom effected more than thoſe who went: For being reputed as an Oracle, and demanded *how they might know whether* Auſtin *was a Man from God*, he anſwer'd, *That if they found him meek and humble, they ſhould earneſtly hearken to him, as having the trueſt Marks of Chriſt's Diſciple; but if he carry'd himſelf with Pride and Haughtineſs, they ſhould not regard him, for he could not be then a Man from God:* Adding alſo ſome Marks by which they might know whether he was a meek or a proud Perſon.

A. D. 604.

Auſtin *is oppoſed by the* Britiſh *Biſhops in* Wales.

Beda. With this Advice they haſted to the Place of Meeting; where *Auſtin* carrying himſelf as the Pope's Legate, and their Metropolitan, as they drew near ſat ſtill and pontifically in his Chair. This gave immediate Offence to the *Britains*, who according to Advice rejected his Propoſals; and tho' he demanded their Obedience in only three Particulars, namely *in the Time of the Celebration of* Eaſter, *in the Manner of Baptiſm according to the* Romiſh *Church, and in aſſiſting them to preach to the* Engliſh Saxons, promiſing them to forbear

them in other Things, tho' contrary to the Cuſtoms us'd by him; yet they utterly refus'd to comply in any Thing, or to acknowledge him for their Arch-Biſhop; declaring among themſelves, *That if he will not riſe to us now, how haughtily will he treat us, if we were under his Power and Subjection?* And for a final Anſwer to him *Dinooth* of *Bangor* in the Name of all the reſt, declar'd, *That as to the Subjection he requir'd, he might be aſſur'd, That in the Bond of Love and Charity, they were all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, to the Pope of* Rome, *and every good Chriſtian by Word and Deed to help them forward in the Way to Life. But other Obedience than this they did not know to be due to him whom he term'd* The Pope; *which Obedience they were always ready to pay to him and every Chriſtian: Beſides they were govern'd under God by the Biſhop of* Caer-leon, *who was to overſee them in all ſpiritual Matters.* To whom *Auſtin* is reported thus threatningly to have denounc'd againſt them; *Since ye refuſe to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye ſhall have War from your Enemies; and ſince ye will not preach the Word of Life to whom ye ought, from their Hands ye ſhall meet with Death. Auſtin* liv'd not to ſee the Iſſue of his Prediction, but dy'd in the following Year 605, being ſucceeded in his Archbiſhoprick by *Laurentius*, a *Roman* whom he had ordain'd in his Life Time, to ſupport the weak Eſtate of a new eſtabliſh'd Church. Two Years after the poor *Britains* met with the Puniſhment ſuppos'd to have been foretold by *Auſtin*, from *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, who meeting them with an Army near *Cheſter*, not only deſtroy'd great Numbers of them, but of twelve hundred Monks, who ſtood near to pray for the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Arms, ſcarce fifty eſcap'd.

Who refuſe the Authority of the Pope.

Spelman.

Auſtin *dies.*

Hunting.

Not long after the Death of *Auſtin*, King *Ethelbert* ſummon'd a *Mycel Synod*, or great Council, as well of the Clergy as Laity, wherein by their common Conſent and Approbation, all the Grants and Charters of this King, whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on the Church of *Canterbury* and others, were confirm'd, with heavy Imprecations againſt any who ſhould afterwards dare to infringe them. This Prince alſo gave his People ſeveral Laws and Statutes, by the Advice of his wiſe Men, according to the Example of the *Romans*, written in the *Saxon* Tongue, and obſerv'd in *Beda*'s Time; wherein his great Care was to puniſh ſuch as had ſtolen any Thing from the Church or Church-Men, thereby ſhewing how gratefully he receiv'd from them the *Chriſtian* Faith. In his Reign Chriſtianity daily encreas'd in this Iſland; and in the Year 608, *Laurence* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* brought the *Scots* to ſome Conformity with him, eſpecially in the Obſervation of *Eaſter*. In 611, this King's Nephew *Sebert* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, founded the Church and Abby of *Weſtminſter*, and *Melleus* the Biſhop of *London* dedicated it to St. *Peter*. *Ethelbert* omitted nothing that might advance the glorious Cauſe of Chriſt, and encreaſing in Piety, he dy'd in the Year 616, after he had been near twenty Years a *Chriſtian*, twenty three chief Monarch of *England*, and fifty ſix King of *Kent*.

Ethelbert's *Care.*

Beda. Spelman.

Chriſtianity increaſes.

Ethelbert *dies.*

Ethelbert was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son *Eadbald*, who at firſt us'd his Endeavours to extinguiſh Chriſtianity; not only relapſing to Paganiſm, but alſo that which Paganiſm was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's ſecond Wife. This Wickedneſs ſoon diſcover'd what Multitudes, who for Fear or Countenance of the former King had profeſs'd Chriſtianity, now returning as eagerly to their old Idolatry. Nor was this Apoſtacy confin'd to this Province, but ſoon ſpread it ſelf over to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; occaſion'd and promoted by the Death of their Chriſtian King *Sebert*; whoſe three Sons not being in his Life Time brought to Baptiſm, now after his Deceaſe eſtabliſh'd the free Exerciſe of Idolatry; and not ſo ſatisfy'd, they ſet themſelves to ſome open Profanation of the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church where *Mellitus* was adminiſtring, they in Scorn requir'd him to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the Conſecrated Bread, as he had done to their Father; and upon Refuſal, drove him

Beda.

Chriſtianity declines again.

him disgracefully out of their Dominions. *Mellitus* repair'd immediately to *Kent*, where finding Christianity in much the same Condition, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rochester*, left the Nation and pass'd over into *France*. But the Divine Vengeance soon overtook these impious Men; For *Eadbald* tormented with an evil Spirit, often fell into Fits of Distraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Battel against the *West-Saxons* perish'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within a Year, became penitent, by Means of an extraordinary Accident that *Beda* relates. When *Laurence* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was preparing to follow *Justus* and *Mellitus* into *France*, we are told that St. *Peter*, in whose Church he spent the Night before in Watching and Praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many Stripes for endeavouring to desert his Flock: Which being shown to the King the next Morning, and the Cause of them related, *Eadbald* repented, in great Fear dissolv'd his incestuous Marriage, and apply'd himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, together with all his Subjects. But the *Londoners* refusing again to receive their Bishop *Mellitus*, this King had not so much Power as his Father to compel them to it; yet nevertheless he and his Nation endeavour'd wholly to submit to the Divine Precepts, and built a new Church to the Honour of the blessed Virgin, which was consecrated by *Mellitus*.

Beda. H. Hunt.

III. Upon the Death of *Ethelbert*, by the Mismanagement of his Son *Eadbald*, and other Accidents, the chief Monarchy of the *English* was lost wholly to the Kingdom of *Kent*, and fell next upon *Redwald* the third King of the *East-Angles*, who for above twenty Years had been Vice-Roy to *Ethelbert*. This Prince had formerly receiv'd Baptism in *Kent*, but returning into his Country, through the powerful Persuasion of his Queen he relaps'd to his old Superstition; and thinking to be safe, he in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, and another to his Idols, which stood in the Days of *Beda*. But as she was an Instigator to the Nation's Idolatry, so she was an accidental Instrument to the further spreading of Christianity in saving the Life of *Edwin*, of the Royal Blood of *Northumberland*; who flying from the Rage of *Ethelfrid*, King of that Country, receiv'd Protection in the Court of her Husband *Redwald*. The *Northumbrians* us'd both Threats and Rewards to procure him to be deliver'd up, or put to Death; but his Queen alledging the Laws of Humanity, the Trust of a Friend, and the Word of a Prince, prevail'd so far, that *Redwald* did not only save his Life, but assisted him in Battel, to the Destruction of his Enemies, and the regaining of the Crown of *Northumberland*. For upon the Return of *Ethelfrid*'s Ambassadors, who were sent for *Edwin*'s Ruin, he with the whole Power of the *East-Angles*, as an Enemy march'd towards *Northumberland*. Whereupon *Ethelfrid* with what sudden Preparations he could make, met the *East-Angles* almost at *Nottingham*, and near the River *Idle*, where boldly encountering the unequal Enemy, at the first Onset slew King *Redwald*'s Son *Reynhere*, to the great Grief of the whole Army; who pursu'd his Revenge so warmly, that they slew King *Ethelfrid* in the Field, and establish'd *Edwin* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. By this Victory *Redwald* became far superior to the other *Saxon* Kings; and besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on this Side *Humber* at his Obedience. He reign'd successfully about six Years after, and dy'd in the Year 624, after he had been forty four Years King of the *East-Angles*, and eight chief Monarh of the *English*.

A. D. 616.
The chief Monarchy falls to the East-Angles
2. REDWALD *chief Monarch.*

His Death.

Beda.

Upon the Death of *Redwald*, the Monarchy reverted from the *East-Angles*, and was next possess'd by the *Northumbrians*, where it was retain'd with greater and larger Glory. For *Edwin*, grown potent in the Life of *Redwald*, after his Death became his Successor in the *English* Monarchy, and was the greatest King of all the *Saxons*; subduing all the Coasts of *Britain*, with the Isles of *Anglesey* and *Man*. His first Wife being dead, he became a Suiter for the Lady

A. D. 624.
The chief Monarchy remov'd to the Northumbrians.
3. EDWIN *chief Monarch.*

Lady *Edelburga*, Daughter of the great *Ethelbert*; to whoſe Ambaſſadors her Brother *Eadbald* return'd Anſwer, *That a Chriſtian Virgin ought not to marry a Pagan*. *Edwin* in Love with the Lady's Fame, inſiſted, *That her Religion need not be any Impediment, ſince ſhe and her Attendants ſhould have the free Exerciſe of it; and further, if upon Examination he found it more excellent than his own, he himſelf would embrace it.* Theſe ingenuous Offers, opening ſo fair a Way to the Advancement of Truth, were readily accepted; and *Paulinus* a *Roman*, was conſecrated Biſhop of the *Northumbers* by *Juſtus*, and ſent as a ſpiritual Guardian along with the Lady. *Paulinus* omitted no Occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe Parts, but with ſmall Succeſs, 'till the next Year this uncommon Accident made way for it: *Quincelm*, one of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, jealous and envious of *Edwin*'s Greatneſs, ſent *Eumerus* a deſperate Aſſaſinator to ſtab him; who, under Pretence of delivering a Meſſage, with a poiſon'd Weapon ſtruck at *Edwin*, whilſt he was diſcourſing with him in his Houſe, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorſhire*; which being perceiv'd by *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, with a noble Loyalty he interpos'd his own Body to receive the Blow, through which alſo it reach'd the King's Perſon, with a dangerous Wound. The Murderer being now encompaſs'd with Swords, and made more deſperate by his own Danger, ſlew another of the King's Servants in the ſame Manner. *Paulinus* improv'd this Opportunity, and at length obtain'd this Promiſe from him, *That if* Chriſt, *whom he ſo magnify'd, would grant him his Recovery, and Victory over his Enemies who had thus baſely aſſaulted him, he would then become a Chriſtian*; as a Pledge of which he order'd his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in that Religion, who with twelve others of his Family was baptis'd on *Whitſunday*. Being well recover'd of his Wound, to puniſh the Authors of ſo diſhonourable an Action, he march'd againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*; whom he ſubdu'd, put ſome to Death, pardon'd others, and return'd home Victorious.

From this Time King *Edwin* forſook his Idols; yet ventur'd not raſhly on Baptiſm, but ſtill conſulted with himſelf and others, who were Men of the greateſt Wiſdom; tho' *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his Belief. But while he was long delaying and deferring to compleat his Chriſtianity, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was believ'd, coming to the Knowledge of a Secret which ſtrangely befel him in the Time of his Troubles, on a certain Day went in boldly to him, and laying his right Hand on the Head of the King, ask'd him, *If he remember'd what that Sign meant*. The King trembling, with great Aſtoniſhment fell at his Feet: *Behold*, ſaid *Paulinus*, raiſing him from the Ground, *God has deliver'd you from your Enemies, and given you what you requeſted; perform now what you long ſince promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine, which if you do, he ſhall to your temporal Grandeur add eternal Felicity*. *Edwin* being much mov'd, immediately conſulted his great Men, and propounded the Reaſons to them, that naturally might induce them to embrace Chriſtianity; to which they with no great Difficulty comply'd, and firſt of all *Coifi* his chief Pagan Prieſt, who alſo offer'd himſelf to deſtroy the Altars and Temples of their Gods, which he immediately effected, making ſome Amends for his teaching Men to adore them. Then *Edwin*, with the chief Nobility of his Nation, and many of the common People, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, were baptiz'd; after which vaſt Numbers of the Vulgar daily flock'd in to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, and to be baptiz'd, the next Rivers ſerving inſtead of Fonts, which at that Time were wanting, nor were then ſcarce any Churches built, unleſs one ſmall one at *York*, which *Edwin* caus'd to be erected of Wood, for the Solemnity of his own Baptiſm, where he fix'd *Paulinus*'s Epiſcopal See, in the Year 627.

Beda.

The Northumbrians *embrace the Criſtian Religion.*

A. D. 628. *Paulinus*, having made ſo happy a Progreſs in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, croſs'd the *Humber*, and converted alſo the Province of *Lindſey*, and *Blecca*

Beda. Sax. An.

Blecca the Governor of *Lincoln*, with his Family, and moſt of that great City: In which he built a Church of Stone of curious Workmanſhip, whoſe Roof being fallen down, either by Neglect, or hoſtile Incurſions, the Walls were only ſtanding in *Beda*'s Time. *Edwin* alſo ſeeking every way to propagate the Faith which with ſo much Deliberation he had receiv'd, perſuaded *Eorpwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and Son of his Friend *Redwald*, to embrace the ſame Belief; who under *Edwin* retain'd only the Name of a King. But *Eorpwald* did not long ſurvive his Converſion, being ſlain in Battel by *Ricbert* a Pagan; whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of their King, as lightly relaps'd to their old Superſtition, for above three Years after. *Edwin* in the mean Time, to his Faith adding Virtue, by the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, brought ſuch a Peace and Security over all his Territories, that *Beda* tells us, in his Reign a Woman with a Child in her Hand might have ſafely travell'd from Sea to Sea. His Care extended to Fountains near the High-ways, where he caus'd drinking Veſſels of Braſs to be ſet upon Poſts, for the Refreſhment of Travellers, which none either out of Love or Fear would preſume to remove; and not unmindful of Regal State, either in Peace or War, he had a Royal Banner, which the *Romans* call'd *Tufa*, conſtantly carry'd before him. But his Glory declin'd on a ſudden, after he had reign'd with great Honour and Reputation, being at length ſlain in Battel with his Son *Oſfrid*, at a Place call'd *Hethfeild*, now *Hatfeild* in *Yorkſhire*, and his whole Army routed, by *Cadwallon* King of the *Britains*, and *Penda* the *Mercian*, who rebelled againſt him. This happen'd in the Year 633, in the ſixth Year of his Chriſtianity, the ninth of his Monarchy, and the ſeventeenth of his Reign; his Head being carry'd to *York*, was there depoſited in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he himſelf had began to build with Stone.

And alſo the Eaſt-Angles *with ſome others.*

Edwin's *happy Reign.*

His Death.

Beda. This Overthrow prov'd pernicious both to the Church and State of the *Northumbrians*; for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *Britiſh* King of a barbarous Diſpoſition, no Cruelties were omitted in the Slaughter of either Sex or Age; *Cadwallon* threatning to extirpate the whole Nation, tho' then made Chriſtian. For *Beda* tells us, that even to his Days, the *Britains* accounted *Saxon* Chriſtianity no better than Paganiſm, and held as little Communion with the one as the other. In theſe calamitous Times *Paulinus* was conſtrain'd to fly with Queen *Ethelburga* and her Children to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, who kindly receiv'd them, and made *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his Days. And now the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as formerly, *Oſric* ſeizing *Deira*, and *Eanfrid* taking *Bernicia*; both of whom from Chriſtians became ſuddenly Pagans. But being overtaken by God's Vengeance, neither their Lives nor this Diviſion laſted long; for *Cadwallon* and *Penda*, in the firſt Year of their Reign, found Means to cut off the one in Battel, and the other by Treachery. *Cadwallon* now ranging at pleaſure through both the Provinces, was at length met by the pious *Oſwald*, Brother to *Eanfrid*, who with a ſmall Chriſtian Army, unexpectedly charg'd him, and deſtroy'd both him and his ſuppos'd invincible Forces, by a little River near the ancient *Picts* Wall, the Place being afterwards call'd *Heav'n-feild*, from a Croſs reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oſwald* there erected before the Battel, in Token of his Faith againſt the great Numbers of his Enemies. *Oſwald* being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Siſter of *Edwin*, eaſily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor did he loſe any Part of *Edwin*'s Dominions, but rather enlarg'd them over ſeveral Nations; ſo that he became the next chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*.

A. D. 633.

4. Oswald *of* Northumberland *chief Monarch.*

Beda. Sax. An. This Prince obtaining the Kingdom, took particular Care to inſtruct his People in Chriſtianity; ſending to the *Scots*, among whom he had been baptiz'd, he deſir'd ſome faithful Teacher, who might reſtore Religion in his Dominions, which the late Troubles had much impair'd; and they, ready to aſſiſt, ſent *Adian* a Monk and Biſhop of ſingular Zeal and Humility, with ſeveral others,

His excellent Reign.

others, whom at their own Desire he seated at *Lindesfarne*, now *Holy Island*. *Beda* says much of the Devotion, Meekness and Charity of this Prince; that he disdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, while in *Scotch* or bad *English* he preach'd to his Nobles and Servants; and that he had the Poor continually served at his Gate: Particularly at a Festival, he not only sent them his best Meats in a Silver Charger, but also order'd the Charger to be broken in Pieces and divided amongst them; which caus'd Bishop *Aidan* to take him by the right Hand, and to pray that *That Hand might never corrupt*. In the second Year of his Reign, the *West-Saxons*, by the Preaching of *Berinus*, a Bishop whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Cynegils* their King; whom *Oswald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The following Year the *East-Angles* were recover'd to Christianity, which for some Years past had been thrown off. But *Sigebert*, the Brother of *Eorpwald*, a most learned and pious Man, who had been taught the Christian Religion during his Exile in *France*, now succeeding in this Kingdom, he instructed his People in the Faith by the Preaching and Labours of *Fœlix* a *Burgundian* Bishop, who fixt his See at *Domoc*, or *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*. In a few Years after, with the Assistance of some Teachers out of *Kent*, he erected a famous School, which is generally thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first founded. In the Year 640, *Eadbald* was succeeded by his Son *Ercombert* in *Kent*, who was the first of the *English* Kings who commanded the destroying of Idols in all his Dominions, and the first who establish'd the Observation of *Lent* by an human Law and Penalty. In the mean Time *Oswald*, having happily reign'd eight Years, and worthy of a longer Life, met with the same Fate with *Edwin*, and by the same Hand; being in a great Battel defeated and slain by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, at a Place call'd *Maserfield*, now *Oswestree* in *Shropshire*, which as *Beda* tells us was noted for Miracles after his Death.

The West-Saxons converted.

The University of Cambridge founded.

Oswald's Death.

A. D. 643. Upon the Death of *Oswald*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* again became divided for six or seven Years; *Oswy* gaining *Bernicia*, and *Oswin* obtaining *Deira*. The former was an illegitimate Offspring, and half-Brother to *Oswald*, who in a few Years became the next chief Monarch of the *English*. But the former Part of his Reign was extreamly disturb'd by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, by the Rebellions of his natural Son *Alkfrid*, and by the Oppositions of *Ethelwald* the Son of *Oswald*; but most of all by the virtuous Government of *Oswin* of *Deira*, whose pious Zeal, Moderation, and princely Qualities did much eclipse his Actions, and lessen the Love and Esteem of his own Subjects. *Beda* speaks much of the remarkable Piety and Humility of *Oswin*; but his Virtues were so far from protecting him, that they gave Occasion to *Oswy* in the seventh Year of his Reign, to begin a fatal War with him. *Oswin* finding himself much exceeded in Numbers, thought it more Prudence, by dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better Opportunity. But committing his Person, with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of Earl *Hunwald*, his supposed Friend, he was by him treacherously deliver'd up, and slain by the Command of *Oswy*; whose Death in twelve Days was succeeded by that of the pious Bishop *Aidan*, who dy'd of Grief for the Loss of so excellent a Prince. This Fact of *Oswy* was so detestable to all, and became so afflicting to himself, that to expiate the Offence, a Monastery was founded upon the Place; as many the like Foundations were laid, whose Stones were thus cemented with Blood.

Beda. Sax. An.

5. *Oswy of Northumberland chief Monarch.*

Who slays Oswin.

A. D. *Oswy*, upon the Death of *Oswin*, united both Kingdoms again, and as his Greatness encreas'd, so did his Virtues and good Actions begin to show themselves. And now *Peada* the Son of *Penda*, whose Father had made him King of a Part of his Dominions, was by *Oswy*'s Means converted to Christianty, with his Subjects. For coming to *Oswy* to desire his Daughter *Alfleda* in Marriage, he would not consent but upon Condition, that he and all his People should embrace the Christian Faith. Therefore hark'ning to what was preach'd to

Beda. Sax. An.

to him of eternal Life, and being perſuaded by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had marry'd his Siſter *Kyniburg*, he readily agreed to turn Chriſtian, whether he obtain'd the Lady or not; and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Upon his Return, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province, who by their Care and Vigilance won great Numbers: Nor did *Penda*, tho' himſelf a Pagan, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Goſpel, but hated and deſpis'd all thoſe whoſe Works were not anſwerable to their Faith; condemning them for miſerable and mean Wretches, who obey'd not that God in whom they choſe to believe. About this Time, the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who had formerly expell'd their Biſhop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd their Faith, were by the Means of *Oſwy* thus reconverted. *Sigebert* the ſecond, coming to viſit *Oſwy*, his great Friend, was by him at ſeveral Times ſtrenuouſly diſſuaded from Idolatry, and being at length convinc'd, forſook it, and was baptiz'd. On his Return home, he took with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Biſhop; by whoſe Teaching, and the Aſſiſtance of others, the People were again recover'd from their Infidelity. This good Prince was afterwards murder'd by the Conſpiracy of two Earls near him, who being demanded what mov'd them to a Crime ſo heinous, return'd this barbarous Anſwer, *That it was becauſe he was ſo gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries, as often as they beſought him.* But the Occaſion of his Death is much more remorkable; for one of theſe Brothers who ſlew him, being for unlawful Wedlock ſo excommunicated by the Biſhop, that no Man might preſume to enter into his Houſe; the King not regarding the Church's Cenſure, upon an Invitation went to feaſt at his Houſe, whom the Biſhop meeting in his Return, tho' penitent and fallen at his Feet, he pronounc'd this Sentence: *Becauſe thou haſt not abſtain'd from the Houſe of this excommunicated Man, in that Houſe thou ſhalt die*; which happen'd not long after, God bearing Witneſs to his Miniſter, in the due Power of Church Diſcipline when ſpiritually executed on Contemners.

The Mercians *receive Chriſtianity.*

The Eaſt-Saxons *reconverted.*

Oſwy having reign'd about twelve Years, had now the good Fortune to ruin his chief Enemy *Penda*, after he had endur'd many Ravages and Devaſtations from him, and in vain offer'd large Gifts and Preſents to purchaſe his Friendſhip. Finding himſelf too weak for human Relief, he turn'd his Gifts into Vows for the Divine Aſſiſtance; and according to the uſual Zeal of thoſe Times, he devoted his Infant Daughter to perpetual Virginity, and certain large Portions of Lands for the building and endowing of Monaſteries. His Vows, as may be conceiv'd, produc'd greater Effects than his Treaties; for hereupon, he with his Son *Alfred*, gathering a ſmall Army, at *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*, engag'd and defeated the whole Body of the *Mercians*, tho' they were thirty Times more in Number, and led on by experienc'd Commanders. The unexpected Retreat of *Ethelwald* the Son of *Oſwald*, who join'd with the *Mercians*, much contributed to this extraordinary Victory; which was attended with the Death of *Penda* himſelf, *Ethelhere* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and many other Commanders, who were drown'd in a River call'd *Winred*. The Fall of cruel *Penda*, who had been the Death of four or five Chriſtian Kings, caus'd a general Rejoycing, and alſo brought *Oſwy* to the Height of his Power, who in three Years ſubdu'd the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the greateſt Part of the *Picts* in the North. In the Time of his Proſperity, and the Year 664, a Synod of *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Biſhops, in the Preſence of him and his Son *Alfred*, was held at a Monaſtery in the North, concerning the Time about celebrating *Eaſter*; a Controverſie which had long before diſturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches; wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the Cuſtoms of *Rome*, nor yielding to the Diſputants on that Side to whom the King was moſt enclin'd, ſuch as were Biſhops here reſign'd, and return'd home with their Diſciples. Not long after, by Means of *Theodore*, a learned Monk of *Greece*, whom the Pope had made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, under *Egbert* King of *Kent*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, with all the Liberal Arts and Sciences, began firſt to

Beda. Sax. An. A. D. 655.

Oſwy's Succeſſes.

A Synod about keeping of Eaſter.

to flouriſh among the *Saxons*, and daily encreas'd under potent and religious Kings, 'till the Days of *Beda*, as he himſelf informs us. And now *Oſwy* having granted Part of *Mercia* to his Son-in-Law *Peada*, and he being ſlain by Treachery, he was oppos'd by *Wulfer*, who freed the Country from his Subjection. And thus *Oſwy* ended his Days in Troubles as he began in Wars, after a Reign of twenty eight Years; when falling ſick, he was ſo ſtruck with Remorſe for the Blood of *Oſwin*, and of others that he had ſhed, that he vow'd a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which Place he thought to have laid his Bones: But Death ſoon put an End to his Deſigns, and in the Year 670 remov'd him, and the Seat of the chief Monarchy of *England* from his Dominions.

Oſwy's *Death.*

A. D. 670. IV. Upon the Death of *Oſwy*, the chief Monarchy of *England*, which had continu'd forty ſix Years in the North, began to remove Southwards, and to fix it ſelf in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where it was preſerv'd for above an hundred and thirty Years. *Wulfer* King of *Mercia* was the firſt Monarch of this Nature, who in the Life of King *Oſwy* freed himſelf from his Power, and after his Death became Chief of the *Engliſh* Nation; tho' more in Name than in Reality. For his Reign was not only ſhort, but in a little Time after *Oſwy*'s Death, he loſt the Iſland of *Lindſey* to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*. Yet three Years after he warr'd againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* with greater Succeſs, triumphantly paſs'd through their Country, and gain'd the Iſle of *Wight* from King *Renwald*; which Iſland he gave to *Edilwach* King of the *South-Saxons*, who being then baptiz'd, *Wulfer* became his God-Father. *Wulfer* himſelf had not long before been a zealous and cruel Pagan; but now becoming Chriſtian, he deſtroy'd the Worſhip of Idols throughout his Dominions, and caus'd the Goſpel to be preach'd in all Parts of his Kingdom: Notwithſtanding he is tax'd by *Malmesbury* with the ſcandalous Sin of Simony, in ſelling to *Wina*, the depriv'd Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Biſhoprick of *London*. In this Reign, and about this Time, Chriſtianity being generally eſtabliſh'd, many conſiderable Monaſteries were founded, and Kings and Queens began to take upon them the Habits of the Religious, and frequently to withdraw from their Thrones to the Monkiſh Cells. And now *Wulfer* having reign'd above four Years ſince the Deceaſe of *Oſwy*, and about ſeventeen in all, he dy'd, and left his Body to be bury'd in the Monaſtery of *Peterborough*, which had been his and his Brother's Foundation.

Beda. Sax. An.

The chief Monarchy of England *falls to the* Mercians.

6. WULFER *chief Monarch.*

Simony firſt in England.

A. D. 675. *Wulfer* was ſucceeded by his Brother *Ethelred*, the third Son of King *Penda*; who enter'd upon the Kingdom by the Conſent of young *Kenred* his Nephew, who was next Heir to the Crown. This Prince in a ſhort Time not only regain'd *Lindſey*, and all that *Wulfer* had loſt to *Egfrid* of *Northumberland*, but found himſelf powerful enough to extend his Arms a contrary Way, againſt *Lothar* King of *Kent*, whoſe Country he waſted without Reſpect to Churches or Religious Houſes; particularly *Rocheſter* was plunder'd, and its Biſhop *Putta* driven to ſuch Extremities, that in his old Age he was oblig'd to teach Arts and Muſick in *Mercia*, to preſerve himſelf from Want. Not long after, the *South-Saxons*, whoſe King had been baptiz'd in *Wulfer*'s Reign, were all converted to the Chriſtian Faith, by Means of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who had been depriv'd, and driven from *Northumberland* by King *Egfrid*. And now Chriſtianity having been receiv'd by all the *Engliſh-Saxons*, King *Ethelred*, by the Advice and Conſent of *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, divided the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, the largeſt in the whole Nation, into five Dioceſſes, namely *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Litchfield*, *Leiceſter*, and *Cidnaceſter*; all which were compleated in the Year 679. In the following Year, at the Command of *Ethelred*, and three other Kings, viz. *Egfrid* of *Northumberland*, *Aldwulf* of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Lothar* of *Kent*, Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* ſummon'd a Synod at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordſhire*; in which were receiv'd the Canons of five General Councils, as *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Calcedon*, and another in *Conſtantinople*,

Beda. Sax. An. &c.

7. ETHELRED *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

The South-Saxons *fully converted.*

Mercia *divided into five Dioceſſes.*

A. D. 680.

The Canons of the general Councils received in England

ſtantinople, with thoſe Conſtitutions made at *Rome* by the Synod held under Pope *Martin*, in the Year 648, which Pope *Agatho* this Year ſent into *England*. And at the ſame Time, *John* the *Præcentor* or chief Chantor of St. *Peter's* at *Rome*, brought over hither the yearly Order and Courſe of Singings and Readings, as was practis'd there. *Ethelred* had a long and peaceable Reign, and as his Power encreas'd, that of *Egfrid* declin'd, who in the Year 685 raſhly leading his Army to deſtroy the Province of the *Picts*, under his Subjection, he and all his Forces were cut in pieces. From which Time, ſays *Beda*, military Valour decay'd in that Kingdom, and not only the *Picts*, 'till then in a peaceable Condition, but alſo many of the old *Britains* recover'd their Liberty for many Years after. In the latter End of King *Ethelred's* Reign, *Oſtred* his Queen was kill'd by her own Nobles, call'd *Southimbrians*; but both the Cauſe and Conſequence of this ſtrange Fact is unknown to us. About this Time *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* publiſh'd his Laws, which are the firſt that remain to us entire, and were both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; by which it appears, that Theft, Murder, and other heinous Crimes, were then redeemable by pecuniary Mulcts. And now at length King *Ethelred* being ſtrucken with Remorſe, for his deſtroying Religious Places in the Beginning of his Reign, to make amends, he founded the famous Monaſtery of *Bardney* in *Lincolnſhire*; into which he retir'd himſelf, became a Monk, and laſtly dy'd Abbot of the Place, after he had reign'd about thirty Years.

Ina's *Laws.*

Ethelred *reſigns.*

Sax. An. Beda. *Ethelred* upon his Reſignation paſs'd by his Son *Ceolred*, and appointed *Kenred*, the Son of his Brother *Wulfer*, for his Succeſſor, who was the neareſt Heir to the Crown. Of which Prince we know but little, only that he had the Repute of being the chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*, and that after four Years peaceable Government, being deſirous of Contemplation, according to the Example of his Uncle *Ethelred*, he ſought a more private and religious Life: And accordingly having appointed his Coſen *Ceolred* to rule in his Place, he relinquiſh'd both his Kingdom and Country; and having concerted Matters with *Osfa*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, a Prince of uncommon Zeal and Piety, he with him and *Edwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, travell'd to *Rome*; where both theſe Kings were made Monks in the Time of Pope *Conſtantine* the Firſt, and in a Monaſtery of that City ſpent the reſt of their Lives. Such was the accuſtom'd Fervour of thoſe Times; when a Monk's Habit was accounted the greateſt Badge of Humility, and a religious Solitude the main Step to Eternity. *Ceolred* ſucceeded with the Applauſe of the People, and reign'd for a few Years in great Peace and Proſperity: But his Quiet was at laſt diſturb'd by the growing Power of *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who having gain'd great Advantages over the *Britains*, and conſtrain'd *Kent* to purchace Peace by a Sum of Mony, turn'd his Forces againſt *Mercia*. Accordingly a ſharp and doubtful Battel was fought between theſe Rivals *Ceolred* and *Ina*, at *Wodensburgh* in *Wiltſhire*, in the Year 715. The Succeſs of this Battel is uncertain; and the following Year, and the ſeventh of his Reign, *Ceolred* feaſting with his Nobles, was ſuddenly poſſeſs'd with an Evil Spirit, and expir'd in Deſpair, as *Boniface* Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, an *Engliſh-Man*, who taxes him for a Defiler of Nuns, writes by Way of Caution to his Succeſſor.

A. D. 704. 8. KENRED *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Kenred *reſigns*

A. D. 709. 9. CEOLRED *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Ceolred *dies.*

Beda. San. An. Upon the Death of *Ceolred*, *Ethelbald* his Coſen, once remov'd, ſucceeded him in his Kingdom. This Prince had a very long, and for the moſt part a peaceable Reign; which he began with the Foundation of the celebrated Monaſtery of *Croyland*, now *Crowland* in *Lincolnſhire*, in Honour of St. *Guthlac* the famous Anchoret, who is ſaid to have clear'd that Place of Demons and evil Spirits. The former Part of this Reign was in a great meaſure rivall'd by *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who not only worſted the *Eaſt-Angles* in ſeveral Encounters, but in the Year 725 alſo intirely ruin'd the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, ſlew *Aldwin* their King, and added all the Dominions to the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom: So that the *Saxon* Heptarchy was now reduc'd to ſix Kingdoms.

A. D. 716. 10. ETHELBALD *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

The Kingdom of the South-Saxons *at an end.*

doms. This Prince is ſaid to have been the firſt who laid a Tax of a Penny a Houſe to be paid to the Pope, which was afterwards call'd *Peter-Pence*. And not long after, whether to expiate the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, or to comply with the Genius of the Times, at the Perſuaſion of his Queen *Ethelburga*, he reſign'd his Kingdom, and ended his Days in a Monaſtery at *Rome*. After whoſe Death, *Ethelbald* of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this Side *Humber*, with their Kings. The *Picts* were now in League with the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* peaceable within their Limits, and the *Britains* were partly under their own Government, and partly under the *Engliſh*. In which peaceful State of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both of the Nobility and Commons, laying aſide the Exerciſe of Arms, betook themſelves to Monaſteries; and many others, both of the Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, haſtning to *Rome* in Companies, thought themſelves no ways ſecure of eternal Life, 'till they were cloiſter'd there. Theſe Retirements of the beſt of the People afterwards prov'd a fatal Weak'ning of the Nation; and with this State of the Land the learned and celebrated *Beda* finiſh'd his Hiſtory, about the Year 731.

A. D. 732.

V. From this Time forwards, and for many Years, we have a more imperfect Account than ever of the Affairs of this Nation; and not long after the finiſhing his Hiſtory, *Beda* dy'd at his Monaſtery in *Northumberland*, whoſe great Piety, as well as Learning, juſtly obtain'd for him the Title of *Venerable Beda*. After whoſe Deceaſe, as *Malmsbury* obſerves, all Knowledge of publick Tranſactions were for a long Time almoſt loſt, ſince none prov'd an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; ſo that to a ſloathful Generation, one more ſloathful ſucceeding, the Love of Learning became cold in this whole Iſland. In the mean Time *Ethelbald* reign'd chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*; and his Power was much ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd by his taking *Somerton* from the *Weſt-Saxons*, and afterwards much Spoil and Plunder from the *Northumbrians*. And moreover about the Year 747, he became Maſter of *London*, and in effect brought the *Eaſt-Saxon* Kingdom to a Period; ſo that the Heptarchy was now reduc'd to five Kingdoms. Under this Prince were held two Councils at *Cloveſhoe* in *Kent*, one in the Year 742, and the other in 747; at both which *Ethelbald* himſelf was preſent. The firſt was principally to confirm King *Withred*'s Acts concerning the Monaſteries in *Kent*, according to the Directions of *Cuthbert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The ſecond was at the Inſtance of Pope *Zachary*, who by his Epiſtles ſeverely admoniſh'd the *Saxons* of all Sorts, from the Higheſt to the Loweſt, to forſake their wicked and ſcandalous Actions. Here ſeveral Canons were made concerning the Paſtoral Charge, and many Proviſions againſt the Inordinacy, extravagant Habits, Incontinency, Luxury, and irregular Lives, of the Clergy, Monks and Nuns, as well as the Laity. The reigning Vices of theſe Times, as Fornication, Adultery, Murder, Drunkenneſs, Perjury, *&c.* were only puniſh'd with longer or ſhorter Penances, of Days, Weeks, Months or Years; but what theſe Penances were, we do not find. Theſe Times were now become looſe and luxurious; and *Kelwulf* King of *Northumberland*, retiring from his Throne to the Monaſtery of *Lindesfarne*, brought thoſe Monks from the Uſe of Milk and Water to Wine and Ale. But *Ethelbald* proceeded to greater Irregularities, and contemning Marriage, gave himſelf all the Freedom of unlawful Enjoyments, making no Difference between Places and Perſons, Nuns and other Women; and by his fatal Example the Nobility and People were infected with an univerſal Viciouſneſs and Luxury. Which being related to *Boniface* the Pope's Legate then in *Germany*, he ſeverely reprov'd *Ethelbald* by an Epiſtle, which had ſo good an Effect upon him, that he repented of his former Life, and endeavour'd to make Satisfaction by many charitable Works, and ſeveral large Immunities which he granted to the Church and Monaſteries. At length, after a Reign of above forty Years, fighting againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* in a War not prudently undertaken, he

Sax. An. Malmſb. Spelman. Hunting.

The Kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons *ended.*

The two Councils of Cloveſhoe.

Ethelbald's *vicious Reign.*

he was traiterouſly ſlain by his own Subjects, at the Inſtigation of *Beornred*, who likewiſe endeavour'd to ſtep into the Throne, but was himſelf ſlain by *Osfa* the *Mercian*, before he could compleat his Deſigns. His Death was accompany'd with the Deprivation of *Sigebert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who for his Cruelty and Injuſtice was ſolemnly depos'd from his Kingdom, by the Authority of the grand Council of the ſame; which is the firſt Example of that Nature that we have in our *Engliſh* Hiſtory. *He is Slain.*

Sax. An. Malmsb. Sim. Dun. &c. *Beornred* the Uſurper being ſlain, *Osfa* Coſen to King *Ethelbald* ſucceeded in the Kingdom; being the eleventh King of the *Mercians*, and the moſt valiant and powerful of all the *Engliſh Saxons*, ſo that no Attempts ſeem'd too high for his Undertaking. The neighbouring Kings foreſeeing his ambitious Aims, ſolicited the Alliance of *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, whoſe Intereſt could no ways prevail upon *Osfa* to cauſe him to deſiſt from his Deſigns. The firſt that felt his Fury were the *Kentiſh* Men, under *Alric* their King, whoſe Overthrow was the leſs diſhonourable, ſays *Malmsbury*, becauſe they were vanquiſh'd by ſo great a Monarch. The Place was *Ottanford*, where their King was ſlain by *Osfa*'s own Hand, their Forces diſpers'd, and all their Country waſted by the *Mercians*. This happen'd about the eighteenth Year of his Reign, when turning his Forces againſt *Kenwulf* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who had aſſiſted his Enemies, he overthrew him at *Benſington* in *Oxfordſhire*, and took the Town. But not long after, in the Year 776, all the *Britains*, both of *North* and *South-Wales*, gather'd themſelves together, and invading the Kingdom of *Mercia*, made terrible Devaſtations in many Parts of the Country, waſting all with Fire and Sword. Whereupon King *Osfa* was conſtrain'd to make a Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings, and turn all his Forces againſt the *Welſh*-Men; who being unable to reſiſt ſo great a Power, were oblig'd to abandon all the plain Country between the River *Wye* and *Severn*, and retire to the Mountainous Parts. Upon which Advantage, *Osfa* immediately ſeiz'd on all the plain Country, planted it with *Saxon* Inhabitants, annex'd it to his own Kingdom, and caus'd a famous Ditch or Intrenchment to be made from Sea to Sea, between his Kingdom and *Wales*, by which he might the better defend his Country from future Incurſions; which Ditch is ſeen at this Day in divers Places, and is call'd in *Welſh*, *Clawdh Osfa*, that is *Osfa*'s *Ditch*. A. D. 756. II. Osfa *of* Mercia, *chief Monarch.* *His Succeſſes.* *He ſeparates* Wales *from* England *with a Ditch.*

Malmsb. Sim. Dun. After this *Osfa* reign'd many Years in great Splendor, and for the moſt part in Peace, having Trumpets ſounded before him when he travell'd or appear'd in publick. And as a Mark of his Grandeur, he procur'd *Lichfield* to be made an Archbiſhoprick, over all the Biſhops in *Mercia* and *Eaſt-England*; and becauſe *Jambert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* oppos'd him, he bereav'd that Archbiſhoprick of all its Lands that lay in the *Mercian* Territories: In which State it continu'd all his Reign. He call'd alſo a Synod or Council at *Calcuith*, where among ſeveral Canons, Tythes were firſt order'd to be paid in *England*, and alſo declar'd to be by Divine Right. Not long after, *Charles* the Great, who now held an amicable Correſpondence with *Osfa*, ſent a certain Book of Synodical Decrees into *England*, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates; in which alſo, as our Author complains, were found many inconvenient Things, and contrary to the true Faith: For, adds he, it had been decreed in a Council at *Conſtantinople*, by more than three hundred Biſhops, that Images ought to be ador'd, which the Church of God does abominate. Againſt which Impoſition *Albinus*, or *Alcum*, the moſt learned Man of the Nation, wrote an Epiſtle, and preſented that with the Synodical Book to the King of *France*, in the Name and Perſon of all the Biſhops and chief Men of the *Engliſh* Nation. A. D. 777. Lichfield *made an Archbiſhoprick.*

Sim. Dun. &c. About the thirtieth Year of the Reign of King *Osfa*, and third of *Birthric* the *Weſt-Saxon*, birth was given to new and great Calamities in the Iſland. For in the Weſt arriv'd three Ships of *Danes* or *Norwegians*, by Chance, or for Pillage; who upon their Landing being commanded to come to *Dorcheſter*, and give an account of their Lading at the King's Cuſtom-Houſe, they ſlew the Officer A. D. 787. *The firſt Arrival of the* Danes *in* England.

ficer and all that came with him, as an Earneſt of the numerous Slaughters, Rapines and Hoſtilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iſland. Three or four Years after theſe Pagans landed in the North, and plunder'd the great Monaſtery of *Lindesfarne*, kill'd many of the Friars, took others Priſoners, ſparing neither Clergy nor Laity. Theſe were the firſt *Daniſh* Ships that infeſted the *Engliſh* Nation; where it is obſervable, That the ſame People who were firſt call'd *Normans* in the *Saxon* Annals, are there alſo nam'd *Danes* in other Places; which ſhews, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were then accounted to be one and the ſame People. In the mean Time King *Oſfa* maintain'd his Power, and kept up his Ambition, ſhewing as little Faith as Mercy: For *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, coming to his Court, to obtain his Daughter in Marriage, was by the inſtigation of his Queen *Quendrith* treacherouſly murder'd, and all his Dominions ſeiz'd and added to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, in the Year 792. So that now the *Saxon* Heptarchy was reduc'd to four Kingdoms, viz. *Mercia*, *Weſt-Saxony*, *Northumberland* and *Kent*; that of the *South-Saxons* being ſwallow'd up by the *Weſt-Saxons*, and thoſe of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Eaſt-Angles* by the *Mercians*. At the ſame Time the Kingdoms of *Northumberland* and *Kent* were in a declining Condition. In the former, *Eadbert*, an excellent Governor, contrary to the Advice of the neighbouring Princes, and his beſt Friends, follow'd his Predeceſſor *Kelwulf*'s Steps, and retir'd to a Monaſtery. His Son *Oſwulf* was ſlain by the Treachery of his own Servants: *Ethelwold* the next King was aſſaſinated by *Alhred* his Succeſſor, who after eight Years Reign was formally depos'd by his Subjects: *Ethelred* the next, in four Years Time fled his Country; *Alfwold* his Succeſſor was ſlain by a Conſpiracy, and *Oſred* in a Year's Time depriv'd by the State: Which frequent and violent Changes brought the Kingdom to a very tottering Condition. As to the Kingdom of *Kent*, in the Year 793, the Death of *Alric*, the fourteenth King, put an End to the Race of *Hengiſt*; from which Time whoever was advanc'd by Wealth or Faction took upon him the Title of King of that Province.

The Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles *at an End.*

And now *Oſfa* having reign'd with mighty Authority about thirty ſeven Years, with great Devotion repair'd to *Rome*, where with the like Zeal of *Ina* the *Weſt-Saxon*, he made his Kingdom ſubject to a Tribute then call'd *Peter-Pence* and *Romſcot*. Beſides which, he made rich Preſents to Pope *Hadrian* for Canonizing St. *Alban*, the firſt *Britiſh* Martyr; in Honour of whom, and by way of Penance, he founded a magnificent Monaſtery near *Verulamium*, and endow'd it with large Revenues. Alſo as a Teſtimony of his Repentance for his great Effuſion of Blood, at his Return to his Kingdom, he gave the tenth Part of all his Goods to the Church and Poor; he built another Monaſtery at *Bath*, and the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, with another Church at *Warwick*, where the adjoining Town from that and him bears the Name of *Off-Church*. He did not long ſurvive theſe Charities, but in Year 794 dy'd in Peace at *Oſf-ley*; and with great Solemnity his Body was interr'd near *Bedford*, in a Chappel upon the Banks of the *Owſe*, after a triumphant Reign of about thirty nine Years.

Mahmſb. M. Par. M. Weſt.

Oſfa goes to Rome.

He dies.

A. D. 794. 12. EGFERTH *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Oſfa was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son *Egferth*, who being a Prince of great Worth, had been crown'd King in his Father's Time, nine Years before; and after his Death, he reſtor'd to the Church whatever had been violently taken from it; but this hopeful Prince reign'd but a few Months before he dy'd, and left the Crown to *Kenwulf*, the next of the Royal Line; who by his excellent Behaviour both in Peace and War ſufficiently ſhew'd that he deſerv'd it. In the ſecond Year of his Reign, in a War againſt *Eadbert* King of *Kent*, he not only gave him a total Overthrow, but alſo took him Priſoner, to the great Diſhonour of all his Subjects, and gave his Kingdom to *Cuthred*. Two Years after, at the Dedication of a magnificent Church built by him at *Winchcombe* in *Glocesterſhire*, *Kenwulf* in the Preſence of *Cuthred*, thirteen Biſhops, ten Dukes, many noble Men, and a great Concourſe of People, led *Eadbert* the Captive

Sim. Du. &c.

13. KENWULF *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Captive King to the High Altar, and there without either Intreaty or Ranſom, gave him his Liberty; manifeſting at once his Devotion to God, and his Generoſity to the unfortunate. This Prince reign'd ſeveral Years after in Peace and Happineſs, and was the laſt of the *Mercian* Kings that was chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*.

Malmſb. Sim. Dun. &c.

VI. The chief Monarchy of *England* had continu'd about an hundred and thirty Years among the *Mercians*; but now in the End of the eighth Century, it began to remove from thence to the *Weſt-Saxons*, and in a few Years became a more real and compleat Monarchy than ever before. The Year 800 made way for great Alterations in this Iſland, gradually uniting the ſeven Kingdoms into one, by means of *Egbert* the famous *Weſt-Saxon*, who was the only Surviver of the Royal Line of that Kingdom, being deſcended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. Having a noble Education, he began early in his Youth to give ſignal Hopes of more than common Worth and Abilities; which being apprehended by King *Birthric*, and withal his juſter Title to the Crown, he ſecretly ſought his Life, ſo that at length *Egbert* was oblig'd to fly for Security to *Oſfa* King of *Mercia*. But he having marry'd his Daughter *Eadburga* to King *Birthric*, was eaſily prevail'd upon by his Ambaſſadors to deliver up the Refugee; ſo that *Egbert* was conſtrain'd to make his Eſcape, and take a new Flight into *France*, where he much improv'd his Abilities, and refin'd his Education, under the Reign of *Charles the Great*. At length *Birthric* met with the Reward of all his Injuſtice, by the means of his Wife *Eadburga*, who having prepared a Cup of poiſon'd Wine for one of his Favourites whom ſhe hated, it accidentally prov'd the Death of the King himſelf. After whoſe Deceaſe, *Aſſer* relates, That when this Queen, by reaſon of her wicked Actions, could live no longer among the *Engliſh*, ſhe repair'd to *France* with all her Treaſure, where ſhe was kindly entertain'd by *Charles the Great*, and upon her making ſome rich Preſents to that Emperor, he propos'd to her to chuſe whom ſhe would have for her Husband, Himſelf or his Son: But ſhe imprudently nam'd his Son, as the younger Man; ſo that the Emperor with a Mixture of Mirth and Seriouſneſs told Her, *That if ſhe had choſen Him, ſhe ſhould have had his Son, but now ſhe was not to expect either.* Nevertheleſs he aſſign'd her a rich Monaſtery, where ſhe liv'd ſome Years as Abbeſs, but being detected of Incontinency, ſhe was expell'd, and forc'd to wander with one Servant into *Italy*, where at *Pavia* ſhe ended her wicked Life in great Poverty.

A. D. 800.

The chief Monarchy of England *falls to the* Weſt-Saxons.

14. Egbert *chief Monarch.*

He flies into France.

Sax. An. Malmſb. &c.

Birthric being dead without Iſſue, *Egbert* after three Years Retirement in *France*, was recall'd by the Nobility of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom, and acknowledg'd King with univerſal Satisfaction; where he reign'd with greater Glory and Renown, than any of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings before him. The former Part of his Reign was wiſely employ'd in eſtabliſhing his own Intereſt at Home, and in ſetling his Power and Soveraignty in the Love and Affection of his Subjects. And then finding his own Strength, he began to caſt his Eyes upon his incroaching Neighbours; and the firſt Trial of his Martial Conduct was againſt the *Britains*, firſt making a Conqueſt of them that ſtill inhabited *Cornwall*, and after that, in two Years more, he render'd thoſe in *Wales* Tributaries to his Dominions. His Succeſs and Progreſs was ſuch, that his Neighbours were exceedingly ſtartled, and apprehenſive of his encreaſing Power. *Beornwulf* King of *Mercia* was the firſt that actually concern'd himſelf, and thinking it a Matter of Glory by his Courage and Reſolution to remove the Fears of others, was reſolv'd to engage with this Conqueror; but meeting with him at a Place call'd *Ellandune* in *Wiltſhire*, he was totally defeated, in the Year 823. *Egbert* elevated by this Succeſs, and founding Hopes upon the ſame Grounds that his Neighbours had done their Fears, while the Fame of his late Succeſs was freſh, he ſent *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Ealſtan* Biſhop of *Sherburn*, and *Wulfheard* his General with a powerful Army into *Kent*, to conquer that Province, which

He is recall'd into England.

He conquers Cornwall *and* Wales.

Then Mercia.

which he accounted not difficult to perform, while the Inhabitants were both enervated with Sloth, and disoblig'd at their King. They that were sent vigorously executed his Commands, and passing over all the Country, found their Work more easie than they imagin'd; for having driven out *Baldred* their King beyond the *Thames*, they subdu'd all *Kent* and *Surry*, with the Southern and Eastern *Saxons*. And also the same Year, the Inhabitants of *East-England* dreading and hating the Government of the *Mercians*, submitted themselves to his Vassallage and Protection.

Next Kent, *with the* South *and* East-Saxons.

A. D. 825.

The *East-Angles* having submitted themselves to *Egbert*, never desisted 'till they had slain *Beornwulf* and *Ludecun* the *Mercian* Kings, who had been continual Disturbers of their Neighbours. Their Successor *Withlaf* was soon after expell'd his Kingdom by *Egbert*, but afterwards by the Mediation of *Siward* Abbot of *Crowland*, with whom he privately remain'd in that Monastery, was restor'd upon Condition of Subjection, and Payment of an annual Tribute. Still the Kingdom of *Northumberland* remain'd unconquer'd, which now of it self began to fall into Pieces; the Kings were so frequently slain by the People, that for thirty three Years none had the Courage to accept of the Crown; and many of the Nobility and Prelates fled from the Country, or retir'd into Monasteries. Which Weaknesses and Mismanagements gave a fair Opportunity to the Pagan *Danes* to enter this Kingdom, terribly wasting not only Cities and Towns, but more especially Churches and Religious Houses; the *Lent* before whose Arrival, we are told, That on the North Side of St. *Peter*'s Church in *York* there was seen from the Roof to run Blood. The Causes of these Calamities, and the Ruin of this Kingdom, is attributed by the learned *Alcwin* who wrot in these Times, to the general Ignorance and Decay of Learning, which much increas'd after the Death of *Beda*; to their Neglect in enducating Youth in the Knowledge of the Scriptures; and to the extravagant Apparel of their Priests and Nuns, discovering their loose and wanton Dispositions, of which many Examples were in *Beda*'s Time. From whence Altars were defil'd with Perjuries, Cloysters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with the Blood of its Princes, and infected with the Dissentions of the People; and generally the same Vices reigning of which *Gildas* before had complain'd, and declar'd to have been the Ruin of the *Britains*. In this Condition *Egbert*, who had reduc'd all the South, and design'd a full Conquest of the Island, found them in the Year 827; upon whose Appearance they yielded without any Bloodshed, and gave Security to him for their quiet and obedient Deportment.

Sax. An. Malmsb. Ingulf. &c.

And lastly Northumberland.

He puts an End to the Heptarchy.

A. D. 828.

King *Egbert* having now with great Success subdu'd the HEPTARCHY, and reduc'd it to his own Power, he was solemnly crown'd King of all *Britain* at *Winchester*; and by an Edict or Proclamation commanded that the whole Heptarchy should hereafter be call'd **Englelond** or *England*, which in *Latin* was call'd *Anglia* from the *Angles* the most numerous and valiant of the three Nations which came over with *Hengist*; who possess'd, as was formerly observ'd, the Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *East-England*, the *Jutes* having only *Kent* and the Isle of *Wight*, and the *Saxons East-Sex*, *South-Sex* and *West-Sex*. Yet the Name of *England* was us'd long before this Time, tho' never by publick Edict, as appears from *Beda* and other Writers. Tho' *Egbert* was now supreme Monarch of *England*, and in a more absolute Manner than any before him, yet he was not sole King and Governor; for several of the petty Kings, tho' Tributaries, held their Titles for many Years, and some Successions of Kings after him; as *Withlaf* King of *Mercia* under himself, *Bertulf* under *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Beorred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles* under the same; and so they continu'd for above sixty Years 'till the Reign of *Edward* the Elder.

Which he calls ENGLAND.

Thus we have given a general View of the chief Transactions of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, collected from little else but a Heap of Rubbish, and from trifling, lame and confus'd Accounts; for which we are to beg the Reader's Favour, if he

he has been diſappointed, or complains of Omiſſions, and the want of ſome Facts mention'd in other Writers. Both the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Story of the *Saxons* are vaſtly defective. The former conſiſts chiefly of Wars and Battels, by which we diſcern great Barbarity, Violence and Rapine; but for what Cauſe they were undertaken, by what Councils they were directed and carry'd on, or what Reaſon or Equity there was for them, we can hardly ſo much as gueſs. Nor are the Battels themſelves more artfully deſcrib'd than the Combats of Wolves and Bears, or the Skirmiſhes of ravenous Birds in the Air. There were frequent Attempts among the petty Kings upon each others Dominions, and as frequent Rebellions of the great Men againſt them; and many Times, he whom Riches, Popularity or Faction advanc'd, took upon him the Title and State of a King. The Church Story is in a great Meaſure a confus'd Collection of Legends, Viſions, Tales, and vulgar Reports, which paſs'd for current in thoſe ignorant and credulous Times. Yet out of theſe Clouds of Darkneſs, out of theſe Monkiſh and inconſiſtent Diſcourſes, we may pick out many Things ſurpriſing, and Matter ſufficient for ſtrange Admiration, if we take notice of the frequent Faſtings, the fervent Prayers, the large and almoſt profuſe Alms of thoſe Times; what ſtately and magnificent Fabricks, Churches, Palaces, and Monaſteries were built and founded in thoſe Days; what plain and unlearned Zeal, what obedient, quiet and hearty Devotion then poſſeſs'd the Minds of the People, when in about two hundred Years Time, thirty *Saxon* Kings and Queens reſign'd their Crowns with all the Glories of the World, and enter'd into a Religious Solitude.

The Devotion of theſe Times.

CHAP. IV.

The Monarchy of the Engliſh Saxons, *From the Eſtabliſhment of King* Egbert, *to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the* Danes *in* England, *under King* Canute.

Containing the Space of about 189 *Years.*

1. *EGBERT.*

I. BEING arriv'd at the End of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, we begin to paſs from Darkneſs to Twilight; from a State of Confuſion in Story, to ſome Degree of Order, and from the Tranſactions of a many-headed Government, to thoſe of an united Monarchy, founded and erected by the Power of King *Egbert*. It might have been reaſonably expected, that a wiſe and fortunate Prince, at the Head of ſuch large Dominions, and ſo numerous a People as the *Engliſh*, after the Expulſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* into the Northern, and the *Britains* into the Weſtern Corners of the Iſle, ſhould not only have enjoy'd the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much Felicity as well as Greatneſs to many ſucceeding Generations. Yet ſuch is the Uncertainty of Human Affairs, and the Weakneſs of the beſt Conjectures, That he who rul'd over all the *Engliſh* ſhould have little Cauſe to rejoice in the Obedience of thoſe of his own Blood; for he was ſcarcely eſtabliſh'd in his united Throne, when both he and his Subjects were alarm'd by the Invaſions of a formidable Enemy from

A. D. 828.

The Invasions and Progress of the Danes.

from abroad, whose Fury and Violence extended not only to himself, but to his Successors for many Years. For about these Times a new Swarm of People, from the Northern Parts of *Europe*, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, or *Norwegians*, began at first to infest the Seas, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick* and *British* Shores, filling all Places with Slaughters, Spoils and Devastations. The *Normans* first over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave to those Parts next the Sea the new Names of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Afterwards they sail'd in vast Numbers into the Mouth of the *Seyne*, and with great Fierceness subdu'd that Northern Part of *France*, which ever since has been call'd by the Name of *Normandy*, and became the Seat of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Successors for several Generations. In the mean Time the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invasions upon the Coasts of *England*, with mighty Numbers, and with greater Fury and Pagan Barbarity than the *Saxons* before them; never giving this Island any long Respite for above 230 Years.

A. D. 832. *They infest* England.

Egbert was now in the full Height of his Glory, and had enjoy'd his Conquests but a few peaceful Years, when the *Danes* made their first Invasion in this Reign, which was in the Isle of *Shepey* in *Kent*, ravaging those Parts without any great Resistance. In the following Year they arriv'd in greater Numbers with thirty five Ships, and landed at *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, where they were vigorously encounter'd by *Egbert* himself, and a severe Battel ensu'd; in which *Herefrid* and *Wigferth* two Bishops were slain, as also *Dudda* and *Osmund*, two *Saxon* Commanders. *Egbert* had the Advantage in the former Part of the Battel, yet towards Night he lost the Victory, tho' by the Help of it he retreated, and sav'd the Dishonour of an entire Defeat; which was the only Time that Fortune ceas'd to favour this Monarch's Undertakings. But two Years after, the *Danes* returning with a powerful Navy, and joining in League with the *Cornish Britains*, *Egbert* encounter'd all their Forces, gain'd a compleat Victory over them, and freed his Kingdom at that Time from the Invasion of these barbarous Enemies. At length after a mild and glorious Reign of thirty six Years and seven Months, he dy'd and was bury'd at *Winchester*, leaving his Son great Opportunities of establishing his Fame, and predicting his Felicity, *in case what he had obtain'd by Industry, were not lost by Sloathfulness, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.* He dy'd in the Year 836, after he had been near nine Years supreme Monarch of the *English* Nation. *Sax. An.* &c.

The Death of Egbert.

2. *ETHELWULF.*

A. D. 836.

Upon the Decease of *Egbert*, his eldest Son *Ethelwulf* succeeded in all his Dominions, upon the fourth of *February*. This Prince had been formerly educated in the Monastery of *Winchester*, under the Tuition of *Helmestan* Bishop, and *Swithune* Dean of that Church, where he enter'd into Orders, and is said to have been both a Monk and Bishop of *Winchester*. But after his Father's Death, being urg'd by the Nobility and Clergy, and absolv'd from his Vows by Pope *Gregory* IV. he enter'd upon the Monarchy of *England*; yet still he retain'd much of the Monkish Temper, lov'd Ease and Solitude, and had small Inclinations to Ambition. Therefore resting satisfy'd with his paternal Kingdom of *West-Saxony*, he made over the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *East-Saxons*, which had been his Father's Conquests, to a Brother, or perhaps a Son of his, called *Athelstan*, who for some Years retain'd those Dominions. He gave the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to his Tutor *Swithune*, to whom and *Alstan* Bishop of *Sherburne*, he left the Management of his principal Affairs. *Sax. An.*

King Ethelwulf *divides his Dominions.*

The unwarlike Disposition of King *Ethelwulf* gave both Encouragement and an easie Entrance to the Pagan *Danes*, who in the Beginning of his Reign made *Sax. An.* &c.

several

ſeveral Deſcents into *England*, and not like generous Conquerors, but devouring Caterpillers, barbarouſly waſted ſeveral Parts of the Nation at the ſame Inſtant; ſo that the Inhabitants were confounded, and at a loſs how to make any Reſiſtance. Many of theſe Northern Princes enter'd the Land at *Southampton* and *Portſmouth*; at the former Place with a Defeat, and at the latter with Victory; and not long after, at a Place call'd *Mereſwar*, the *Engliſh* under the Command of Earl *Herebert* were routed, and the greateſt Part of the Army deſtroy'd. The following Year they committed great Devaſtations in *Lindſey*, *Eaſt-England* and *Kent*; and embolden'd with theſe Succeſſes, they march'd on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter* and *London* it ſelf, with no leſs barbarous Hoſtilities. And giving no Reſpite to the peaceful Deſires of *Ethelwulf*, the next Year they return'd with thirty five Ships, fought with the King at the River *Carr*, where they had encounter'd his Father, and made good their Ground. But in the ninth Year of this Reign, they met with a conſiderable Stop in the full Courſe of their outragious Inſults: For Earl *Earnulf* with the Men of *Somerſetſhire*, *Alſtan* the Biſhop, and Count *Oſric* with thoſe of *Dorſetſhire*, engaging them at the Mouth of the River *Pedridan*, ſlaughter'd them in great Numbers, and obtain'd a memorable Victory, which quell'd their Power for about ſix Years after.

The Danes *waſte* England *in divers Places.*

Sax. An. Aſſer. But in the fifteenth Year of this Reign, *Mars* was more predominant than ever, and Fortune kept the Scale on the King's Side: For the deſtroying *Danes* with two or three hundred Ships enter'd the *Thames*, landed in *Kent*, and took and pillag'd both *Canterbury* and *London*; and proceeding further they defeated *Berthulf* King of *Mercia* with his whole Army; then marching into *Surry*, they behav'd themſelves as tho' they were able to withſtand the whole Power of the *Engliſh* Nation. Here they were met by King *Ethelwulf* himſelf, and his Son *Ethelbald*, with all the *Weſt-Saxon* Forces, at a Place call'd *Aclea*, now *Oakley* in *Surrey*; where after a long and ſharp Conteſt, the Victory fell intirely to the *Engliſh*, with a vaſt Slaughter of theſe inſolent Invaders. So that this was accounted a fortunate Year to *England*, and added to the King great Fame and Reputation. With the like Succeſs his Brother *Athelſtan* King of *Kent* encounter'd the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where purſuing of them to the Sea, he took ſeveral of their Ships: And in *Devonſhire*, Earl *Ceorle* at *Winleſhore* ſo weaken'd their main Power, that in a kind of Deſpair they withdrew themſelves into the Iſland of *Thanet*, where they continu'd all the Winter Seaſon; and if Deſtiny had not withſtood the *Engliſh* Nation, the *Danes* in human Probability might have been totally expell'd the Land. But the *Saxons* imagining themſelves free from the common Enemy, renew'd their old Conteſts with the ever depreſſed *Britains*, againſt whom *Burthred* King of *Mercia* ſucceſsfully obtain'd the Aſſiſtance of King *Ethelwulf*, whoſe Daughter *Ethelſwith* he had obtain'd in Marriage; which for a while ſupported the Fame and Power of that valiant but unfortunate Prince.

A. D. 851.

They are ſeveral Times worſted by the Engliſh.

Aſſer. Sax. An. *Ethelwulf*, now enjoying Peace, ſent his youngeſt Son *Alfred*, then but five Years of Age, with a large Retinue to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both conſecrated to be King afterwards, and adopted to be his Epiſcopal Son. But this Peace laſted not long; for in the ſame Year the *Danes* landed afreſh in *Thanet*, where *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Hudda* with thoſe of *Surry* engag'd with them, and at firſt repell'd them; but the Slain and Drowned were at length ſo many on either Side, as left the Loſs almoſt equal on both. In the next Year the *Danes* winter'd again in *Shepey*, and became more formidable than before. Inſomuch that the King, Nobility and Clergy being extreamly allarm'd and affrighted at the Devaſtations of theſe Pagan Invaders, and judging theſe Calamities to be the Effects of their Sins and Corruptions, bethought themſelves of a wholeſom and uniform Remedy, as they term'd it, and a proper Security againſt their Enemies; which was an Act of the great Council or Parliament in thoſe Days, ſince often called *The Grant of King* Ethelwulf, of the

A. D. 853.

The Danes *again formidable.*

Ethelwulf *holds a grand Council.*

Tithe of the Profits of all Lands to the Church, free from all Burdens, Taxes and Exactions whatsoever. This Grant, by the Consent of the grand Council, was sign'd by all the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and Secular States of all *England*; and likewise by *Burthred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles*, then subject and tributary to King *Ethelwulf*. After this Grant was confirm'd and subscrib'd, *Ethelwulf* with great Solemnity offer'd it upon the Altar of St. *Peter*'s in the Cathedral of *Winchester*, where the Parliament was held, and the Bishops caus'd it to be publish'd in every Church of their respective Dioceses and Districts.

A. D. 855. *He takes a Journey to* Rome.

Having setled these Affairs at home, he took his beloved Son *Alfred* with him, and with great Devotion took a Journey to *Rome*, where he was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd for the Space of a whole Year; in which Time he rebuilt the *English* School that *Osfa* King of *Mercia* had founded in that City, which had been burnt down, and now bore the Name of *Thomas the Holy*. His Return from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, he there marry'd *Judith* the beautiful Daughter of *Charles the Bald* then Emperor, in honour of whom he ever plac'd her in a Chair of State, and gave her such Marks of Dignity as were contrary to the *West-Saxon* Law that had been made upon the Account of *Etheburga*'s Crimes. His Absence and this Marriage gave Occasion to a dangerous Conspiracy in his own Nation, form'd and carry'd on by his eldest Son *Ethelbald*, Bishop *Alstan* his imagin'd Friend, and *Enwulf* Earl of *Somerset*, who us'd all possible Endeavours to deprive him of his Kingdom. This Insurrection was expected to produce nothing less than an unfortunate War: But *Ethelwulf* foreseeing the Dangers and Miseries of Civil Discord, out of his meer Clemency and great Condescension, by the Assent of his Nobles, agreed to divide the whole Kingdom between Himself and his Son. Accordingly a Division was solemnly made, but with so much Artifice and Partiality, that the Western and best Parts were given to the Son, and the Eastern and worst left to the Father; which rais'd such an Indignation among many of the Nobility, that they offer'd the King their utmost Assistance for the Recovery of the whole; but he peacefully dissuaded them, resting satisfy'd with the Portion assign'd him. Two Years after, finding himself declining, he dispos'd of his Kingdom to his two Eldest Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*, and his Hereditary Estate to his other Sons and Daughters. For the Advantage of his Soul, he order'd that in his Hereditary Lands, every tenth Hide or Mansion should maintain one poor Parson with Meat, Drink and Cloathing; and he commanded that three hundred Marks should be paid annually to *Rome*, for these Purposes, one hundred to buy Oyl for the Lamp in the Church of St. *Peter*, as much for Oyl in the Church of St. *Paul*, and the other hundred to the Pope himself. Not long after he dy'd at a Place call'd *Stamrige*, upon the 13th Day of *January*, in the Year 857, and was bury'd at the Cathedral in *Winchester*, having reign'd twenty Years and five Months.

He marries the Emperor's Daughter.

A Conspiracy against him.

The Land divided between him and his Son Ethelbald.

His Death.

Asser. &c.

3. *ETHELBALD.*

A. D. 857. Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert *succeed.*

II. *Ethelwulf* left four Sons behind him, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, who all successively ascended the Throne, and became Kings of *England*. Upon his Decease, his two eldest Sons divided their Father's Kingdom, according to his last Will and Testament; *Ethelbald* the Eldest succeeded him in *West-Saxony*, whilst his second Brother *Ethelbert* reign'd in *Kent*, as also over the *East* and *South-Saxons*. Notwithstanding this Division, *Ethelbald* has been always accounted supreme Monarch: But we have very little remaining of his Person and Actions. All that we find is, that he was a luxurious and perfidious Prince; and being charm'd with the Beauty of his Step-Mother *Judith*, he marry'd her, contrary to the Laws of God and Man. But not long after, we

Sax. An. Asser. Malmsb. Sim. Dun.

we are told, that by the Admonition of *Swithun* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he repented of his Inceſt, put away his unlawful Wife, and obſerv'd all Things that the Biſhop enjoin'd him. Having, without any other memorable Action, reign'd almoſt three Years, he dy'd on the twentieth Day of *December*, and the Year 860; being bury'd firſt at *Sherburn* the Cathedral in *Dorſetſhire*, and afterwards remov'd to the Church at *Salisbury*. Ethelbald *dies.*

4. *ETHELBERT.*

Sax. An. &c. Upon the Deceaſe of *Ethelbald*, his ſecond Brother *Ethelbert*, who had been join'd with him in the Government, ſucceeded in the whole Monarchy of *England*, which he rul'd with great Peace and Concord at home. But from abroad he was ſoon moleſted by the deſtroying *Danes*, who with a powerful Navy landed at *Southampton*, and took and plunder'd the City of *Wincheſter*. But in their Return to their Ships, they were met by *Oſrick* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwulf* of *Barkſhire*, who put them to flight, and conſtrain'd them to abandon their Booty. Afterwards, taking a large Compaſs, they again enter'd the Iſle of *Thanet*, and there took up their Winter Quarters. The *Kentiſh* Men being weary'd out with frequent Allarms, found themſelves oblig'd to purchace their Peace by a Sum of Mony; but the Pirates under Pretence of receiving this Mony, and confirming the League, made an Excurſion into the Country, and waſted all the Eaſtern Parts of *Kent*. Nevertheleſs the Inhabitants, by uniting all their Forces, expell'd theſe perfidious Wretches. About which Time King *Ethelbert*, after a worthy Reign of five Years, dy'd, much lamented by his Subjects, who honourably interr'd him at the Cathedral of *Sherburn*, by his Brother *Ethelbald*.

A. D. 860.

Ethelbert *ſole Monarch.*

The Danes *again invade the Land.*

The Death of Ethelbert.

5. *ETHELRED* I.

Sax. An. Aſſer. Hunting. *Ethelbert* was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his next Brother *Ethelred*, the third Son of *Ethelwulf*, whoſe Reign was more tempeſtuous than any before him, and was one continu'd Conflict with the Pagan *Danes*. In the Beginning of which a vaſt Army of theſe Ravagers, under the Conduct of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two valiant Brothers, invaded the Nation, landed in *Eaſt-England*, and there wintering made a Truce with the Inhabitants, only with Deſign to obtain from them a ſufficient Number of Horſes for their Men. Being well furniſh'd for a long Expedition, in the following Year they paſs'd over the *Humber* as far as *York*, where the Civil Diſſentions of the *Northumbrians* afforded them great Incouragement and Advantage. For they had lately depos'd *Osbert* their King, and had choſen *Ella* the Head of another Faction in his Room; but being at length rous'd by the common Danger, both Parties united, made Head againſt the *Danes*, and prevail'd; but too raſhly purſuing them into *York*, then but ſlenderly walled, the *Northumbrians* were terribly ſlaughter'd both within and without, their two Kings ſlain, and the City burnt. The Remainder of the People made the beſt Terms they could with the Enemy; yet notwithſtanding they were over-run, and the Country ravag'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert*, one of the *Engliſh* Race, appointed King over them. *Brompton* gives us this particular Occaſion of the *Danes* marching to *York*; That *Bruern* a Nobleman, whoſe Wife King *Osbert* had raviſh'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge the Injury: A remarkable Example, if the Truth were as evident. Being thus victorious, the *Danes* in the following Year paſſed over into *Mercia* and winter'd at *Nottingham*; which ſo allarm'd *Burhed* the King of that Country, with his Noblemen, that they implor'd the Aſſiſtance of our King *Ethelred*, with young *Alfred* his Brother. To which they readily

A. D. 866.

The Danes *arrive under* Hinguar *and* Hubba.

They ravage all the North of England.

readily agreed; and aſſembling their Forces, together with *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, they join'd the *Mercians*, and offer'd Battel to the Enemy; but the *Danes* apprehending the Hazard, kept themſelves within the Town and Caſtle; 'till the *Mercians*, weary'd out with Delays, came to Articles of Truce with them. Upon which the *Danes* abandon'd the Place, and return'd back to *York* with great Booty, where they continu'd about a Year, practiſing great Severities and Cruelties.

A. D. 869. Winter being paſt, the *Danes* ſoon broke their Truce, paſs'd over *Humber* into *Lindſey*, and landing at *Humberſtone*, miſerably waſted all the Country; and particularly deſtroy'd the famous Monaſtery of *Bardney*, killing all the Monks in the Church without Mercy. Having continu'd in thoſe Parts all the Summer, and conſum'd all Things with Fire and Sword, about the Feaſt of St. *Michael* they enter'd *Keſteren*, another Part of *Lincolnſhire*, and there committed the like Ravages and Barbarities. At length the valiant Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Hoyland*, now *Holland* in the ſame County, with *Wibert* and *Leofric* two Knights, who march'd at the Head of them, together with a brave Body of two hundred Men belonging to *Croyland* Abby, who were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk. Theſe taking with them about three hundred couragious Men from *Deeping Langtoft* and *Baſton*, to whom alſo join'd *Morchard* Lord of *Bourne*, with his ſtrong and numerous Family, and being met by *Oſgot* Governor of *Lincoln*, an old Commander, with the *Lincoln* Squadron, upon the Feaſt of St. *Maurice* they reſolutely engag'd the Pagan Deſtroyers, kill'd three of their Kings, great Numbers of the Soldiers, and purſu'd the reſt to their Camp. From the Death and Burial of theſe three Kings, the Village before call'd *Laundon*, was afterwards call'd *Trekingham*, and now by Corruption *Frekingham*. But the Night following, *Gothurn*, *Baſey*, *Oſketil*, *Halfden* and *Hamond*, all five Kings, and as many Earls, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Frena*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from ſeveral Parts with great Spoils and numerous Forces, the greateſt Part of the Chriſtians, terrify'd with their Power, retir'd in the Night. The reſt having early in the Morning heard Divine Service, and receiv'd the Sacrament, reſolv'd to die for their Religion and their Country, and march'd directly againſt their Enemies. *Algar* drew up his Forces to the beſt Advantage, leaving one Part to Friar *Toly* and *Morcard* of *Bourne*, another to *Oſgot* of *Lincoln*, and headed a third himſelf; and finding them much inferior in Number to the Enemy, he form'd them into the Shape of a Wedge, againſt the Archers ſetting as it were a Paliſado of their Bucklers, and againſt the Violence of the Horſe a Wood of Lances; in which Poſture they kept unbroken 'till Night approach'd. The Enemy perceiving that neither their Archers nor Horſe could do Execution, counterfeited a Flight, which occaſion'd the *Engliſh* to break their Ranks and purſue, contrary to the Orders of their Commanders, ſo that they were eaſily broken and diſpers'd with great Slaughter. The brave and renowned *Algar*, with his Commanders and a few Soldiers, cluſtering together upon a Hill, long ſuſtain'd the Brunt of the Pagan Army, and ſeeing the ſtouteſt Chriſtians dead, they continu'd valiantly fighting over their Bodies, 'till with many Wounds they expir'd. Only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedney*, caſting away their Arms eſcap'd to the adjoining Wood, from whence with much Difficulty they reach'd *Croyland*, and brought the ſad News of the Overthrow, as the Monks were at their Veſpers. Not long after the *Danes* plunder'd and burnt the rich Abby of *Croyland*, and maſſacred all the Monks; from whence they march'd to the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſted* or *Peterborough*, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Ravages they paſs'd on to *Huntington*, then to *Grantebrig* or *Cambridge*, and then to the Iſle of *Ely*, where they pillag'd and burnt that famous Monaſtery, and kill'd the Monks, with great Numbers of others who had retir'd thither for Security. After this they march'd into *Eaſt-England*, where meeting with Earl *Wulketule*, who made a vigorous Reſiſtance, they cut him off with all his Army,

Ingulf.

They make great Devaſtations in Lincolnſhire.

Then in Northampton, Huntington, Cambridge *and* Suffolk.

Army, and winter'd at *Thetford.* Here the pious *Edmund*, King of the Country, oppoſing them, was put to flight, taken at *Heyleſdune*, now *Hoxon*, and ſet up as a Butt to ſhoot at; where calling upon God, and profeſſing himſelf a Martyr, he was firſt ſcourg'd, then ſhot through with many Arrows, and at length beheaded; the Place of his Burial being afterwards call'd St. *Edmund's Bury.* At the ſame Time *Dummoc* or *Dunwich* was alſo deſtroy'd by theſe Ravagers, and the Biſhop's See was remov'd to *Helmham* in *Norfolk.*

King Edmund *martyr'd.*

Sax. An. Aſſer. The furious *Danes* having over-run *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *Eaſt-England*, in the following Year bent their Courſe towards the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe Territories had not felt the Effects of their Avarice and Cruelty, and who alone were in a Capacity to reſiſt them: For the Monarchy not being compleatly eſtabliſh'd, the Overturning of the Heptarchy had weaken'd all the other Provinces. Arriving at *Reading*, the *Danes* with new Recruits and a mighty Force encamp'd between the Rivers *Thames* and *Kenet*, and ſent two Earls to forage in the Country; but they were met by *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Birkſhire*, who engag'd them at *Englefield*, kill'd one of their Earls, and obtain'd the Victory. Four Days after King *Ethelred* with his Brother *Alfred* gave Battel to the chief Body of the *Danes*; in which Earl *Ethelwulf* was ſlain, together with great Numbers on both Sides, and the *Danes* kept the Field. Yet the Advantage was not ſo great againſt the *Engliſh*, but in four Days after the King and his Brother appear'd again in the Field at a Place call'd *Eſceſdune*, or *Aſhdoune*, where they engag'd on both Sides with their full Strength. The *Danes* divided their Army into two Bodies, the one led by *Baſcai* and *Hulfden* their two Kings, the other by their Earls; and the firſt engag'd with *Ethelred*, and the latter with *Alfred.* In the former Body King *Baſcai* was ſlain, in the latter the two *Sidrocs*, beſides three other Earls, *Osbearn*, *Frena* and *Hareld*; and both were put to flight, with the Slaughter of many Thouſands; ſo that ſuch a Victory had not been known for many Ages. Yet after this great Loſs, within fourteen Days Time, being headed by *Agnere* and *Hubba*, they engag'd the King and his Brother at a Place call'd *Baſing*, where they apparently gain'd the Advantage. Still the Loſs ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh* could not be great, for about two Months after, they were ſo well recruited that they durſt a third Time engage with the *Pagans* at *Merotune*, tho' lately reinforced, and divided into two Bodies, and in the ſame Poſture they had formerly fought. Both theſe Bodies were put to flight, tho' for a great Part of the Day they kept the Advantage, and the Slaughter was great on both Sides; and yet the Annals tell us that the *Danes* remain'd Maſters of the Field; ſo various was the Fortune of this Day, or rather ſo uncertain their Intelligence. Of all the Landings and Devaſtations of the *Danes*, from the Days of *Ethelwulf* 'till their two laſt Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes or Earls, the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians of beſt Credit are wholly ſilent; ſo little Value they had for the Memory of their barbarous and inhuman Actions; unleſs we may ſuppoſe them, according to *Aſſer*, to have come from *Danubius*, or ſome other Parts, rather than *Denmark.* In the Summer, there happen'd a dreadful Plague, of which King *Ethelred* is ſaid to have dy'd, after he had reign'd above five Years in great Reputation. He dy'd on the 23d Day of *April*, ſome ſay by the Wounds receiv'd in his laſt Battel; which ſeems to be confirm'd by an Inſcription on his Tomb at *Winborne*, cited by Mr. *Camden*; but that being of a modern Date, the Authority of it is doubted by many.

A. D. 871.

The Danes *fight many Battels with* Ethelred *and his Commanders.*

The Death of Ethelred.

6. *ALFRED.*

Aſſer. Sax. An. III. The great *Egbert*, above forty Years ago, had begun and mark'd out the Way for the Monarchy of *England*, and like *Julius Cæſar* founded it; but the full Eſtabliſhment of it was left to his glorious Grandſon *Alfred*, the youngeſt

A. D. 872.

youngeſt Son of King *Ethelwulf*, who like *Auguſtus* compleated it, and ſo firmly fix'd it, that it continu'd ever ſince. Notwithſtanding his Reign was fill'd with infinite Troubles, and innumerable Moleſtations from the *Danes*, which ſometimes reduc'd him to greater Exigencies, than had been known to any of his Predeceſſors. This Prince is by ſome ſaid to have been firſt ſupreme Monarch of *England*, and by others the firſt King that ever was anointed in this Nation. He was couragious and brave, of a winning Behaviour and a charming Converſation, and a ready Wit and profound Wiſdom. Being now twenty two Years of Age, he took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom not without Reluctancy, being juſtly apprehenſive of the conſtant Invaſions and barbarous Hoſtilities of the Pagans. And he had ſcarcely ſolemniz'd his Brother's Funeral, when in a Month's Time with an inconſiderable Army he was oblig'd to engage the whole Power of the *Danes* at *Wilton*; where at firſt by his Courage and Valour he forc'd them to fly, but at length finding the Number of the Purſuers to be ſmall, they rallied, encounter'd the wearied *Engliſh*, and became Maſters of the Field. And that it might not ſeem ſtrange to any that the Numbers of the Chriſtians were ſo ſmall, *Aſſer* and the Annals tell us, That in this one Year the *Engliſh* had been ſpent and weaken'd by eight or nine ſeveral Battels againſt the Pagans, beſides innumerable Skirmiſhes; in which, tho' the *Danes* loſt one King and nine Earls, or principal Commanders, yet receiving ſuch frequent Recruits from beyond the Seas, whilſt the *Engliſh* wanted that Advantage, it is no Wonder if they prevail'd. But now being tired with inceſſant Hoſtilities, this Year a Peace was made with the *Danes*, upon Condition that they ſhould leave the Kingdom; which they for ſome Time obſerv'd, but to no great Effect. For the next Year the *Danes* having landed again, march'd from *Reading* to *London*, and there took up their Winter Quarters; where the *Mercians* were conſtrain'd to make Peace with them.

Alfred *the firſt anointed King of* England.

He fights ſeveral Battels with the Danes.

The Mercians *make Peace with them.*

A. D. 874. In the Summer following, theſe Rovers march'd Northwards, and winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Mercians* gladly renew'd their Articles of Peace. Notwithſtanding which, removing their Forces to *Rependune*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyſhire*, they there forc'd *Burhed* King of the *Mercians* to quit both his Kingdom and the Nation, and retire to *Rome*; leaving all his Dominions to their Poſſeſſion. His Kingdom was farm'd out by the *Danes* to one of his Servants call'd *Ceolwulf*, upon Condition that he ſhould reſtore it upon the ſame Time it was demanded. After which, theſe Pagan Devourers divided themſelves into two Parties; one of which, under the Conduct of *Hafden* one of their Kings, march'd into *Northumberland*, where they winter'd by the *Tine*, ſubdu'd all the adjacent Countries, and waſted the Territories of the *Picts*, and the *Pictiſh Britains*. The other Party, commanded by *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell* and *Amund*, three other of their Kings, march'd directly to *Grantbrig* or *Cambridge*, where fixing their Quarters, for a Year they ſpread themſelves like Locuſts over all that Country. In the mean Time King *Alfred*, now perceiving that theſe Miſchiefs at Land proceeded from the Enemies being Maſters at Sea, mann'd out a ſmall Fleet, deſigning to ſurpriſe theſe Pirates before their Landing; and meeting with ſeven of their Ships, they took one, and diſpers'd the reſt: A promiſing Succeſs from ſo ſmall a Beginning; for the *Engliſh* at that Time were but little experienc'd in Sea Affairs. The following Summer the *Danes* remov'd to a Caſtle of the *Weſt-Saxons* call'd *Werhum*; where *Alfred*, whoſe Power had been much weaken'd, either by a wiſe Management, or as ſome ſay by Mony, brought them to ſuch Terms of Peace, that they ſwore the moſt ſolemn Oaths, immediately to depart the Land. But in a ſhort Time, falſifying their Oaths, they with all their Horſe got by Night to *Exeter*, and winter'd in thoſe Parts, At the ſame Time *Hafden* their King had brought his Affairs to that Perfection in *Northumberland*, that he divided that Country amongſt his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And it was in this Year, according to *Aſſer*, that *Rollo* with his *Danes* or *Normans*, having winter'd

Sax. An. &c.

Mercia *farm'd out by the* Danes.

Alfred *mans out a Fleet.*

A. D. 876.

The Danes *win* Northumberland.

ter'd here in *England*, paſs'd over the Sea, invaded *France*, and took Poſſeſſion of all *Neuſtria*, ſince call'd *Normandy*, there reigning himſelf Fifty Years.

Sax. An. Aſſer. In the following Year, the *Daniſh* Fleet ſailing or roving about the Weſt, met with ſuch a Tempeſt near *Swanſnich* in *Hampſhire*, as overſet an hundred and twenty of their Ships, and left the reſt eaſie to be maſter'd by thoſe Gallies, which King *Alfred* had plac'd there to guard the Seas. At the ſame time the *Danes* were beſieg'd by the King's Troops in *Exeter*, and being humbled by the Loſs of their Fleet, they offer'd ſufficient Hoſtages, took ſeveral Oaths, and enter'd into new Articles of Peace. According to which Articles they left *Weſt-Saxony*, and departed into *Mercia*, of which they divided part of it among themſelves, and left the reſt to *Ceolwulf* their ſubſtituted King. But notwithſtanding all their Oaths and Obligations, in the Beginning of the next Year, they with a great Power enter'd into *Weſt-Saxony*, and quartering at *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, waſted all the Country, forc'd many of the Inhabitants beyond Sea, and took Poſſeſſion of the chief Parts of it: Inſomuch that the King himſelf was conſtrain'd with a few of his Nobles, and with ſome Soldiers and Vaſſals, to retire among the woody and boggy Parts of *Somerſetſhire*, where he led a melancholy Life, in great Trouble and Scarcity, having no Proviſions but what he could get by Incurſions from the Pagans, or from thoſe Chriſtians who had ſubmitted themſelves to their Power. At length he was forc'd to take Lodgings with a poor Neatherd; where we are told that the Man's Wife repremanded him for ſuffering her Bread to take Damage at the Fire, no ways ſuppoſing him to have been the Man who had fought ſo many Battels, and obtain'd ſo many Victories over the Pagan Power. His Retirement was ſo private, that neither his Friends nor Enemies could tell where he was; and all this Time his Royal Patrimony became a Prey, both to the *Danes* and the revolting *Engliſh*. And here performing an extraordinary Act of Charity, in the Time of his greateſt Want, it is ſaid that he receiv'd a Promiſe from Heav'n, by Way of Viſion, that he ſhould have a ſpeedy Deliverance from all his Trouble and Afflictions.

They ſuffer at Sea.

A. D. 878.

Weſt-Saxony ſubmits to them.

Alfred driven to great Extremities.

Sim. Dun. Sax. An. &c. This began to appear in a ſhort Time: For *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great Devaſtations, landed in *Devonſhire* near a ſtrong Caſtle call'd *Kenwith*; where by the ſudden Sally of the Garriſon, they were ſlain with twelve hundred of their Men. This gave Encouragement to King *Alfred* to build a Fortreſs at *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, in which he bravely defended himſelf and his Followers. And in ſeven Weeks Time he march'd from thence with his Subjects and Vaſſals there, to engage with the Pagans. And coming to *Ecbryt-ſtone* now *Brixſtone*, he was met by the Inhabitants of *Wiltſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Hampſhire*, who receiv'd their King with extraordinary Satisfaction, as one riſen from the Dead. But finding the Enemy to be far ſuperior in Numbers, and other Advantages, before he engag'd them, according to *Ingulph* and *Malmesbury*, he undertook a very uncommon Adventure; which was to take upon him the Form and Habit of an ordinary Muſician, and with one Companion to enter the *Daniſh* Camp as a Spy. Here he became ſo acceptable by his Singing and Playing, that he was at length introduc'd to the King's Tent; and having there and in the reſt of the Camp learnt as much as was convenient, he again return'd to his Caſtle at *Athelney*, where calling together all his Followers, he related the careleſs Condition of the Enemy's Camp, and with what Eaſe they might be deſtroy'd. Being thus incourag'd, they muſter'd up all their Power, and being led on by a valiant King, at *Edendon* in *Wiltſhire*, they engag'd the whole Forces of the *Danes*, and gain'd an intire Victory. They purſu'd them to one of their fortify'd Caſtles, where *Alfred* cloſely beſieg'd them for fourteen Days; 'till being pinch'd with Famine, they were reduc'd to that Neceſſity, as to beg a Peace on Condition that the King ſhould receive what Hoſtages he demanded from them, without depoſing any himſelf. Upon which they made ſuch a Peace as they had never done with any King before; for

He recovers.

Regains his Kingdom.

Routs the Danes.

for they not only ſwore that they would depart his Dominions, but alſo that *Guthram* their King ſhould become a Chriſtian; all which was perform'd about three Weeks after, when the ſaid King with about thirty of his chief Nobility came to *Alrey*, where *Alfred* receiving him from the Font at his Baptiſm, became his God-father, call'd his Name *Athelſtan*, and took him for his adopted Son. Upon which, all the *Danes* retir'd from *Weſt-Saxony* into *Eaſt-Sex* and *Eaſt-England*; which Countries were given them for Habitations by *Alfred*, as appears from the League made at that Time between that King and the *Danes*.

and makes Guthram their King a Chriſtian.

During this Negotiation, another Swarm of *Daniſh* Rovers from beyond the Seas, ſail'd up the *Thames*, and winter'd at *Fullingham*, now *Fulham*; but in the following Year, with another Body of their Countrymen, they paſs'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, where their Conqueſts and Ravages ſhew'd that the *French* and *Flemiſh* were no more able than the *Engliſh* to defend themſelves from theſe Pagan Invaders. In the mean time King *Alfred*, now at Peace and at Leiſure, reſolv'd to encreaſe his Naval Forces, and after three Years Diligence, he provided a conſiderable Fleet; with which he engag'd ſeveral of the *Danes*, and taking two of their Ships, he order'd the Men to be thrown over-board; and not long after he took two more, with two of their Princes, but not without ſome Loſs. Two or three Years after another Fleet of *Danes* appear'd on theſe Seas, ſo large that one Part thought themſelves powerful enough to enter *France*, while the other making up the Rivers *Thames* and *Medway*, beſieg'd the City of *Rocheſter*, and having built a ſtrong Fort before the Gates, from thence they attack'd the Place. But the Inhabitants made a brave Reſiſtance, and held out againſt all their Forces, 'till *Alfred* himſelf came to their Relief, the Fame of whoſe Approach frighted the Beſiegers to their Ships, who leaving all their Horſes and many Priſoners, return'd to the Coaſts of *France*. King *Alfred* having now reinforc'd his Fleet, reſolv'd to ſuppreſs the *Daniſh* Pirates who then ſhelter'd themſelves among their Countrymen in *Eaſt-England*, which occaſion'd a Breach of the League between him and King *Guthram*; and this Deſign ſo proſper'd, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stoure* by *Harwich*, they met with thirteen of their Ships, which came prepar'd by an Encounter, took them all and kill'd their Men. But growing ſecure upon this Succeſs, and keeping in a careleſs Poſture, the *Danes* with all the Naval Forces, engag'd them in their Return, and much diminiſh'd the Honour of their Triumph. In the following Year King *Alfred*, after ſo many Cities being burnt, and ſuch diſmal Deſtruction of People, not only took the City of *London* from the *Danes*, who had it long in their Poſſeſſion, but he repair'd it, and reſtor'd it to its ancient Luſtre; and then committed it to the Government of *Ethered* Earl of the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. And now Affairs being brought to a better Order than formerly, all the *Engliſh*, namely the *Mercians* and *Kentiſh* Men, as alſo the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Saxons*, who before had been diſpers'd, and made Priſoners by the *Danes*, return'd to their Habitations, and put themſelves under King *Alfred*'s Protection: And the King was now freed from the Inſults and Incurſions of the *Danes* for about eight Years.

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c.

Alfred *encreaſes his Naval Forces.*

A. D. 885.

More Danes *arrive,*

but without Succeſs.

London *recover'd.*

Peace in the Land.

A. D. 886.

And now the Affairs of the Nation being brought to a peaceable Poſture, the renown'd *Alfred* proceeded to many worthy Regulations, and to promote all Things that might tend either to the Honour or Advantage of his Subjects. Finding that in theſe Times Learning was at ſo low an Ebb in the Kingdom, that few on the South ſide of the *Humber* could read *Engliſh*, and ſcarce a Prieſt who could underſtand *Latin*, he order'd *Gregory*'s Paſtoral to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and ſent a Copy of it to every Biſhop. And for the further Advancement of Knowledge, he ſent into *France* for *Grimbald* and *John* the Monk, and into *Wales* for *Aſſer*, who read to him and wrote the Hiſtory of his Life; all whom he plac'd at *Oxford*, where he founded that famous Univerſity in

Aſſer &c.

Alfred *reſtores Learning.*

Founds the Univerſity of Oxford.

in the Year 886, and erected three Colleges, one for *Grammarians*, another for Philoſophers, and a third for Divines. For the Conveniency of Civil Government, this excellent Prince repair'd all his Cities and Caſtles, and built others in the moſt neceſſary Places, changing the whole Face of the Kingdom into a much better Form; and having walled ſeveral Towers and Caſtles, he made them defenſible againſt all the Pagan Power. Nor was he leſs careful in the Political Affairs of the Nation; for many of his own Subjects, under the Name of *Danes* having committed frequent Spoils and Rapines, in order to reſtrain all Exceſſes, he firſt divided all the Provinces of *England* into diſtinct Counties, and thoſe again into Hundreds and Tythings, as alſo Pariſhes; ſo that every legal Subject dwelling in ſome particular Hundred or Tything, if he was ſuſpected of any Robbery, he was to be condemn'd or acquitted by the ſame Diviſion. He divided the Governments of the Provinces into two Offices, into Judges whom we now call Juſtices of the Peace, and into Sheriffs, who ſtill retain that Name. And by this King's Care and Induſtry, there ſucceeded ſo great a Tranquility throughout the Realm, that if a Traveller had loſt a Bag of Mony in the High-Way, he might have found it untouch'd the next Day. And others add, That tho' there were Gold Bracelets hung up at the Parting of ſeveral High-Ways, yet Juſtice was ſo ſtrictly executed, that no Man durſt preſume to touch them. He was ſo exact and careful in doing Juſtice, that he frequently enquir'd after all the Judgments and Deciſions of the whole Country made in his Abſence, and very ſtrictly examin'd the Equity of them; and if he found any Failure in the Sentences of his Judges, he demanded whether it proceeded from Ignorance or a corrupt Mind; if from the former, he reprov'd their Folly and Inſolence in undertaking what they underſtood not, and commanded them either to quit their Places, or by Study and Books make themſelves fit to anſwer the Ends of them: And it was wonderful to ſee ſo many illiterate Earls, Sheriffs and publick Miniſters, apply themſelves to laborious Studies, even in their old Age, rather than forfeit their Places and Reputations. This Prince's Laws, of which many were Eccleſiaſtical, were for the moſt part Collections from the Laws of *Ina*, *Oſfa* and *Ethelbert*, to which ſome new ones were added. Theſe are extant in *Lambard*, and one or two of the Secular Laws are obſerv'd among us to this Day: As particularly, That for Entailing Eſtates, 'They that had 'Book-Land, or Eſtates in Land that came to them, or paſs'd by Deed from 'their Anceſtors, could not ſell or alienate it from their Heirs: And that for vouching of Things ſold, *&c.* 'No Man's Horſe or Oxe could be ſold with-'out a Voucher, one that ſhould take upon him to make good the Sale, and the 'Thing ſold according to the Bargain.

He divides the Nation into Counties.

His Care of the Publick.

His Laws.

Sax. An. &c. And now after eight Years Intermiſſion, the Kingdom became infeſted worſe than ever by a freſh Invaſion of the *Danes*; for vaſt Numbers of them being driven by the Emperor *Arnwulf* out of *France* march'd Weſtward to *Boloign*; where taking Shipping in two hundred and fifty Veſſels, together with their Horſes, they arriv'd in the Mouth of the River *Limene* in *Kent*, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood that extended an hundred and twenty Miles in Length, and thirty in Breadth. Into this Wood they drew up their Ships about four Miles from the River's Mouth, where they built a Fortreſs; and after them one *Haeſten*, with eighty Veſſels more enter'd the Mouth of the *Thames*, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while theſe remain'd at *Apledore*. King *Alfred* to hinder this Storm that threaten'd his Kingdom, firſt reſolv'd to prevent the uſual Correſpondence between new Comers and thoſe already ſetled in the Nation, which had ever prov'd of pernicious Conſequence. He ſtrictly oblig'd the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and of *Eaſt-Sex* by an Oath of Fidelity, and receiv'd Hoſtages from them; and having gather'd together a conſiderable Power, he encamp'd himſelf between the Enemies two Armies, at ſuch a Diſtance, as to be ready to attack either, in caſe they offer'd to remove; then dividing his Army into two Parts, one continually obſerv'd the Enemy's main

A. D. 893.

New Invaſions of the Danes.

They are attended by Alfred.

Body, whilſt the other remain'd ready to reſtrain ſuch Parties as foraged in the Country. The *Danes* rang'd about 'till they came to *Eſſex*, and then again paſs'd the *Thames* into *Surry*, where at *Farnham* King *Alfred*'s Troops met them, and put them to flight. Their King was wounded, and with one Party ſtaid behind, the reſt croſs'd the *Thames* into an Iſland near *Ceolne* or *Colebrook*, where the King's Army beſieg'd them ſo long, that their own Proviſions fail'd. In the mean Time the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, not able to hold their Hands while their Countrymen were inriching themſelves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred Ships coming to the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſcour'd the Southern Parts, as they did with forty Veſſels the Northern Coaſts, and ſailing about to the Weſt, they went and inveſted *Exeter*. Upon which *Alfred* haſten'd with all his Army towards that City, only left a ſtrong Party of *Welſh*, who marching to *London* join'd the Citizens and others from the Weſt, and paſs'd on Eaſt yards to *Beamfleet*; where *Haeſten* having built a Fort was himſelf gone out to forage, leaving a conſiderable Party to defend it. But the *Engliſh* ſoon cut this Party in pieces, plunder'd the Caſtle, took much Booty and many Priſoners, and either deſtroy'd all their Ships, or brought them up to *London* or *Rocheſter*. Among other Priſoners they took the Wife of *Haeſten*, with his Sons, which ſo affected the Barbarian, that he begg'd Peace of the King, and gave an Oath and Hoſtages for his Peaceable Deportment. *Alfred* willingly ſet his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of whom he himſelf became God-father, and Earl *Ethelred* to the other; and beſides all, he generouſly beſtow'd on him a large Sum of Mony.

They are worſted.

But *Haeſten* being return'd to *Beamfleet*, could not reſtrain his ravenous Inclination, but without regard to his Reputation, proceeded to ravage all the adjacent Country; and joining with the other *Daniſh* Army, he built another Caſtle at *Shobery* in *Eſſex*. Then paſſing the *Thames* with ſuch as join'd them from *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-England*, they preſs'd on towards the *Severn*, waſting all the Country as they march'd. In the mean Time King *Alfred* ſtill carry'd on the Siege of *Exeter*, where the *Danes* being extreamly diſtreſs'd with Famine, and having eaten many of their Horſes, reſolv'd to ſally out and join with their Countrymen who lay encamp'd on the Eaſt Side of the River; but the King, with Loſs of ſeveral conſiderable Men of his Party, defeated them, and oblig'd the Remainder to fly into *Eſſex* to their Ships and the Fort they had built in that Country. But no ſooner was one Party ſuppreſs'd but another ſprung up: For *Laf*, one of their Leaders, before Winter gather'd a ſtrong Army out of *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*, and depoſiting their Wives, Ships and Goods into the Hands of the *Eaſt-Angles*, march'd Day and Night with ſuch Expedition, that they came and took the City of *Wirheal* near *Cheſter* in the Weſt, before the Purſuers could overtake them. And having waſted all the Country, the following Year they abandon'd the Place, and invaded *North-Wales*, from whence laden with Plunder they return'd into *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-England*; then proceeding into *Eſſex*, they ſeiz'd on a ſmall Iſland call'd *Mercy*, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, where the Inhabitants of *Chicheſter* by a Sally ſlew many of them, and took ſome of their Ships. At the ſame Time ſuch as had poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Mercy* drew up their Ships ſome into the River *Thames*, and others into *Lee-Road*, on the Banks of which, the following Year they built a Fort about twenty Miles from *London*, at or near *Ware*. The Inhabitants of *London* looking upon this as a dangerous Curb, with other Aſſiſtants endeavour'd to demoliſh it, but were repell'd with the Loſs of many Men, and amongſt the reſt, three of the King's Officers. Upon which *Alfred* in the Time of Harveſt incamped nearer the City, to preſerve the Reapers from the *Daniſh* Incurſions; and riding on a certain Time by the River *Lee*, he diſcover'd a Way, by digging large Ditches, and dividing the Streams of the River, to cauſe the Enemies Ships to reſt upon dry Land; which he attempted with ſuch Succeſs,

Sax. Ann. &c.

Alfred *beſieges them at* Exeter.

He diſappoints them at Ware.

ceſs, that the *Danes* perceiving they were not to be got off, ſuddenly ſent away their Wives and Children inro *Eaſt-England*, and march'd on foot as far as a Place call'd *Quatbrig* upon the *Severn*, where they built a new Fortreſs and winter'd. While the Citizens of *London*, with great Joy and Triumph brought ſuch of the Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and burnt or diſabled the reſt.

Sax. An. During theſe Wars and Calamities, there began a dreadful Peſtilence, which continu'd three Years, and rag'd both amongſt Men and Beaſts. In which the King loſt moſt of his choiceſt Nobility, as *Swithulf* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſeveral great Earls; *Ceolmund* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Eſſex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampſhire*, beſides *Eadbald* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, *Eadulf* the King's Officer in *Suſſex*, *Beornwulf* Governor of *Wincheſter*, *Eigulf* Maſter of the King's Horſe, and many others. This Diſaſter was attended by many Irruptions of the *Danes* inhabiting *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-England*, into the Territories of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by means of their long Gallies, which they had built ſeveral Years before. To overmatch which King *Alfred* with great Charge and Induſtry order'd new Gallies to be built twice as long, higher and yet both ſwifter and ſteddier than them, ſome of ſixty Oars, and ſome of more. At the ſame Time the Iſle of *Wight*, the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, and other Maritime Parts were ſeverely infeſted by ſix *Daniſh* Ships which hover'd about thoſe Quarters. The King by way of Experiment commanded ſome of theſe new Gallies to be mann'd out againſt them; which occaſion'd a Fight partly by Water and partly by Land, manag'd with great Dexterity and Courage on both Sides. Two of the Enemy's Ships were ſtranded, one eſcap'd away into *Eaſt-England*, and all the reſt of the Men were ſlain or taken Priſoners; but not without conſiderable Loſs on the King's Side. The Priſoners were brought to the King at *Wincheſter*, where he commanded them all to be hang'd up as Pirates and common Enemies; and the ſame Year not fewer than twenty of their Veſſels periſh'd on the Southern Coaſts with all the Men.

A. D. 897. *A great Plague*

The Danes *again worſted.*

Aſſer. After theſe tempeſtuous Times King *Alfred* enjoy'd about three Years of Peace, which to his perpetual Renown he employ'd in the nobleſt Exerciſes, and after the moſt laudible Manner. And if we conſider his whole Life, we very rarely find any that ſo admirably diſcharg'd all the Offices of a King and Chriſtian; by whoſe Example it will appear that no Infirmity of Body, no Labour of Mind, nor no Diſquiets and Dangers can excuſe any from performing their Duties owing to God and Men. The perpetual Diſtractions, Cares and Anxieties in which he liv'd and reign'd have been already mention'd, yet his inward Griefs were as afflicting as his outward Moleſtations, for ſcarcely one Day from his Infancy 'till he was forty five Years of Age, was he free from extraordinary Pains, and unaccountable Diſtempers in his Body. Yet in the midſt of an infirm and ſhatter'd Body, he ſhew'd a couragious and heroick Mind, which even in his moſt debas'd Condition prov'd a continual Terror to his Enemies. His perſonal Valour was amazing, and his Actions in the Camp continually ſurpriſing; and in his Reign he fought with the *Danes* fifty ſix ſet Battels by Sea and Land, of which eight happen'd in one Day; ſo that by his wonderful Courage and Conduct, he ſo waſted their Forces, tho' they ſtill came in freſh and vaſt Numbers, that they were conſtrain'd to give what Hoſtages he demanded, and ſubmit to ſuch Conditions as he thought fit to impoſe. In the midſt of all the Diſturbances and Diſtractions of his Life, he order'd the Matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practis'd all the Art of Hunting, inſtructed all his Gold-ſmiths and Artificers, contriv'd new Buildings more magnificent than any of his Predeceſſors, he himſelf being the Inventor and Architect, read many Books, and ſaw that others did the like. He was conſtantly preſent at Divine Service, read Pſalms or Prayers, and alone in the Night Time when all others were at Reſt, he frequented Churches and perform'd his Devotions; he overſaw the Diſtribution of Alms to the Poor and Strangers, ſet himſelf to the

A new Peace.

The excellent Management and Virtues of Alfred.

ſearching of the Cauſes of unknown Things, and in all theſe Employments, and during his moſt afflicting Pains, he behav'd himſelf with incomparable Affability and Pleaſantneſs to all Men. Many *Franks*, *Friſons*, *Galls*, *Pagans*, *Britains*, *Scots* and *Armenians* voluntarily became his Subjects, as well Noble as Ignoble, all whom he lov'd, honour'd and reliev'd according to their ſeveral Qualities and Conditions. He conſtantly and attentively heard Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains; and moſt affectionately lov'd his Biſhops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars. He took perſonal Care of ſuch of their Sons as were at Court, no leſs than of his own Children, inſtructing them himſelf Night and Day in good Manners and Literature. And notwithſtanding his inceſſant Care, and vaſt Improvements that he made in himſelf and others, his Humility was ſo great, that he frequently bewail'd his Condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was deſtitute of Divine Wiſdom, and of the Liberal Arts.

The Diſtribution of his Time and his Revenues.

No Prince in the World was ever more nicely careful of the two precious Things in Man's Life, his Time and his Revenue, and no Man wiſer in the Management and Diſpoſition of both. As to his Time, by Day and Night, he divided it by the Burning of certain Tapours into three equal Portions: The one was allotted for Devotion and God's Service, another for the Miniſtration of publick and private Affairs, and the third for Sleep and neceſſary Refreſhment; and how each Hour paſs'd, he was continually put in mind by one who had that Office. As to his Revenue, for the Management of that, he commanded all his Annual Income to be divided into two equal Parts; the firſt of which he appointed to Secular Uſes, and ſubdivided it into three Portions. The firſt Portion was appointed to pay the Wages of Soldiers, his choiceſt Miniſters, and thoſe who by their Turns attended him in his Court: For of ſuch he had three Diviſions, each waiting their Month, and then reſting two at their own Homes, return'd to their former Monthly Service. The ſecond Portion was aſſign'd to Workmen and Architects, of whom he conſtantly employ'd great Numbers of all Nations. The third Portion was kept in readineſs to relieve or honour Strangers according to their Worth and Quality, who came from all Parts to ſee him, and to live under him. The other equal Part of his annual Revenues was with a moſt free Will devoted to the Service of Almighty God; and he caus'd it to be divided into four Portions. The firſt of which he bountifully confer'd upon ſuch Poor as flock'd to him out of all Nations. The ſecond was beſtow'd on two great Monaſteries, which he caus'd to be built at *Æthelingaeg*, and at *Scoftesburg*. The third went to a famous School which he had erected for the Inſtruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, ſaid to have been at *Oxford*, but *Aſſer* names no Place. The fourth was beſtow'd on the Monaſteries round about in *Weſt-Saxony* and *Mercia*, and ſome Year by Turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain*, *Cornwall*, *Gall*, *Armorica* and *Northumberland*; and alſo in *Ireland* he either according to his Ability ſent Relief, or reſolv'd to do it, as Opportunity and his Incomes would permit. Many more Excellencies might be related of this admirable Prince, but we ſhall diſmiſs this Subject with that Character given him by a great Man, who upon a due Conſideration of all Things thus breaks forth. 'O *Alfred*, the Wonder 'and Aſtoniſhment of all Ages! If we reflect upon his Piety and Religion, it 'would ſeem that he had never gone out of a Monaſtery: If on his warlike Ex-'ploits, that he had liv'd no where but in a Camp: If on his Writings and 'Studies, that he had ſpent his whole Life in an Univerſity: And laſtly, if 'we regard his Adminiſtration of the Affairs of his Kingdom and Subjects, one 'would think that his whole Time had been employ'd in nothing elſe but enact-'ing Laws, and promoting Juſtice in his Tribunals and Courts.

Aſſer.

The Sum of his Character.

Speiman.

His Death.

At length being arriv'd at the fifty firſt Year of his Age, God was pleas'd to remove this Great Man, after a tumultuous yet glorious Reign of twenty nine Years and above ſix Months, in the Year 900, and upon the 25th Day of *October*;

ber. His Body was first bury'd at *Wincheſter*, next remov'd into the Church of the new Monaſtery; and laſtly his Body, Monument, Church and Monaſtery were all remov'd without the North Gate of the City, ſince call'd *Hide*.

7. *EDWARD the Elder.*

Sax. An. Malmsb. IV. The Sorrow occaſion'd by the Loſs of King *Alfred* was much alleviated by the Succeſſion of his eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, a Perſon highly promiſing in all his Actions; who tho' he was inferior to his Father in Learning and Abilities, yet he afterwards far exceeded him in Power and Grandeur, enjoying the Benefit of thoſe Labours which his Father had ſuſtain'd. But the Beginning of his Reign was much diſturb'd by the Pretenſions of his Coſen *Ethelwald*, who is ſaid to have been Son to his Father's Elder Brother *Ethelred*, who was his immediate Predeceſſor in the Kingdom. However his Title was thought ſufficient, if he could find Power to ſupport it; accordingly he ſeiz'd on two Towns call'd *Winburn* and *Tweonam*; in the former of which he fortify'd himſelf, declaring he would live or dye in that Place. But his Reſolutions were of ſmall Advantage, for the Memory of King *Alfred* was ſo dear in thoſe Parts, that the Inhabitants would admit of no Succeſſor but his Heir. King *Edward*, aſſur'd of their Fidelity, led an Army to a Place call'd *Baddanbryg*, not far from *Winburn*; which ſo terrify'd his Rival *Ethelwald*, that notwithſtanding all his boaſted Valour and Conſtancy, he fled out of the Town by Night, and got to *Northumberland*, where he join'd with the *Daniſh* Army, and was acknowledg'd as King of *England*: King *Edward* commanded ſome to purſue him, but not reaching him, he caus'd his Wife to be ſeiz'd, who being a profeſs'd Nun, and taken out of the Monaſtery without Leave from the King or Licence from the Biſhops, he return'd her to the Profeſſion and Place from whence ſhe came. Thus King *Edward* repell'd *Ethelwald* without Fighting; and the *Kentiſh* Men the following Year, at a Place call'd *Holme* fought ſucceſsfully againſt a Multitude of *Daniſh* Pirates. In the mean Time *Ethelwald* paſs'd from *Northumberland* into *France*, where being reinforc'd by the *Normans*, he return'd the next Year into *England*; and joining with great Numbers of *Danes* inhabiting *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-England*, and other Places, he invaded *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, as far as *Crekelade* in *Wiltſhire*. Then paſſing over the *Thames*, he waſted all Places, as well within *Brædene* as the adjacent Parts, and ſo return'd. King *Edward* with what Forces he could raiſe haſten'd after them, and laid waſte all their Lands lying between *Decil's Ditch* in *Cambridgeſhire* and the River *Owſe*, as far as the Marſhes and Fens. Thinking it convenient to return, he gave Orders that his whole Army ſhould decamp and march together; but the *Kentiſh* Men, careleſs of themſelves, ſtaid a while behind, by which Delay of theirs, and being ſeparated from the King's Forces, the *Danes* were incourag'd to give the King Battel, which was very obſtinate and bloody on both Sides. The King loſt the Earls *Sigulf* and *Sigelm*, with many other of his Nobles, and the *Danes* their King *Eolrick*, *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with a greater Number than the *Engliſh*, tho' they had the Honour of keeping the Field. This Battel was fought in the Year 905, but we know not the Effect of it, but only in the ſecond Year after, a Peace was concluded between King *Edward* and the *Danes* of *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*, at a Place call'd *Itsyngaford*, which laſted for the Space of three Years.

A. D. 900. Edward *ſucceeds.*

Ethelwald *his Kinſman rebels,*

who flies and joins with the Danes.

They ravage the Nation.

A Peace concluded.

Sax. An. &c. At the End of which Time, the Peace was broken, tho' the Annals ſay not by whom; but *Hoveden* charges all upon the *Danes*, who he ſays prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he ſent an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* and *Mercians* into *Northumberland*, which in five Weeks made great Devaſtations, kill'd great Numbers of the *Danes*, and compell'd them to renew the Treaty they had lately

A. D. 910.

which is broken.

lately broken. But in the following Year they broke this alſo, and furiouſly invaded *Mercia*, where they were met by the *Engliſh* at *Teoten hale*, or *Tetnal* in *Staffordſhire*, and overthrown. King *Edward* was then in *Kent*, and had gather'd together about an hundred Sail of Ships, beſides ſuch as were ſent to the Southward and met him at Sea. The *Danes* imagining that he had ſhipt off the Majority of his Forces, took the Liberty to rove about beyond the *Severn*, and wherever elſe the Hopes of Booty could invite them. Whereupon King *Edward* ſent the lighteſt of his Army before, to divert the Enemy 'till he could come up; and then following with the main Body, he ingag'd them in their Return at *Cantbridge* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where he gave them a memorable Defeat. The Annals relate, that many thouſands of them were ſlain, together with *Eowd* their King; but *Huntington* mentions two other Kings, *Haldene* and *Eolwulf*, beſides *Uther* a Conſul, and eight other Noblemen, whoſe barbarous Names may without any Loſs to the Reader be omitted. In the following Year *Ethered* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had given *London* with his Daughter *Ethelfled* in Marriage, now dying, King *Edward* reſum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the adjoining Countries into his own Hands. And in the Year after, he built by his Soldiers, or much repair'd the Town of *Hartford* on either Side of the *Lee*, and leaving a ſufficient Number at Work, he march'd about the Middle of Summer with the other Part of his Forces into *Eſſex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Soldiers built *Witham* in the ſame County; where a conſiderable Part of the Country, formerly ſubject to the *Danes*, yielded themſelves to his Protection. And now reigning in Peace, about the Year 915, he took care for the Reſtoration of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, as his Father had done for that of *Oxford:* And by the Aſſiſtance of Pope *John* and Arch-Biſhop *Plegmund*, and by the Advice of all the Biſhops and chief Men of his Kingdom, he confirm'd to the Doctors and Scholars of this Univerſity, as alſo to their Servants, all the Privileges which had been granted by himſelf or his Predeceſſors, to endure for ever by a perpetual Right, as appears by the Copy of a Charter ſtill extant.

The Danes *receive a great Defeat.*

A. D. 912.

King Edward *reſtores the Univerſity of* Cambridge.

A. D. 917. About two Years after, the *Danes* from *Northampton* and *Leiceſter*, broke the Peace by a furious Inroad made into *Oxfordſhire*, where they committed all Kinds of Rapine, and made great Slaughters; while another Party with leſs Succeſs march'd into *Hartfordſhire*, where the Inhabitants, now ſufficiently inured to ſuch Allarms, bravely reſiſted them, repell'd them and recover'd the Booty they had taken, and made themſelves Maſters of their Horſes. During theſe Conteſts *Ethelfleda* the King's Siſter, and Relict of *Ethered* Duke of *Mercia*, having Charge of that Country, behav'd her ſelf as ſhe had done continually in her Husband's Time, with ſuch uncommon Courage and Conduct as ſhe became a mighty Help to her Brother in his Wars, and nobly defended all thoſe who were under her Care. But the *Britains* who were Neighbours to the *Mercians*, diſdaining to be checkt and reſtrain'd by a Woman, were ſo hardy as to make ſome Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Territories. She to divert and chaſtiſe them, ſent a Party into *Wales*, which eaſily defeated the *Welch*, took the Caſtle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and beſides thirty four other conſiderable Captives, brought away that King's Wife Priſoner into *Mercia*. In the following Year this valiant Woman bravely attack'd the Town of *Darby* then in the Hands of the *Danes*, took it by Storm, after they had refus'd Battel in the open Field, and then ſubdu'd all the Country round, tho' with the great Hazard of her Perſon, and the Loſs of four of her beſt Officers who were ſlain at the Entry of the Gate. After this Victory ſhe conquer'd *Leiceſter* with the greateſt Part of the *Daniſh* Army that lay in thoſe Parts; and alſo thoſe of *Yorkſhire* promis'd Submiſſion and all good Deportment. But this Virago is not only celebrated by all Writers for taking of Towns and Caſtles from the Enemy, but alſo for repairing and building many others in the *Engliſh* Territories: As particularly *Cheſter*, *Tamworth*, *Leichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, *Shrewsbury*, *Wedensbury*,

Hunting. Ingulf. &c.

The valiant Acts of Ethelfleda *Siſter to King* Edward.

Her Buildings.

Wedensbury, *Eadsbury*, *Finborow*, *Rimcorne*, *Brimsbery*, *Brigge*, and ſeveral others: And generally ſuch as were repair'd by her had formerly by her Valour and Conduct been wreſted out of the Hands of the Enemy. At length after eight Years Government of *Mercia*, this renown'd Lady dy'd at *Tamworth* in *Staffordſhire*, and was bury'd in the Porch of St. *Peter* in *Gloceſter* by her Huſband. *Huntington* further writes, that ſhe was reported to have been of ſo great Power, that by ſome ſhe was not only call'd Lady and Queen, but King alſo, out of Admiration of her Abilities. She left only one Child, a Daughter nam'd *Alwina*, for ſhe became ſo affected with the Pains of Child-bed at her Birth, that ſhe would never more accompany with her Husband. To which Paſſage *Ingulph* adds, that in reſpect of the Cities ſhe built, the Caſtles ſhe fortify'd, and the Armies ſhe manag'd, it might have been thought that ſhe had chang'd her Sex. She made her Daughter her Heir, but King *Edward* ſo far underſtood his Intereſt, that within a Year he ſent for his Niece into *Weſt-Sex*, and took all *Mercia* into his own Hands.

Her Death.

Edward *ſeizes on* Mercia.

Sax. An. But to return back to this Prince, and his Affairs: The Year after the Taking of *Darby*, a new Fleet of *Danes* from the Southwards arriv'd at *Lidwic* in *Devonſhire* under the Conduct of two Commanders call'd *Ottor* and *Roald*. Sailing Weſtward round the Land's End, they enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they ravag'd all the Coaſt of *Wales*, and coming to *Irchenfield*, they took *Kuneleac* a *Britiſh* Biſhop Priſoner, for whoſe Ranſom King *Edward* afterwards gave Forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Herefordſhire* and *Gloceſterſhire*, with ſome others, oppos'd their Progreſs, and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Roald*, with the Brother of *Ottor*, and many others: And purſuing them to a Wood, they there beſieg'd them 'till they gave Security for departing out of the King's Dominions. In the mean Time the King hover'd with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, ſo that they durſt not touch upon theſe Quarters, except twice in the Night Time, and then they came home ſhort, being all cut off except ſome that by ſwimming eſcap'd to their Ships. The reſt being almoſt famiſh'd in a ſmall Iſland, remov'd from Place to Place, 'till at length they paſs'd over into *Ireland*; and this was the Iſſue of this Invaſion, when the Country enjoy'd a Breathing Time from theſe Calamities. The Pirates being departed, King *Edward* the better to ſecure himſelf againſt the Attempts of their Countrymen inhabiting about *Bedford* and in *Buckinghamſhire*, who were always ready to join with freſh Comers, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he continu'd a Month, and order'd Forts to be erected on each Side of the River *Owſe*. This Management ſo curb'd the Power of the *Danes*, that many of them ſubmitted themſelves, particularly *Turkitel* a Commander, together with moſt of the conſiderable Men about *Bedford*, as alſo ſeveral about *Northampton*. This incourag'd the King to go down the following Year to *Bedford*, which being yielded to him, he continu'd there about a Month, and took care for the Building a *Burh*, as the Annals call it, on the South Side of the River *Owſe*, which Townlet was in the *Saxon*'s Time call'd *Mikeſgate*. The following Year, a little before Midſummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another *Burh*, and fortify'd the Town. And now *Turkitel* the *Dane* finding he was like to have but ſmall Succeſs in this Nation, while the King ſo wiſely and induſtriouſly manag'd his Affairs, got leave with as many Volunteers as would follow him, to paſs into *France*, where he knew his Countrymen might find him Employment. The King ſtill purſu'd his Deſigns and Buſineſs, and to add to his Strength, he re-edify'd *Torceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*, and caus'd it to be fortify'd, and likewiſe built and fortify'd a Place call'd *Wigingmere*, now *Wigmore* in *Herefordſhire*.

A. D. 918.

The Danes *decline.*

Edward *increaſes in Strength.*

Sax. An. While King *Edward* was buſied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the *Danes* of *Northampton* and *Leiceſter*, being apprehenſive of the Inconveniency of ſo many ſtrong Towns, laid Siege to *Torceſter*. But after a Days vigorous Reſiſtance, and Supplies coming in, they left the Place by Night, and being purſu'd

A. D. 921.

purſu'd and ſurpriz'd between *Burnwood* and *Aylesbury*, they loſt many of their Men, and much of their Baggage. About the ſame Time the *Danes* of *Huntington*, judging their Fortreſs not proper for their Purpoſe, demoliſh'd it, and erected another at *Temesford* in *Bedfordſhire*, by the Aſſiſtance of their Countrymen in *Eaſt-England*. From thence they made Excurſions to *Bedford*, in hopes of recovering that Town, but the Garriſon ſally'd out, and repell'd them with a great Slaughter. After which they rais'd a greater Army, both out of *Eaſt-England* and *Mercia*, which in a ſhort Time ſate down before *Wigmore*, but after one Days Trial, they were oblig'd to depart, with what Booty they could get out of the Country. Upon theſe Acts of Hoſtility many of King *Edward*'s Friends gather'd themſelves together, and uniting their Forces, beſieg'd the new Fort at *Temesford*, which they took by Storm, after a vigorous Reſiſtance; in which they ſlew the *Daniſh* King, the two Earls *Toylea* and *Mannan*, with all the reſt in the Place, who choſe Death rather than Submiſſion. Incourag'd by this Succeſs, the Inhabitants of *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Eſſex*, with ſeveral from other Parts, went and laid Siege to *Colcheſter*, and ſo bravely carry'd on their Attacks, that in a ſhort Time they took the Place, and put all the *Danes* to the Sword, except ſuch as had the good Fortune to eſcape over the Walls. To the Relief of theſe great Numbers of *Danes* inhabiting the Ports and other Towns in *England*, united their Forces; but coming too late, they pleas'd themſelves with the Hopes of revenging the Injury upon *Maldon*; but that Town being timely reliev'd, they departed, not only with the Loſs of their Deſign, but alſo of many Thouſands of their Men. King *Edward* being jealous of their Countrymen haſten'd this Summer with an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* to *Paſsham* upon the *Owſe*, where he continu'd 'till *Torcheſter* was incompaſs'd with a Stone Wall. Which had ſuch an Influence upon the *Danes* in thoſe Parts, that *Thurfert* an Earl, with the Lords of the neighbouring Towns, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Weolind* came and ſubmitted to him. Now the King's Forces deſir'd to return home, yet Part of them were order'd to *Huntington*, where they repair'd the Breaches and fortify'd the Town; upon the Sight of which, all the People of thoſe Parts ſubmitted, and deſir'd the King's Protection. In the ſame Year he march'd with his *Weſt-Saxon* Forces to *Colcheſter*, where repairing and fortifying that Town, all the People of *Eaſt-England*, living under the *Danes*, together with the *Daniſh* Army, as well by Sea as by Land, ſwore Obedience to him, and to obſerve his Commands. The *Daniſh* Army at *Cambridge* alſo ſurrender'd themſelves, and took the ſame Oath. By this Means King *Edward*'s Power and Dominions were not only inlarg'd, but alſo all the *Eaſt-Angles* were freed from the Tyranny of the *Danes*, who had kept them in Subjection for about fifty Years, ever ſince the Death of King *Edmund*; whoſe Body was this Year remov'd from *Hoxon* in *Suffolk* to St. *Edmund's Bury* in the ſame County.

The Danes ſtill loſe Ground.

Moſt of them ſubmit to the King.

The East-Angles freed from their Yoke.

A. D. 922. The following Year ſtill added to King *Edward*'s Greatneſs and Soveraignty; for coming to *Stamford* and erecting a Caſtle on the South Side of the River, all the Inhabitants in thoſe Parts acknowledg'd him their ſupreme Lord. At the ſame Time his Siſter *Ethelfleda* dying, as we have formerly mention'd, all *Mercia* was reduc'd to his Power; which was immediately follow'd by the Submiſſion of *Howel*, *Cledanc* and *Jeothwell* the petty Princes of *North-Wales*, with all the Northern *Britains*, who put themſelves under his Protection. After this the King viſited *Notingham*, which he repair'd, and plac'd both *Engliſh* and *Danes* in it, of which two Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia* now became his Subjects. And to purſue and compleat his good Fortune, the next Year he march'd with an Army to *Tethwall* in *Cheſhire*, where he took Care for the building and fortifying that Town. While he continu'd there, he ſent for another Party of Soldiers out of *Mercia*, and order'd them to repair and fortifie *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire*. The next Year King *Edward* to ſecure all about him went down with an Army to *Notingham*, where he order'd a Borough to be

Sax. An. &c.

be built on the South Side of the River over-againſt it, and a Bridge to be made for Intercourſe between them. From thence he march'd as far as the Territories of the *Picts*, to a Place call'd *Bedecanwillan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and ſtrongly fortify'd. Upon which the King of the *Scots* choſe him for his Lord and Patron, together with the *Scotiſh* Nation it ſelf, as likewiſe did *Regiwald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *Engliſh* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as alſo the King of the *Britains* call'd *Straetgledwalli*, with all his Subjects. Theſe are the great Atchievments of King *Edward* as they are ſummarily ſet down in the *Saxon* Annals, which ſhew his Power ſo great, that none of his Predeceſſors extended his Dominions to ſuch a Proportion. By *Malmesbury* we are told that as it were to compleat his Grandeur, a little before he dy'd he reduc'd the Inhabitants of *Cheſter* and the Country about it, who having conſpir'd with the neighbouring *Britains* had attempted to ſhake off the Yoke; but he by his Diligence prevented their Forces joining, and by the Terror of his Name ſoon conſtrain'd them to ſubmit themſelves. And thus after a fortunate and triumphant Reign of about twenty four Years, this great Prince dy'd at *Farrington* in *Barkſhire* in the Year 924, and was bury'd in the Monaſtery at *Wincheſter* by his Father; leaving behind him a numerous Iſſue of five Sons and nine Daughters.

The King of the Scots *and ſeveral others ſubmit.*

Edward's *Greatneſs.*

His Death.

8. *ATHELSTAN.*

Malmsb &c.

V. Of the five Sons that King *Edward* left behind, three aſcended the Throne and became Kings of *England*, viz. *Athelſtan*, *Edmund* and *Edred*. *Ethelward* was nearer than all the reſt, but dying a few Days after his Father, he made way for the Succeſſion of *Athelſtan*, who tho' the Eldeſt, and legitimated as it were by the after Marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtain'd the Crown during the Life of *Ethelward*. Concerning the Birth of this Prince, *Malmesbury* and *Brompton* have this peculiar Story: That in the Reign of King *Alfred*, when his Son *Edward* was young, in a Village of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the Daughter of a Shepherd by Name *Edgina*, had a Dream that the Moon ſhone out of her Womb ſo bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by the Splendor of it: Which being told to a grave Matron, who had been Nurſe to ſeveral of the King's Children, ſhe took her into her Houſe, and educated her as tenderly as if ſhe had been her own Daughter, inſtructing her to demean her ſelf as might become a Perſon both of Birth and Breeding. In proceſs of Time, Prince *Edward*, the King's eldeſt Son, occaſionally paſſing through the Town, thought himſelf oblig'd in Civility to viſit his Nurſe; which brought him to a Sight of this beautiful Maid, whoſe Charms ſo captivated his Affections, that he was inceſſantly importunate to lye with her. His Deſire being at length obtain'd, *Edgina* prov'd with Child, and being deliver'd of a Son, in reſpect to her former Dream, *Edward* gave him the Name of *Athelſtan*, which ſignifies *The moſt Noble*. But how uncertain ſoever his Birth was, he prov'd an excellent Governor; and now being thirty Years of Age, he aſcended the Throne by the Conſent of all the Nobility, and was crown'd at the Royal Town of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, not without the Predeſignment of his Father by his laſt Will and Teſtament. By his own Pregnancy and Education he had arriv'd to many noble Qualifications of Mind, ſuitable to the Dignity of his Employment; and his Grandfather *Alfred* is ſaid to have preſag'd to him a fortunate Reign, being much enamour'd with his excellent Behaviour and his beautiful Features. When he was very young, he conferr'd on him the Honour of Knighthood, by inveſting him with a Purple Robe, a Belt adorn'd with Gems, and a Sword of the *Saxon* Faſhion put in a golden Scabbard; and caus'd him to be educated in the Houſe of his

A. D. 924.

The Birth of Athelſtan.

He is crown'd King.

renowned Daughter *Ethelfleda*, and her valiant Husband, that he might be train'd up in ſuch Actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition which the Hopes conceiv'd of him did portend.

He is oppoſed by Alfred.

The Deſerts of this Prince, and the general Affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all Inconveniencies proceeding from the Condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made a conſiderable Oppoſition againſt the Choice, as of an illegitimate Perſon, and conſpired with his Accomplices to ſeize him in the City of *Wincheſter*, and to put out his Eyes. But the Plot was happily diſcover'd, and *Alfred* denying it utterly was ſent to *Rome*, there to purge himſelf before the Pope; where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carry'd by his Servants to the *Engliſh* School, he dy'd three Days after. By reaſon of this Accident the Pope would not diſpoſe of his Body, but ſent to know the Advice of King *Athelſtan*; who being prevail'd upon by the Friends of *Alfred*, conſented that he ſhould have Chriſtian Burial, tho' his whole Eſtate was adjudg'd confiſcate for his Treaſon. Such good Fortune had *Athelſtan* againſt this Domeſtick Enemy. In other Places he found little Trouble, except on the North Side of the *Humber*; where *Inguald*, one of the *Daniſh* Kings, ſeiz'd on *York*, and *Sothric* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, who formerly had kill'd his Brother *Niel*, by Force made himſelf Maſter of *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*. *Malmesbury* ſays that *Sithric* was a Barbarian both in Mind and Nation, that he was Kinſman to *Guthram* ſo remarkable in King *Alfred*'s Reign, that having proudly contemn'd the Power of former Kings, now humbly deſir'd the Alliance of *Athelſtan* by Meſſengers, whom he himſelf follow'd to make good what they had petition'd on his Behalf. *Athelſtan* found him a Perſon ſo conſiderable, that he gave him his Siſter *Edgitha* in Marriage, upon an Agreement that he ſhould be firſt baptiz'd. Not long after *Sithric* dy'd, and was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by *Godefrid* his Son; but King *Athelſtan* thought fit to diſpoſſeſs him, and reduc'd all *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay Claim, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance. From which gaining of the Kingdom of *Northumberland* we may obſerve, That as King *Edward* had before conquer'd the *Danes* of *Eaſt-England*, and had alſo added *Mercia* to his own Kingdom; ſo King *Athelſtan* by the Expulſion of King *Godefrid*, who was alſo of the *Daniſh* Race, became the firſt King that ruled all *England*, without any King under him. And by his Conqueſts and Acquiſitions, this Prince juſtly deſerv'd the Title of firſt Monarch, tho' his Modeſty occaſion'd him to wave it, leaving it to his younger Brother *Edred*, who was the firſt King that aſſum'd it.

Mahmsb. Sim. Dun. Sax. An.

Northumberland *added to* Athelſtan's *Dominions.*

A. D. 934.

Upon the Reduction of *Northumberland*, *Godefrid* fled into *Scotland*, and his Brother *Anlaf* into *Ireland*; and the former was ſhortly follow'd by Ambaſſadors from King *Athelſtan* to *Conſtantine* King of the *Scots*, who demanded the Fugitive to be deliver'd up, upon the Peril of a ſpeedy War. Some write that a War did really commence which *Athelſtan* carry'd on with numerous Forces both by Sea and Land, and drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Merlermore*, and by Sea as far as into *Cathneſs*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring to diſpleaſe him, both *Conſtantine* and *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland* readily came to a Place call'd *Dacor*, where they deliver'd up themſelves and their Poſſeſſions into the Hands of the King of *England*, who became God-father to the Son of *Conſtantine*, now order'd to be baptiz'd in Teſtimony of the Agreement. But while they were preparing for their Journey, *Godefrid* eſcap'd, and travelling into ſeveral Parts with one *Turfrid*, at length gather'd ſome Men together, and laid Siege to *York*, where he us'd all verbal Methods to induce the Inhabitants to yield, but not prevailing, he retir'd, and was ſhortly after taken with *Turfrid*, and impriſon'd in a Caſtle, from whence by deluding their Keepers they made their Eſcape. *Turfrid* not long after was ſhipwreckt and drowned at Sea; *Godefrid* after having endur'd much Miſery, came in a ſuppliant Manner to the King's Court, who kindly receiv'd him; but

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. Florent.

He invades Scotland.

but after he had been generouſly treated for four Days, he ſuddenly retir'd to his Ships, and his old Employment of Piracy. In the mean Time King *Athelſtan* demoliſh'd a Caſtle which the *Danes* had fortify'd at *York*, and carefully divided the large Booty he found in it among his Soldiers: For this Prince was ſo liberal, that he never hoarded up Mony for himſelf, but beſtow'd what fell to him, either among his faithful Servants, or upon Monaſteries.

Sax. An. Ingulph. Malmsb. But now a great Tempeſt began to gather againſt him in the North, where *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, exaſperated by the late Invaſion, join'd with *Anlaf* from *Ireland*, and engag'd *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces rais'd out of ſeveral Nations ſummon'd to their Aſſiſtance. After four Years Preparations they invaded *England* by the River *Humber*, and paſs'd up the Country to a Place call'd *Brunanburg* in *Northumberland*; *Athelſtan* purpoſely giving way to obtain better Advantage againſt them. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Reſolution of *Athelſtan*, and fearing his own Forces tho' numerous, reſolv'd firſt to ſpy out the Poſture of his Enemies: And following the Example of King *Alfred* in the laſt Age, in the Habit of a Muſician, by his Harp and Voice he got Admittance into the King's Tent, where he plaid the part both of a Spy and a Singer. Being diſmiſt in the Evening with a Reward, while he was viewing the King's Tent, and the Avenues to it, he was obſerv'd by one who had been his Soldier and well knew him; who upon acquainting the King with it, and being blam'd for letting ſuch an Enemy eſcape, anſwer'd, *That he had firſt given his Military Oath to* Anlaf, *and if he had betray'd him, the King might have juſtly ſuſpected him for the like Treaſon.* But as an Inſtance of his Fidelity he adviſ'd him to remove his Tent, which prov'd very ſeaſonable; for a Biſhop with his Retinue coming immediately after, and pitching his Tent in the ſame Place, was the firſt that loſt his Life in the Night Time. For *Anlaf* choſe rather by Night to ſurpriſe his Enemy, than fairly to give them Battel in open Field by Day Light; and accordingly he fell ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and kill'd the Biſhop who came but that Night to the Camp, which cauſing a great Tumult, the King, tho' a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Allarm, and by Day Light came to the Place of the Slaughter, where they found the Aſſailants tired and diſorder'd by their late Travel, and for want of Sleep. King *Athelſtan* with the *Weſt-Saxons* met with *Anlaf* himſelf, and *Turketul* his Kinſman and Chancellor with the *Londoners* and *Mercians* engag'd *Conſtantine*; which occaſion'd vaſt Bloodſhed on both Sides. The Diſpute continuing hot and violent, by reaſon of the Multitude of the Barbarians, *Turketul* took with him a ſelect Body of *Londoners*, and a valiant Captain call'd *Singin*, and with them ruſh'd into the Middle of the Enemies, where he hewed down whole Ranks of Men on both Sides of him. He bravely paſs'd through the Heaps of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a Wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breaſt Plate, and breaking in upon whole Companies of *Cimbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reach'd *Conſtantine* himſelf, whom he diſmounted, and would have taken alive; but the *Scots* were ſo concern'd for their King, that they made a very dangerous Reſiſtance, and many of them preſſing upon the few *Engliſh* that follow'd him, and all aiming chiefly at *Turketul*, he began to repent of his Raſhneſs, ſeeing no Means of eſcaping or getting off his Priſoner; when on a ſudden *Singin* coming in afreſh to his Reſcue, kill'd King *Conſtantine*. And now their King being ſlain, the *Scots* were ſo diſcourag'd, that they ſoon retir'd; and the Report flying about the Army, *Anlaf* and all his Followers fled, after an incredible Slaughter of *Danes* and *Scots* upon the Place. This Battel, which prov'd highly to the Honour and Advantage of *Athelſtan*, was fought from Morning 'till Night, and was the bloodieſt that ever had been known in *England*; in which *Ingulph* aſſures us, that beſides *Conſtantine*, five other Kings were there ſlain, twelve Earls, and an infinite Number of the inferior Sort. *Turketul*, who had gain'd ſo much Honour, not long after, leaving all ſecular Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland* in *Lincolnſhire*, which at his own Charge

A. D. 938. England *invaded by the* Scots *and others.*

Whence a bloody Battel enſues.

Which adds much to the Fame of Athelſtan.

he had repair'd from the *Daniſh* Ruins, and there left the Memorial of his former Actions.

This Victory added vaſtly to the Reputation of King *Athelſtan*, and the Fame of it flying through all Chriſtendom, all Kings were ambitious to obtain his Friendſhip, and on any Terms to make Alliance with him. *Henry* the Emperor ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire one of his Siſters in Marriage for his Son *Otho*; *Hugh* King of *France* requeſted another for his Son; and *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* begg'd the like Favour for his own Perſon. With theſe Ambaſſadors were brought ſuch rich and noble Preſents as had never been ſeen in the *Engliſh* Nation, as rich Perfumes, Gems, Horſes of the fineſt Breed with golden Furniture, Veſſels of Onyx, and other moſt rare and precious Things, beſides the moſt valuable Reliques in thoſe Times. All which were kindly receiv'd by King *Athelſtan*, who under the Conduct of *Turketul* and his greateſt Courtiers ſent four of his Siſters, who, as *Ingulph* ſays, for Chaſtity were ſuperior to *Diana*, and for Beauty exceeded *Helena*. The two Eldeſt were marry'd to the Emperor's Son and another great Prince of his Court, and the two Youngeſt to the Kings of *France* and *Aquitain*; and the King's Courtiers return'd home loaded with noble Gifts, who to the meaneſt of them were richly preſented. The Renown of *Athelſtan* being ſo great abroad, nothing could withſtand him at home, where ſoon after his Succeſs in the North againſt the *Scots*, he with his Brother *Edmund* invaded *Wales*, and with great Eaſe reduc'd *Ludwal* their chief King to Subjection. Then cauſing all the petty Kings of *Wales*, as well as *Ludwal*, to meet him at *Hereford*, under the Name of Tribute he impos'd on them a yearly Payment of twenty Pound Weight of Gold, 300 of Silver, 25000 Beeves, and as many Hounds and Hawks as he ſhould demand. Moreover becauſe in the Weſtern Parts towards *Cornwall* the *Britains* and *Engliſh* dwelt confuſedly together, which bred Diſſentions, and frequently drew the Affections of the *Engliſh* from their Prince, he expell'd all the *Corniſh Britains* out of *Exeter*, and other Parts of *Devonſhire*; tho' they had formerly dwelt there in equal Right with the *Engliſh*. And to their Country of *Cornwall* he fix'd certain Limits, dividing it from *Devonſhire* with the River *Tamar*, as he bounded the other Northern *Britains* with the River *Vaga* or *Wey*.

Ingulph, &c.

All Kings ſeek Alliance with him.

He makes the petty Kings of Wales tributary.

Thus dreaded at home and fear'd abroad King *Athelſtan* liv'd in Peace for near three Years; during which Time he made ſeveral Laws, by the Advice of his wiſe Men and chief Commanders, for the preſerving of Quiet, and the Government of his Country. The Subſtance of theſe, as well as thoſe of his Father *Edward*'s, are extant to this Day; among which were eſtabliſh'd the Price of Murder or Man-killing, from the King to the Peaſant; the Puniſhment of which at that Time was only Pecuniary, not Capital or by Death, which becauſe it makes out the peculiar Uſage of thoſe Times, we ſhall recite in particular. The Price of the King's Life by the Common Law of the *Engliſh* was 30000 Pieces of Silver call'd *Thrimſa's*, ſuppos'd to be about three Shillings a Piece; whereof one Half was paid to the King's Relations, and the other Half to the Nation or People. The Life of an Arch-Biſhop or Earl was valu'd at 15000 *Thrimſa's*, to be divided as the former: The Life of a Biſhop or Alderman at 8000: The Life of a Field-Marſhal, Knight-Marſhal, or General, at 4000: The Life of a *Maſs-Thane* or Prieſt, and a Secular or World-*Thane*, at 2000: And the Life of a Peaſant or Countryman at 267 *Thrimſa's*. King *Athelſtan* ſtill liv'd in great Glory and Renown; and among the foreign Princes that paid their Reſpects to him, *Harold* King of *Norway* ſent him a Ship whoſe Stern was of Gold, and the Sails of Purple, beſides other rich Preſents; and his Ambaſſadors were nobly rewarded by the King at *York*. At length in *November* 940 this great Prince ended his Days at *Gloceſter*, and was bury'd with many Trophies at *Malmesbury*, after he had reign'd fifteen Years and odd Months. This Prince's great Actions are only ſully'd by the Death of his younger Brother *Edwin*, of whom ſome Writers tell us, That King *Athelſtan* being jealous of

His Laws.

His Grandeur and Death.

of his Virtues, leſt being added to his Birthright, might ſome Time call in queſtion his Illegitimacy, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; others ſay he was expos'd with one Servant in a rotten Bark without either Sail or Oar; where the young Prince in a deſperate Condition threw himſelf into the Sea; but the Servant more patient recover'd Land, and reported the Event. But this Story is disbeliev'd by *Malmesbury*, by reaſon of his great Kindneſs to his other Brothers and Siſters, and ſays that it was only to be found in the Songs of former Ages, and in no good Author. And *Huntington* mentions the Loſs of *Edwin* by Sea, but ſpeaks of it as of a ſad Accident, and a great Misfortune to King *Athelſtan*; ſo that we need not trouble our Reader with more Particulars in this Matter. Yet we cannot finiſh this Reign without taking ſome Notice of another Romantick Story, mention'd by *Bromton* and other Modern Writers, That in this King's Reign, at the Time of a great Invaſion by the *Danes*, one *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* returning from the Holy Land in the Habit of a Pilgrim, at a Time when *Athelſtan* was in great diſtreſs for a Champion to fight *Colebrand* a monſtrous *Daniſh* Giant, who in Behalf of the *Danes* had challeng'd any Perſon the *Engliſh* ſhould bring into the Field; *Guy* accepted this Challenge, and without being known to any but the King, fought the Giant near *Wincheſter*, and kill'd him, and the *Danes* yielded the Victory; while *Guy* privately retir'd to a Hermit's Cell near *Warwick*, and there ended his Days.

Guy *Earl of* Warwick.

9. *EDMUND.*

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c. The great *Athelſtan* was ſucceeded in his Throne by his Brother *Edmund*, who tho' but a Youth of eighteen Years of Age, was not inferior to him in Courage and Bravery. As an Inſtance of his Power, in the ſecond Year of his Reign he invaded *Mercia*, and freed that Province from the Authority of the *Danes*, from whom he took the five Cities of *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Notingham*, *Stamford* and *Darby*, where they had been plac'd by his Father King *Edward*; but at this Time it was not thought convenient that they ſhould continue. For from what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, it appears that he had Matter of Jealouſie and Provocation from thoſe *Danes* who inhabited *Northumberland*, whoſe King, *Anlaf* by Name, waſted the Country from *York* Southwards to *Northamptom*, but was ſtopt in his Progreſs by King *Edmund* near *Leiceſter*. Here Peace was made between them by the Intervention of two Arch-Biſhops, *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, which was enobled by the Converſion of *Anlaf* himſelf, to whom King *Edmund* was God-father, who alſo not long after receiv'd *Reginald*, another King, from the Hands of the Biſhops at Confirmation. At the ſame Time their Territories were bounded North and South by *Watling-ſtreet*. But this Treaty continu'd not long in Force; for in two Years Time King *Edmund* invaded their Dominions, and drove both *Anlaf* and *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, reducing the whole Country to his own Subjection. Not long after he harraſs'd *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Mulcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon Condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him in all his Wars both by Sea and Land. *Matth. Weſtminſter* adds, tho' with no great Probability, that King *Edmund* having by the Aſſiſtance of *Lewellyn* Prince of North *Wales*, conquer'd *Cumberland*, he not only depriv'd *Dunmaile* of his Kingdom, but alſo his two Sons of their Eye-ſight.

A. D. 940. Edmund *ſucceeds.*

He gains many Advantages.

Sax. An. Malmsb. &c. During the Time of Peace, *Odo* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſet forth divers Canons, in the ſecond of which he admoniſh'd the King and the Nobility, that they obey'd their Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops with all Humility. The King alſo by the Advice of his Biſhops and Lay Nobles, commanded and eſtabliſhed many Laws, of which ſeveral were purely Eccleſiaſtical. And to ſhew his Love to God, and Bounty to his Church, he gave the Town of St. *Edmund's Bury*, with the Liberties thereof, wholly to the Martyr of that Name, and to the Monks

A. D. 944. *He makes ſeveral Laws.*

Monks that liv'd by ſerving at his Altars; and likewiſe he added many Privileges and Advantages to the Abbot and Monks of *Glaſſenbury*. Thus did King *Edmund* flouriſh, ſtill giving Hopes of greater Actions to be perform'd by him, when in the Height of the Expectations of his Friends, and his own Confidence, a venturous Act cut him off, and a ſtrange Accident depriv'd the People of their Prince. The Year that follow'd the Conqueſt of *Cumberland*, the King ſolemnly kept the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtine*, with many of his Nobility, at a Place now call'd *Puckle-Church* in *Gloceſterſhire*. As he ſat at the Table with his Gueſts, he eſpied one *Leof* a notorious Robber, who for his Crimes had been baniſh'd by the King ſix Years before. Being enrag'd at the Man's Boldneſs of appearing there, without conſidering his Royal Dignity, he aroſe from the Table, ran furiouſly upon *Leof*, caught him by the Hair, and pull'd him to the Ground. The Robber expecting nothing leſs than Death, reſolv'd not to dye unreveng'd, but pulling out a ſhort Dagger, gave the King a Mortal Wound in the Breaſt, whilſt he lay upon him with his full Weight. The Company being vaſtly ſurpriz'd at the Accident, immediately ſurrounded the Murderer, and cut him in pieces, who yet like a wild Beaſt at Bay made a furious Reſiſtance, and before he was kill'd wounded ſeveral of the Aſſailants. This was the ſtrange End of King *Edmund*, after he had reign'd in great Reputation ſix Years and ſix Months. His Body was bury'd at *Glaſſenbury*, where St. *Dunſtan* was then Abbot; and the Town where he was kill'd was beſtow'd on the ſame Monaſtery to ſing Maſſes for his Soul. This happen'd in the Year 946.

His ſtrange Death.

10. EDRED.

A. D. 946. Edred, *the firſt who was ſtil'd* King of Great Britain.

Tho' King *Edmund* left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, namely *Edwi* and *Edgar*, yet his youngeſt Brother *Edred* ſucceeded him in the Throne, and was unanimouſly crown'd at *Kingſton*. The Courſe of his brave and pious Actions ſufficiently ſhew'd that he did not degenerate from his Anceſtors; and he was the very firſt King of *England*, who in Writing ſtil'd himſelf *King of Great Britain*. In the firſt Year of his Reign he ſubdu'd all *Northumberland*, which was frequently revolting by the Practices of its petty Princes; in which Action he gain'd ſuch an extraordinary Reputation, that the *Scots* ſwore Obedience to him to will whatſoever he ſhould will, as the *Saxon* Annals expreſs it. But the *Northumbrians* ever unfaithful, now alſo ſhew'd the Unſteadineſs of their Diſpoſition. They recall'd *Anlaf*, and ſet him up for a conſiderable Space; and after that they choſe one *Eric* the Son of *Harald*, a *Dane*, for their King, againſt whom *Edred* enter'd *Northumberland*, and having waſted the Country, return'd to the South. In his Retreat *Eric* boldly fell upon his Rear, which engag'd him to face about, and prepare to charge the purſuing Enemy; which ſo diſcourag'd the *Northumbrians*, that dreading to prove what they had ſufficiently experienc'd, they threw off *Eric*'s Authority, kill'd *Arnanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, with great Preſents appeas'd King *Edred*, and ſubmitted themſelves to his Government. And now quitting the Adminiſtration of their petty Kings, *Northumberland* was thenceforth govern'd by Earls, of which one *Oſulf* is reported to be the firſt. In this late War *Wulſtan*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, ſided, or at leaſt conniv'd, as *Malmesbury* words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, for which he was committed to Priſon, where having continu'd a conſiderable Time, he was at laſt pardon'd and releas'd, out of Reſpect to his Gown and Function. As *Edred* thus proceeded to equal the Worth of his Predeceſſors, he was ſeiz'd with a languiſhing Diſtemper, and being admoniſh'd by the Abbot *Dunſtan* of his approaching Death, he did not only bear that Affliction with Patience, but ſpending his Time in Acts of Devotion, made his Palace a School of all Virtues, and being at length conſum'd by a tedious Sickneſs, departed this Life on the Feaſt of St. *Clement*,

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c.

His Succeſſes.

His Death.

ment, in the very Flower of his Age, to the great Grief of his Subjects, after a Reign of nine Years and six Months.

II. *EDWI.*

Malmsb. M. West.

VI. After the Death of *Edred* the Succession naturally fell to *Edwi*, the Eldest Son of King *Edmund*, who now advancing towards Man's Estate, was unanimously admitted King, and crown'd at *Kingston*. He was now about fourteen Years of Age, and was so extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Pancalus*, or *altogether Fair*; which Youth and Beauty unhappily expos'd him to the Arts and Allurements of loose Persons. Most Writers give him the Character of a dissolute Prince, and that he gave very great Offence to the Nobility by his inordinate Behaviour on the very Day of his Coronation. At that Time there was a Lady in his Court nearly related to him, who tho' very handsom her self, had a Daughter far exceeding her in Beauty, by Name *Algiva*: Which Mother and Daughter, by their unchast Deportment, had so insinuated themselves into his Favour, that he could neither be at Rest, nor dispatch any publick Business without them. The Ceremony of the Coronation, and the Dinner being over, he suddenly withdrew himself from the venerable Assembly of his Prelates and Nobility into the Chamber of these Women, where he cast himself upon a Bed between them. This was highly resented by the Lords, but none durst adventure to bring him back but *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glassenbury*, and *Kinsi* Bishop of *Lichfield*; who boldly enter'd the Chamber, and finding the Crown laid aside, and the Wearer of it in the Arms of two Concubines, *Dunstan* sharply rebuk'd the Women, gently reprehended the King, beseech'd him not to put so great an Affront upon his Nobility, and notwithstanding his and their Threats, he pull'd him from them, set the Crown upon his Head, and brought him back almost by Force into the Assembly.

A. D. 955.

Edwi, a dissolute Prince.

Malmsb. Sax. An. &c.

This unusual Way of Proceeding with a crown'd Head had many mischievous Effects; and the Women transported to all the Degrees of Malice and Revenge, resolv'd to procure the Ruin of *Dunstan*, which they so far effected, that the King caus'd all the Wealth of his Monastery to be seiz'd, and banish'd him into *Flanders*; nay so great an Aversion he conceiv'd against Men of his Profession, that all the Monks were reduc'd to a low Condition in his Reign; and *William* of *Malmesbury* complains, that his Monastery, which for 270 Years had been inhabited by Monks, *was now made a Stable of Clerks*. He and others concern'd for a Monastical Life relate this Story with sharp Reflections upon his Person, which some others do more indifferently; however he was but a Child, and consequently liable to be suduc'd by the Charms of Women, and the Conceit of his Royal Authority, which he look'd upon as uncontrolable. At length Arch-Bishop *Odo* excommunicated him, and pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce between him and his beloved *Algiva*; and the People so resented the Indignities offer'd to the Church, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies *Odo* was not satisfy'd with exercising his spiritual Jurisdiction in cutting them off from the Body of the Church; but by the Council and Assistance of the Nobility, he caus'd *Algiva* to be drawn out of the Court, contrary to the King's Will and Pleasure: And the Severity ended not here; for after that they added Marks of Scorn, defacing her Beauty by hot Irons, and laming her by cutting the Sinews of her Hams; after which they banish'd her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* having been King near four Years, and finding that he wanted Power and Interest to revenge himself, dy'd after two Years State of Excommunication. His Death happen'd in the Year 959, and his Body was interr'd in the new Monastery at *Winchester*.

He is a great Enemy to the Ecclesiasticks.

He is excommunicated.

Part of his Subjects revolt.

Edwi's Death.

12. *EDGAR.*

12. *EDGAR.*

A. D. 959. The Death of King *Edwi* immediately made way for his Brother *Edgar*, who peaceably aſcended the Throne, and became Monarch of all *England* at ſixteen Years of Age; which Title he bore after an uncontrolable manner, and with a better Colour, and a greater Appearance than any of his Predeceſſors. His whole Reign was a continual Calm, without Wars or Diſſentions, ſo that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Peaceable*; all which he ſupported by an extraordinary Care and Vigilance, and with no leſs Majeſty and Authority. His Actions, tho' not without ſome Mixtures of Vice, were generally noble, politick and pious, and his Government was attended with great Glory and Proſperity. Shortly after his Advancement, in an Aſſembly held at *Branford*, he revok'd all the unjuſt Decrees of his Brother *Edwi*, and took care to put his Adultreſs to Death, and for the recalling of the famous St. *Dunſtan* with great Honour, whom he firſt made Biſhop of *London* and *Worceſter*, and ſoon after Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. This Prince underſtood and practis'd the true Intereſt of his Country, which was to make good Laws, and to be Maſter at Sea; and was ſo wiſe as to know, that it was better to hinder the Invaſion of an Enemy, than to ſuffer his Kingdom to be the Seat of War, which would naturally bring Devaſtation and Poverty, and make the Conqueror himſelf a Loſer. Upon which Account he with great Diligence and Expence fitted out three vaſt Fleets, and was the firſt King of *England* who was truly Lord of our Seas. For every Summer, ſays *Malmesbury*, immediately after *Eaſter*, he commanded his Ships from each Shore to rendezvous at a convenient Place, and uſually ſail'd with the Eaſtern Fleet to the Weſtern Parts of the Iſland; then ſending that back, he ſail'd with the Weſtern Fleet to the Northern; and thence with the Northern, he remov'd to the Eaſtern Coaſts, ſailing in this manner quite round the Iſle. In all which Voyages he was very diligent to prevent the Incurſions of Pirates, and couragious in the Defence of his Kingdom againſt Foreigners, and no leſs careful in the training up his Subjects for Military Employments. Each of theſe Fleets, as we are aſſur'd, conſiſted of 1200 Ships, and each of conſiderable Bulk for thoſe Times; ſo that the whole Number muſt amount to 3600 Sail, as ſome of our Authors expreſly affirm, but others ſay 4000 Veſſels; and there are ſome who add a fourth Fleet to theſe three, by which means the Number will be increas'd to 4800 Sail, as may be ſeen in *Matthew Weſtminſter*.

Malmsb. &c.

Edgar the greateſt Monarch of England.

He prepares vaſt Fleets.

Theſe numerous Fleets added much to the Fame and Grandeur of this Prince, gave a riſe to that Right ſo long claim'd by the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the Sea, and ſo clear'd the Northern World from Rovers and Pirates, that all Traders were ambitious of putting themſelves under his Protection. This, and the Encouragement given to Foreigners, caus'd great Numbers to come over from *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark* it ſelf, and other Places. But *Malmesbury* ſays that their Arrival was a great Detriment to the Natives of this Iſland, 'who from the *Saxons* learnt Rudeneſs and Fierceneſs, Effeminateneſs 'from thoſe of *Flanders*, and Drunkenneſs from the *Danes*, being before free from thoſe Vices, contented with a natural and innocent Simplicity, and not addicted to admire the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of other Nations. But ſtill King *Edgar* was very diligent in ſuppreſſing theſe Vices, and particularly that of Drunkenneſs, which the *Danes* had introduc'd with ſuch miſchievous Effects; upon the Account of which he order'd Silver or Golden Pins to be fix'd to the Sides of their Pots or Cups, beyond which it was unlawful to drink themſelves; or cauſe others to do the ſame. And becauſe the Lives of the Secular Clergy became more and more luxurious and ſcandalous, he in a ſevere Oration to them openly diſplay'd all their looſe and ſcandalous Actions and Vices, and at length committed the Care of their Reformation to *Dunſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*,

Malmsb. &c.

All Nations come under his Protection.

He reforms many Vices and Irregularities.

bury, *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with Order that by his regular Authority, and their Epiſcopal Cenſures, the impious Seculars might be ejected, and the virtuous Regulars reſtor'd to their Monaſteries. That Juſtice might be done in all Parts of his Kingdom, in his frequent Circuits and Progreſſes through the Country, he took a ſpecial Account of the Actions and Demeanor of his Miniſters and Judges, ſo that the greateſt Perſon could not evade the Law, nor the Pooreſt want the Benefit of it. With the Corruptions and Vices of theſe Times, he alſo extirpated the wild Beaſts, by impoſing upon *Ludwal* King of *Wales* an annual Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which ſo deſtroy'd them in three Years Space, that in the fourth there was none to be found.

Malmsb. Florent. San. An. For the Support of his Grandeur, and towards the ſuſtaining of the Charge of his Navies, this Prince had at once eight petty Kings, who being his fiduciary Clients or Vaſſals, were by Oath bound to be ready at his Command, and to ſerve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Cheſter*, where he had order'd them to meet him, as he ſail'd about the North of *Britain* with a great Fleet. Their Names were *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, *Maccure* King of the Iſles, with five of *Wales*, namely *Duſval*, *Griffith*, *Huwald*, *Jacob* and *Judehil*; who all meeting him at his Court of *Cheſter*, to ſet forth the Splendor and Greatneſs of his Dominions, he went into a Gally, and caus'd himſelf to be row'd by theſe eight Kings on the River *Dee*, whilſt he himſelf held the Steerage, and was waited upon by all his Dukes and Nobility in another Barge. In this pompous Manner he was carry'd to the Monaſtery of St. *John Baptiſt*, where an Oration being made to him, he in the ſame State return'd to his Palace; and being arriv'd there, he is ſaid to have declar'd to his Nobles about him, *That his Succeſſors might then boaſt themſelves to be truly Kings of* England, *when they ſhould like him be attended by ſo many Kings his Vaſſals.* King *Edgar* did not long out-live this Act of Ambition; tho' ſome ſay this was but the Epilogue of a more pompous Solemnity, being the ſame Year publickly crown'd in the City of *Bath*, with an infinite Confluence of all Sorts of People. This Ceremony, according to ſome, was omitted 'till the fifteenth Year of his Reign, when he was thirty Years of Age, out of Penance for ſome former Sins; tho' others are of opinion, that it was this Year only repeated, a Thing not very unuſual among the Kings of *England*. In this or the next Year, according to *Ingulph*, dy'd *Swovebing* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142d Year of his Age, and ſhortly after him another in the 115th; which being in a moſt fenny and wateriſh Air in *Lincolnſhire*, is ſo much the more remarkable. About the ſame Time dy'd the famous *Turketul*, who from Chancellor to King *Athelſtan* choſe to become Abbot of this Place, and repair'd and much inrich'd the Monaſtery, after it had been ruin'd by the *Danes*; and he was the firſt that by adding to the two great Bells of that Abby ſix more, made the firſt tuneable Ring of Bells in *England*.

He is attended by eight Kings.

A. D. 973. *His Coronation.*

The firſt Ring of Bells in England.

Malmsb. Notwithſtanding the many juſt and honourable Actions of King *Edgar*, this Prince was not without remarkable Stains, eſpecially in relation to Women; which are acknowledg'd by Authors moſt favourable to his Memory. Of which we have this memorable Inſtance: *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire* had a Daughter nam'd *Elfrida*, ſo celebrated for her extraordinary Beauty, that the very Fame of her warm'd the King's Affections into the Paſſion of Love; and to be aſſur'd of the Truth, he ſent over *Athelwold* his Secretary and Confident, reſolving to marry her himſelf, if ſhe was found as beautiful as was reported. *Athelwold* at the firſt Sight of her was ſo captivated with her Looks, that he conceal'd his Meſſage, and reſolv'd to obtain her for himſelf; which being with no Difficulty effected, he vilify'd her to the King as a Woman of very ordinary Features, and of ſo ſmall a Stature, as would diſhonour his Royal Bed; by which means he marry'd her with the King's own Conſent, whoſe Thoughts he now diverted by other Objects. But at length *Athelwold*'s Enemies

The Story of Edgar's *Marriage with* Elfrida.

diſcover'd the Intrigue, and inform'd the King of the whole Deceit; and the more to exaſperate him they omitted no Words that might deſcribe the wonderful Beauty of the Lady. Upon which, the King being inwardly inflam'd, reſolv'd by another Stratagem to over-reach this Deceiver; and the better to effect it, he with a pleaſant Air told him that he would at a ſet Time give him a Viſit, and ſee whether his Lady was as fair as Fame had repreſented her. This unexpected Deſign ſo exceedingly ſtruck him, that he earneſtly begg'd of *Elfrida* to conſult his Preſervation, by putting on her worſt Cloaths, and deforming her ſelf by what other Means ſhe thought beſt. She was now ſenſible that inſtead of a King ſhe had marry'd a Subject; and this rais'd ſuch a Female Indignation in her, that againſt the coming of King *Edgar* ſhe dreſs'd her ſelf after the moſt glorious and charming manner that Pride and Reſentment could poſſibly invent. This had ſuch powerful Effects upon the King, that his Love being the more kindled by being ſo long defrauded, he for a Pretence appointed a Day of Hunting in a Place now call'd *Harewood* Foreſt, where he found an Opportunity to compleat his Revenge, and to ſlay *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earl's natural Son coming after the Fact was committed, and viewing his Father's Dead Body, the King ſternly demanded of him *How he lik'd this Game?* To whom he calmly reply'd, *That whatſoever pleas'd the King, ought not to diſpleaſe him;* with which Anſwer the King's Fury was ſo appeas'd, that he ever after highly favour'd this Youth, and endeavour'd to expiate the Crime committed upon the Father, by the Kindneſs ſhew'd to the Son. The King immediately after marry'd the fair Widow, and caus'd her to be crown'd Queen, tho' much againſt the Conſent of Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, who never would ſee her; and ſhe to make the uſual Amends for Murthers and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the Place where her Husband was ſlain.

He is addicted to Women.

Another Thing laid to this Prince's Charge is, that he took a Virgin nam'd *Wilfrida* by force out of a Nunnery, where ſhe had been plac'd by her Friends to avoid his unlawful Purſuit, and kept her as his Concubine: But for this he was ſo penitent as to ſubmit to a ſeven Years Humiliation impos'd by St. *Dunſtan*, without the wearing of his Crown. There was another Story of the King, which ſhew'd him to have been more conſtant to his Love, than could be expected from a young amorous Man with Soveraign Authority. Coming to *Andover*, not far from *Wincheſter*, he attempted to enjoy a certain Duke's Daughter highly celebrated for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Lady not daring directly to deny him, yet abhorring to be ſubſervient to her Daughter's Infamy, reſolv'd by the Favour of the Night to deceive him; and accordingly ſent one of her waiting Maids in her room, who was not unhandſom, nor wanted Addreſs towards the making of her Fortunes. For as ſoon as it was Morning, ſhe made an Offer to riſe, which cauſing the King to ask, *Why ſhe would make ſuch haſte from him*, ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe could no longer have the Happineſs of his Company, becauſe her Lady had ſet her ſome Work to finiſh.* This extreamly ſtartled the King, who imagin'd that he had the Duke's fair Daughter in his Arms; and while he continu'd ſilent, ſhe with the utmoſt Tenderneſs beſought him to ſet her free from the cruel Service of her Lady, as a Recompence for her loſt Virginity. The King, confounded at his Diſappointment, was for ſome Time divided between Compaſſion for the poor Maid, and Anger at his being abus'd; but at length he turn'd it all into a Jeſt, ſet her free, carry'd her along with him, and lov'd her to that Degree, that he kept himſelf to her alone, 'till he marry'd the above-mention'd *Elfrida*. Theſe were the Stories commonly related of King *Edgar*, which undoubtedly would have been much aggravated by the Monks, had he not oblig'd them by building ſo many Monaſteries, to the Number of near fifty; which indeed prov'd one great Occaſion of the *Danes* conquering *England*, for by theſe means he exhauſted the Treaſury, and gave great Portions of Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks, who refus'd his Son *Ethelred* Aſſiſtance according to

Malmſb. M. Weſt.

to his Neceſſity. However *England* highly flouriſh'd under his Government, and his Reign was more ſplendid and magnificent than any of his Predeceſſors or Succeſſors. As to his Perſon, he was both low and ſlender, yet ſo well proportion'd, that he often choſe to contend with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt in his Court; and diſlik'd nothing more than that they ſhould ſpare him out of Reſpect, or Fear of hurting him. And he was ſo warm and couragious in his Temper, that when *Kened* King of the *Scots* was jeſtingly heard to ſay in his Court, *That he wonder'd how ſo many Provinces ſhould be govern'd by ſuch a little Man*, it ſo fir'd his Mind, that immediately ſending for *Kened* as for ſome private Buſineſs, he drew him out into a ſecret Place, and taking out two Swords, which he had brought under his Garment, he gave one to *Kened*, declaring, *Now it ſhould be try'd who ought to govern, and who to obey; for it was a Shame for a King to be forward in a Feaſt, and backward in a Fight.* *Kened* much confounded, fell at his Feet, begg'd Pardon of him, and declar'd, *That he had ſpoken indiſcreetly, but no ways intended to his Diſhonour or Detraction*; with which the King was ſatisfy'd. After this great Prince had reign'd ſixteen Years and two Months, he dy'd in the thirty ſecond Year and Flower of his Age, on the eighth Day of *July*, and the Year 975. His Body with all Funeral Solemnity was bury'd in the Abby of *Glaſſenbury*.

His Character, and Death.

13. *EDWARD the Younger.*

Malmsb. Sim. Dun. &c.

VII. After the Death of the great *Edgar*, the Kingdom was ſoon brought into a declining and dangerous Condition; and with him dy'd all the Glory and Power of the *Engliſh Saxon* Nation, which in leſs than one Age after ſuſtain'd the Miſeries of many Invaſions, and a double Conqueſt. Nor was the Succeſſion determin'd without Faction and Diſturbance; for having two Sons by two ſeveral Wives, the great Men of the Kingdom became divided, Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, and all the reſt of the Biſhops being for Prince *Edward*, his eldeſt Son, while Queen *Elfrida*, Widow to the King, and many of her Party, were for ſetting up her Son *Ethelred*, then about ſeven Years of Age; raiſing ſome Scruples, and objecting againſt the Legitimacy of Prince *Edward*, as if King *Edgar* had not been lawfully marry'd to his Mother. Whereupon the Arch-Biſhops, *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the Biſhops, Abbots, and many of the Nobility, met together in a great Council, and choſe Prince *Edward* King, as his Father had ordain'd by his laſt Will and Teſtament; and being thus advanc'd, they immediately anointed and crown'd him at *Kingſton*, he being then but a Youth of fifteen Years of Age. Shortly after this King's Coronation, dreadful Comets appear'd, which were Forerunners, if not Portenders, of the Miſeries of the Nation; being immediately ſucceeded by Barrenneſs of Ground, Famine amongſt Men, Death of Cattel, with other Calamities. Among the Troubles of this Reign none prov'd of more pernicious Conſequence than the Factions between the Monks and Secular Prieſts, which were begun in King *Edwi*'s Days, and now being unhappily reviv'd extended themſelves to the Nobility, many of whom ſided with each Party. *Dunſtan* with the Biſhops and Monks firmly adhered to King *Edward*, the Seculars and the other Party favour'd Queen *Elfrida* and her Son *Ethelred*; and many of the Nobility and great Men expell'd the Abbots and Monks which *Dunſtan* had plac'd in Monaſteries, and brought in the Secular Clerks or Prieſts with their Wives; all which were done by the Force of Arms. To appeaſe theſe Tumults, and to end the Controverſies between the Monks and the Seculars, ſeveral Synods or Councils were ſummon'd, particularly one at *Wincheſter*, and another at *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*. That at *Wincheſter* ended with confirming the Monks in their Poſſeſſion, being mov'd to it by a Voice from a *Crucifix*, that pronounc'd in favour of them. But this being juſtly look'd upon as an Impoſture, the Synod of *Caln* was conven'd, where while the Diſpute con-

A. D. 975.

Edward *choſen King.*

Many Calamities.

Great Controverſies between the Monks and Seculars.

continu'd violent, the Room where they met ſuddenly fell down, kill'd ſeveral, and wounded others; but *Dunſtan* ſtrangely eſcap'd upon a Beam, which ſome alledg'd was ſupported by a Miracle: Which Accident in a great meaſure quieted the Controverſie, and brought both Parties to join with *Dunſtan* and the Monks.

In the mean Time King *Edward* kept to a quiet and undiſturb'd Life, who being very religious and mild by Nature, out of Self-Denial and Eaſe, permitted his Step-Mother to order all Affairs as ſhe pleas'd, reſpecting her as his Mother, and cheriſhing his younger Brother with the utmoſt Love and Tenderneſs. She on the other ſide from his Kindneſs conceiv'd a more implacable Hatred, and was no ways ſatisfy'd with the Soveraignty ſhe now enjoy'd, 'till ſhe could force the Title from him; but ſhe ſtill conceal'd her Deſigns with the greateſt Artifices, 'till ſhe found a convenient Opportunity for Execution. At length the Poor innocent Prince, wearied with Hunting, and tormented with Thirſt, while all his Companions follow'd the Game, rod alone to her Palace at *Corfe* Caſtle in *Dorſetſhire*, in order to refreſh himſelf. The Queen receiv'd him at the Gate with all the Marks of Reſpect and Love, urging him to alight from his Horſe; but he refuſing that, ſhe order'd Wine to be brought to him; but while he was drinking, one of her Servants, before inſtructed, ſtabb'd him with a Dagger in the Back. He exceedingly aſtoniſh'd at this barbarous Treatment, immediately fled with all Speed towards his Companions; but the Wound being mortal, and he ſpent with the Loſs of Blood, fell to the Ground, and having one Foot in the Stirrop was dragg'd through By-Ways, and trac'd by his Blood by thoſe ſhe ſent after him, who brought back the Dead Body, and bury'd it privately at *Werham*. Here they imagin'd that they had bury'd his Memory as well as his Body; but the Place of his Sepulture, as it is ſaid, grew famous for Miracles, whereupon Duke *Elfer*, who was acceſſary to his Murder, interr'd it Royally at *Shaftsbury*; but notwithſtanding this Amends, he dy'd ſhortly after eaten up with Lice. *Elfrida* was ſo convinc'd of her Wickedneſs, that from her Courtly and Luxurious Life, ſhe betook her ſelf to very ſevere Penances, as wearing Hair-Cloath, ſleeping upon the Ground without a Pillow, and other Auſterities, in which ſhe continu'd all her Days. Thus fell *Edward the Younger*, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, after he had only born the Name of King three Years and a half, who for his Innocence, and the ſuppos'd Miracles after his Death, obtain'd the Sirname of *Martyr:* Which Opinion of his Sanctity was the more confirm'd by the great Calamities which ſhortly after puniſh'd the Land, and which the People believ'd were inflicted on them for this Murder.

Malmſb. &c.

King Edward *ſtabb'd.*

14. *ETHELRED* II.

A. D. 979. *His Brother* Ethelred *ſucceeds.*

Upon the Removal of the unfortunate *Edward* his half Brother *Ethelred* eaſily ſtept into the Throne; a Youth of a moſt comely Aſpect, but not above ten or perhaps twelve Years of Age. *Malmesbury* gives us this ſhort Character of Him and his Reign; That he rather diſtreſs'd than govern'd his Kingdom for thirty ſeven Years; That the Courſe of his Reign was cruel in the Beginning, miſerable in the Middle, and diſhonourable in the Concluſion. To Cruelty he attributes the Death of his Brother, which he approv'd of by not puniſhing the Murderers; he was remarkable for his Cowardice and Negligence, and miſerable in reſpect of his Death. His Sluggiſhneſs was predicted by Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, when at his Baptiſm he ſuperadded his own to the Water of the Font. Yet it was no Inſtance of ill Nature which the ſame Monk tells us, that upon the News of his Brother's Murder, he cry'd out exceedingly; which ſo enrag'd his Mother *Elfrida*, that for Want of a Rod ſhe beat him with a Wax Taper 'till he was half dead; which gave him an inſuperable Averſion to a Sight of

Malmſb. Sim. Dun.

of thoſe Lights ever after. Shortly after his Brother's Death he was publickly crown'd at *Kingſton* by Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, who perform'd the Solemnity with great Reluctancy, and as he put the Crown upon his Head, he in a ſort of Prophetical Manner declar'd, *That ſince he had aſpired to the Crown by the Murder of his Brother, the Sin of his ignominious Mother, nor thoſe of her Counſellors ſhould not be expiated but by great Bloodſhed of his miſerable People; for ſuch Calamities ſhould fall upon* England *as it never ſuſtain'd ſince it had that Name.* About the Time of the Coronation, at Midnight a wonderful Cloud ſometimes bloody, and ſometimes fiery, appear'd all over the Land, portending, as it was believ'd, the Return of the dreadful *Daniſh* Tempeſt, which had been happily allay'd for above fifty Years.

He is crown'd by Arch-Biſhop Dunſtan.

Sax. An. Florent. Sim. Dun. Malmsb. &c.

Theſe barbarous and inhuman Rovers, underſtanding the true State of *England* under the Government of a Child, and not beloved, in the third Year of his Reign landed at *Southampton*, and from ſeven great Ships took the Town, pillag'd the Country, and carry'd away great Booty. From whence they paſs'd to the Iſle of *Thanet*, which they alſo waſted; when about the ſame Time others from *Norway* did the ſame by the Country lying about *Cheſter*. The following Year theſe Pirates extreamly harraſs'd the Maritime Parts of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*; and in the next, three other Veſſels arriv'd, and much infeſted the Coaſts about *Portland*; to which Miſchiefs this was added, that the City of *London* was burnt, in the Year 981, but by what Accident is not diſcover'd. The Diſorders hereby rais'd in the Nation were increas'd by Domeſtick Diſturbances: For an unknown Difference aroſe between the King himſelf and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, inſomuch that the King laid Siege to his City. Upon which Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* ſent him a terrifying Meſſage, admoniſhing him *To beware of the Vengeance of St.* Andrew, *the Patron of the City.* But the King, tho' young and unwiſe, would not regard Arguments of that Nature, but continu'd his Siege, 'till *Dunſtan* was oblig'd to purchace his Removal with an hundred Pounds; which ſo affected the Arch-Biſhop that he ſent him this new Prophetical Meſſage, *That ſince he had reſpected Silver and Mony more than God and Religion, the Calamities formerly foretold ſhould ſpeedily come upon him, tho' not 'till his own Death.* And within two Years this celebrated Arch-Biſhop dy'd, and his Death was uſher'd in with ſtrange Fevers among Men, and prodigious Fluxes among Cattle. Immediately after ſucceeded theſe Miſchiefs, which leſs than a Prophet might foreſee: The *Danes* furiouſly invaded the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, againſt whom *Goda* and *Stremewold*, two valiant Men, made head, and put them to flight, but loſt their Lives in the Conteſt. For two Years they caus'd but little Diſturbance, but in the third they violently infeſted the Eaſtern Coaſts, under the Command of *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, and plunder'd the Town of *Gippſwich*, now *Ipſwich*. They were bravely oppos'd by *Brictnoth* the moſt valiant Duke of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where great Multitudes on both Sides were ſlain; but the *Engliſh* were at length worſted by reaſon of the Loſs of their Commander. And now all Havens, Harbours and Landing-Places were fill'd with *Danes*, who ſwarm'd in ſuch Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where to meet them with Advantage. Doubtleſs the readieſt Courſe had been for this King to have imitated his Father, and mann'd out a ſufficient Fleet to ſcour the Seas; but he was too unactive to follow his Example, and as generally the Humour of a Prince makes a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Minds of his People, eſpecially the Nobility, and thoſe near him, as he lay idle and uſeleſs, ſo they contracted a dangerous Ruſt. And agreeable to this ſloathful Temper, by *Siricius* Succeſſor to *Dunſtan*, and two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, it was adviſ'd, *That thoſe who could not be beaten with Iron, ſhould be brib'd with Gold*; of which ten thouſand Pounds was agreed, and given them on Condition they ſhould quit the Country, and no more infeſt the Coaſts. An infamous Example, ſays *Malmesbury*, and unworthy of Men, to redeem their

England *again infeſted with the* Danes.

Domeſtick Troubles.

A. D. 988.

The Daniſh *Invaſions increaſe*

The firſt Tribute paid to the Danes. 10000 *Pounds.*

their Liberty with Mony, which no Violence can force from an unconquer'd Mind.

A. D. 993. *The* Danes *renew their Devaſtations.*

This Sum of Mony quieted the *Danes* for about a Year, but the Sweet of it ſoon rais'd their Appetites for more. And accordingly they landed in the North, took and plunder'd *Bamborough*, and then directing their Courſe to the Mouth of the *Humber*, they waſted *Yorkſhire* and *Lincolnſhire* on both Sides of the River, kill'd Men, Women and Children, and gather'd a vaſt Booty. The Country Men with ſome Precipitation made head againſt them, but in the Battel, three of the Leaders, *Frana*, *Frithegiſt* and *Godwin*, being *Danes* by the Father's Side, betray'd them, and procur'd their Defeat. At the ſame Time no leſs Treachery was practis'd at Sea by *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, who having been formerly baniſh'd for his Crimes, and now recall'd, and intruſted with a Fleet to ſurprize the *Danes* in the moſt advantagious Place, he over Night gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them himſelf, as *Florent* relates it; which his Fleet perceiving purſu'd him, took his Ship, yet by ſome Accident miſs'd his Perſon; but by chance falling upon the *Eaſt-Angles*, they kill'd and drowned many of them. But *Huntington* ſays, that the *Danes* being forewarned by *Alfric*, not only all eſcap'd, but with a great Number of Ships ſetting upon the King's Navy kill'd many of the *Londoners*, and led many of their Veſſels in Triumph, together with *Alfric* himſelf. By this Time the furious *Swane*, King of *Denmark* arriv'd, who being join'd with *Anlaf* King of *Norwey*, with a numerous Fleet enter'd the *Thames*, attack'd *London*, and endeavour'd to break in and burn it when it was ſcarcely rebuilt; but the Citizens ſo ſtrenuouſly oppos'd their whole Power, that they forc'd them with great Loſs to break up the Siege. Exaſperated by this Repulſe, they invaded *Eſſex* and *Kent*, waſted the Sea-Coaſts with Fire and Sword, and then paſs'd into *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*; and Horſing their Foot, they made their outragious Progreſs through many Countries, ſparing neither Houſes, Buildings nor Fields, nor Men, Women or Children. To put a Stop to theſe Miſchiefs, the ſloathful King and his unactive Counſellors again implor'd the Aſſiſtance of Mony, which was offer'd to the *Danes* by his Ambaſſadors; and the Sum agreed on was ſixteen thouſand Pounds, in expectation of which they retir'd to their Ships at *Southampton*, where they winter'd. This being a Time for Compliments rather than Action, *Anlaf* King of *Norwey* receiv'd Hoſtages for his Safety, and accepted of *Ethelred*'s Invitation to his Court, which was then at *Andover*. Being royally entertain'd and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation, or Baptiſm, as alſo nobly preſented, he ingag'd to depart the Land and moleſt the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Country he faithfully kept his Word.

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. Florent. &c.

The ſecond Tribute paid to the Danes. 16000 *Pounds.*

This was no ill Advice given *Ethelred*, to take off ſuch a powerful Aſſiſtant from *Swane*; but as Arms abroad have but ſmall Effect without good Council at home, ſo in Caſes of Invaſions Conſultations without Action will not avail to remove an unfaithful pertinacious Enemy. The Influence of the laſt Mony operated ſcarcely three Years, when the *Danes* with a powerful Fleet enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*, and waſted *South-Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, burnt many Towns, and deſtroy'd Multitudes of poor People; then fetching a Compaſs, they came and winter'd at *Taveſtock*. The next Year they ſail'd to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and waſted the greateſt Part of *Dorſetſhire*, with many other Parts; and tho' the *Engliſh* ſeveral Times made head againſt them, yet they were always hinder'd from Battel, either by Treachery, or ſome other Misfortune. It would be an endleſs Work to relate how the *Danes* wallow'd up and down in every particular Place, and to enumerate all the Devaſtations they made, and the Deſolations they left behind them. Being march'd into *Kent*, and having beſieg'd *Rocheſter*, King *Ethelred* and his Councellors were ſo rouz'd, that they prepar'd both a Fleet and a Land Army againſt them. But the King and his Commanders, alike in Diſpoſition, delay'd their March from

San. An. Sim. Dun. &c.

New Devaſtations.

from Day to Day, and ſeverely oppreſs'd the Country where they quarter'd; nor did they do any Thing tending to the publick Good, but burden'd the People, waſted the Treaſury, and by their fooliſh and effeminate Carriage more embolden'd the Enemy to proceed; who in the following Year paſs'd over into *Normandy*, probably for Recruits, but at their Return committed greater Hoſtilities than before. In the midſt of theſe diſmal Times, and horrid Depopulations, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* were both burnt and deſtroy'd by the *Danes* in the Year 1000; and all Studies ceas'd in each of theſe Places, 'till above 130 Years after, as *Thomas Redburn* relates, one *Robert Bolean* began to read his Lectures on the Scriptures *Anno* 1133; from which Time, adds he, the Scholars have continu'd both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

The two Univerſities burnt.

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. In the mean Time the King, to make ſome Diverſion, undertook an Expedition both by Sea and Land into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* had been moſt planted and liv'd in Peace; and there, and in the Iſle of *Angleſey*, he imitated his Enemies in Ravages and Devaſtations. About the ſame Time the *Danes* returning out of *Normandy*, enter'd the Mouth of the River *Ex*, laid Siege to *Exeter*, batter'd the Walls, and reſolv'd to ſtorm it; but the Inhabitants, like thoſe of *London*, made ſo brave a Defence, that they were oblig'd to retire, all which was immediately reveng'd upon the poor helpleſs Country People, who after the Loſs of their Goods and Houſes were murder'd in great Multitudes. At length thoſe of *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* united in one Body, and made ſome Reſiſtance at a Place call'd *Penho*, but being overpower'd in Numbers, were repell'd with great Slaughter. This both incourag'd and inrag'd the inſolent Enemy, who now horſing all his Men, committed greater Ravages in *Devonſhire* than ever, and then return'd with his Fleet to the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſometimes there, and at othertimes in *Hampſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, he without Reſiſtance follow'd this ordinary Courſe of Life, doing ſuch Execution by Sword againſt Men, and by Fire againſt Towns, that he terrify'd all from engaging with him either at Sea or Land. King *Ethelred*, whom no Adverſity could throughly awaken from his ſoft and eaſie Life, by the Advice of Counſellors as unactive as himſelf, ſent an effeminate yet aſſuming Courtier call'd *Leof*, to propoſe a third Tribute or Preſent to the *Danes* for Peace; to which theſe Devourers readily harken'd, but cunningly enhanc'd the Sum to twenty four thouſand Pounds; which being paid down, they deſiſted from all Acts of Hoſtility.

A. D. 1000.

More Calamities.

The third Tribute paid to the Danes. 24000 *Pounds.*

Sax. An. Hunting. M. Weſt. &c. King *Ethelred* having thus bought off his Enemies, reſolv'd to ſtrengthen his Family by ſome potent Alliance; and accordingly he treated with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* in *France*, a Perſon with whom formerly he had great Enmity, and marry'd his Daughter *Emma*, a Lady of ſuch admirable Beauty, that ſhe was ſtil'd the *Flower and Pearl of* Normandy. Her Mother's Name was *Gunnor*, deſcended from an eminent *Daniſh* Family; for which it was hop'd, that her Intereſt might be ſufficient to oblige the *Danes* to more Reaſon and Fidelity. But the King being now ſwell'd with the Thoughts of his new Alliance, reſolv'd upon a violent and dangerous Expedient, which was to take a full Revenge for all the Inſults and Barbarities of the *Daniſh* Nation. It ſeems at this Time vaſt Numbers of *Danes* dwelt in Peace in all Parts of this Nation, in a manner incorporated with the *Engliſh*, who leading lazy and idle Lives, lorded it over the Inhabitants, whom they made Servants and Drudges, and their Wives and Daughters ſubſervient to their Pleaſures; whence they were call'd *Lord-Danes*, and to this Day in ſome Countries a lazy idle Man is from thence call'd *Lurdane*. To put an end to all their Power at once, the King reſolv'd upon a general Maſſacre; and with the utmoſt Secrecy ſent Letters into all Parts, commanding all his Subjects upon a certain Hour on the ninth Day of *July*, to ſet upon the *Danes* wherever they found them, and to deſtroy them all without Mercy. This Command was ſtrictly executed, and the *Danes*, who by a League ſolemnly ſworn had been admitted to inhabit among the *Engliſh*, were moſt

A. D. 1002.

Ethelred *marries* Emma.

He orders a general Maſſacre of the Danes.

moſt ſhamefully and barbarouſly murder'd; no Age or Sex eſcap'd, the Women were butcher'd as well as the Men, and the Brains of Children daſh'd againſt the Walls. At *London*, in the Time of this Execution, great Numbers fled to Churches, but thoſe ſacred Places were no Security, for they were all without Pity ſlain as they ſtood embracing the Altars. And when the Multitude found themſelves Maſters, they proceeded to new Barbarities, digg'd Holes in the Ground, put *Daniſh* Women in them up to the Waſte, and then ſet fierce Maſtives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breaſts. A popular Fury, when back'd by Authority knows no Bounds, nor Authority it ſelf, when it has broken publick Juſtice. There were ſeveral *Danes* of the higheſt Quality in the Land, receiv'd upon the publick Faith as Hoſtages to ratifie the late Peace; among whom was King *Swane*'s Siſter *Gunildes*, Wife to Count *Paleng*, who ſeveral Years before had come into *England* with her Family, where ſhe had receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith; and being a Woman of great Prudence and Temper, had often interpos'd to make Peace between the two Nations, and had now lately given up her ſelf, her Husband and her Son as Hoſtages to King *Ethelred*. This Princeſs had firſt her Husband and Son ſlain before her Face, and was then order'd to be beheaded her ſelf, which Sentence ſhe took with an unconcern'd Bravery and Courage, and at her Death foretold, *That her Blood would coſt* England *dear, and would not be long unreveng'd.*

King Swane *reſolves to revenge it.*

The Conſequences of this horrid Maſſacre were very terrible to the *Engliſh* Nation; for King *Swane* being exaſperated to the higheſt Degree of Rage and Reſentment, invited all Strangers to his Aſſiſtance, and reſolv'd contrary to his former Methods, to make a full Puſh, and conquer the whole Kingdom. Accordingly with a powerful Fleet, arriving at the South Weſtern Parts of the Nation, by the Treaſon or Negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom Queen *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, he ſtorm'd the City of *Exeter*, demoliſh'd the Walls from the Eaſt to the Weſt Gate, and march'd off with great Booty. After this he waſted *Wiltſhire*, where a ſtrong Party drawn out of ſeveral Countries, advanc'd to give him Battel. But when the Armies were juſt ready to engage, *Alfric* the *Engliſh* General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King had put out for the Father's Treaſon, feign'd a ſudden Sickneſs, and diſcourag'd his Army ſo far, that the Soldiers retir'd with Precipitation. Upon which *Swane* without Reſiſtance march'd up to *Wilton*, which he both plunder'd and burnt, and having dealt in the ſame manner with *Salisbury*, he return'd to his Ships. The following Year he ſail'd to the Coaſts of *Norfolk*, where landing he plunder'd and burnt the City of *Norwich*, uſing ſuch Expedition, that he altogether ſurpriz'd the valiant *Ulfketel* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who wanting Time to levy an Army, by the Advice of the Nobility of thoſe Parts, made Peace with him. But *Swane* in a few Days perfidiouſly broke it, and removing ſuddenly from his Ships, he ſoon plunder'd and burnt *Thetford*. *Ulfketel* having Intelligence of this unexpected Enterprize, order'd a Party to haſten and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which out of Fear or Deſign was neglected; while he with the utmoſt Secrecy and Diligence gather'd together his Forces, couragiouſly march'd againſt the Enemy, and made a brave Attack, as they retreated towards their Ships. But being inferior in Numbers, moſt of the beſt Quality among the Eaſtern *Engliſh* loſt their Lives; yet the *Danes* receiv'd very great Loſs, and with much Difficulty recover'd their Fleet; confeſſing that in the whole Iſland they never met with ſo ſharp an Ingagement, as they did from this valiant Commander.

He invades the Nation.

Sim. Dun. Sax. An. &c.

A. D. 1005. So great a Famine happen'd in the following Year that it forc'd a Ceſſation, and for a while drove *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but ſupply'd the Place of his Sword in the Deſtruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which periſh'd by Hunger, as formerly had ſuffer'd in a Year by his Cruelties. So that *England* was now in a miſerable Condition, and involv'd in all ſorts of Calamities: The King was luxurious, ſloathful and remiſs, wanting Vigour and Reſo-

The Miſeries of England.

Sim. Dun. Sax. An. Florent.

lution

lution in all Emergencies: The Nobility and Officers were negligent and unexperienc'd, yet highly poſſeſs'd with private Heats and Animoſities, which occaſion'd not only a dangerous Diſunion, but a betraying of all Secrets to the Enemy: The Church Men hated the King, ſtood upon their Privileges, and refus'd to contribute any conſiderable Sums to the publick Neceſſities. To all which Miſchiefs, beſides Famine, Providence was pleas'd to add Storms and Tempeſts, which much endamag'd the King's Ships, and weaken'd the Naval Power of the Nation. So that the Enemy had free Liberty to range and ravage as they thought fit; and accordingly an innumerable Multitude of *Daniſh* Ships were ſeen in *Sandwich* Road in the Year 1006, from whence Swarms of Rovers overran all *Kent* and *Suſſex*, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword. The King to oppoſe them rais'd an Army out of *Mercia* and *Weſt-Saxony*, with a Reſolution to engage them in Perſon; but they who held it ſafer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, by ſwift and eaſie Removals, fruſtrated the ſlow Motions of a heavy Camp, and following their uſual Courſe of Robbery, they carry'd a vaſt Booty to the Iſle of *Wight*, where they ſafely winter'd 'till *Chriſtmaſs*. Then underſtanding that the King was in *Shropſhire*, where he was wickedly imploy'd in the Blood of ſome worthy Subjects, they over-ran *Hampſhire* and *Barkſhire* as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other Places. Then returning by another Way, they found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making their Way through, they with new Plunder recover'd their Ships. The King and his Courtiers being weary'd with the Fatigues of the laſt Year's unſucceſsful March againſt the quick Motions of the *Danes*, agreed to have Recourſe to their laſt Remedy their Coffers; and therefore ſent a fourth Time to buy a diſhonourable Peace, which every Time prov'd dearer, and now could not be obtain'd under thirty ſix thouſand Pounds, which was extorted from the Nation already half ſunk with Poverty. At the ſame Time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, ſirnam'd *Streone*, to the Dukedom of *Mercia*; a Perſon who having rais'd himſelf to his Favour and vaſt Fortunes, by his ſubtle and plauſible Tongue, ſhortly prov'd a mighty Inſtrument in the Ruin of *England*.

The fourth Tribute paid to the Danes. *36000 Pounds.*

Sim. Dun. Sax. An. The next Year produc'd ſomething laudable, which ſhew'd the King had not loſt all Care of his Nation; for he enacted that every 310 Hides of Land ſhould furniſh out a Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corſlet and Head-Piece, and commanded the Ships to be built with the utmoſt Expedition; which when ready, were victuall'd and mann'd with choice Soldiers, and their Rendezvous appointed at the Port of *Sandwich*, to ſecure all the Coaſts from the Deſcent of Foreigners. Now a Hide was ſo much Land as one Plow could ſufficiently till in a Year; which made the Fleet very numerous, ſo that *England* was believ'd to be now in a ſafe Condition; when ſuddenly Diſſention, the Bane of all good Deſigns, ſprung up among the Nobility. For this Year, *Brithric*, the Brother of Duke *Edric*, proud and deceitful like himſelf, falſly accus'd *Wulwoth*, a great Officer of the *South-Saxons*, to the King, who fearing the Malice and Potency of his Enemy, immediately fled to the Sea, where with twenty Ships he practis'd Piracy upon the Coaſts. Upon a Belief that he might be eaſily taken, *Brithric* follow'd him with eighty Veſſels, but by a violent Storm they were all caſt on the Shore, where *Wulwoth* ſoon after burnt them. This Misfortune ſo diſhearten'd the King and his Nobility, that they ſuddenly return'd home, ordering the Fleet up to *London*; ſo that the People were tax'd and oppreſs'd to no Advantage. Upon this, the next Year, *Turkill* a *Daniſh* Earl arriv'd on the Coaſts with ſome Ships, and in *Auguſt* was follow'd by an innumerable Company of *Daniſh* Veſſels commanded by *Hemming* and *Eilaf*, who landing in the Iſle of *Thanet*, join'd with *Turkill*, paſs'd to *Sandwich*, and then to *Canterbury*, where they forc'd the Inhabitants and Neighbours to purchace their Peace with three thouſand Pounds. Then returning to their Ships, they ſail'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, from whence entering *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*,

A. D. 1008.

Factions among the Nobility.

Further Miſchiefs from the Danes.

ſhire, they follow'd their uſual Exerciſes of Plundering and Burning. King *Ethelred* was again ſo ſenſible of his Peoples Miſeries as to levy Forces throughout the Land, which he order'd in Places near the Sea to reſtrain their Irruptions; but all was acted ſo unskilfully, or at leaſt ſo unſucceſsfully, that the Enemy follow'd their Rapines as much as ever. Once having gone further than uſual from the Sea, the King ſuddenly ſtepp'd in between them and their Veſſels, ſeiz'd on a neceſſary Paſs of theirs, and reſolv'd with his whole Army to die or overcome. But after all this fair Proſpect, the traiterous *Edric*, who had now marry'd the King's Daughter, by ſubtle Arguments urg'd, *That as Circumſtances now ſtood, it was their Intereſt to permit the* Danes *to paſs unmoleſted*; which Council prevailing, the Enemy got ſafe back to their Ships contrary to their Expectations, with great Joy and Booty. After which they went to the Coaſts of *Kent*, and reſolv'd to winter in the *Thames*, where they maintain'd themſelves on both Sides of the River; often attempting to gain *London*, but were as often repell'd by the Citizens with no ſmall Loſs.

A. D. 1010. Before Winter was over, leaving their Ships, they march'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordſhire*, burnt the City, and returning thence with divided Forces, waſted the Country on both Sides of the *Thames*; but hearing that an Army from *London* was marching againſt them, they on the North Side, paſſing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with thoſe on the South, and being laden with extraordinary Spoils, paſs'd through *Surry* to their Ships, in repairing of which they ſpent the *Lent* following. After *Eaſter*, they enter'd *Suffolk*, and coming near *Ipſwich* to a Place call'd *Ringmere*, they were warmly entertain'd by the brave *Ulfketel* and his Forces; but his Men at length giving back, through the Subtlety of a *Daniſh* Servant amongſt them who began the Flight, loſt the Field, tho' the *Cambridgeſhire* Men ſtill made a noble Reſiſtance, which turn'd much to their future Honour. In this Battel fell *Ethelſtan*, the King's Son-in-Law, *Oſwi* a Nobleman with his Sons and many others, together with a great Number of the ordinary Sort. The *Danes* being Maſters of the Field, had now *Eaſt-England* at their Mercy, in which horſing themſelves, they ſpent three Months in the moſt barbarous Ravages, burnt *Thetford*, *Cambridge* and other Places, and kill'd all they could meet in their Way, toſſing Infants on the Points of their Spears. After this, their Foot by Sea, and their Horſe through *Eſſex*, return'd to the *Thames*, where continuing a few Days, they again quitted their Ships, and paſs'd into *Oxfordſhire*, which they waſted, together with the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford*; and having burnt the Towns, and kill'd Mankind, and all other living Creatures, they return'd to their Ships. Yet ſtill the ſame Year they made a third Excurſion into *Northamptonſhire*, and burnt that Town with all about it; then as to freſh Paſture they betook themſelves to *Weſt-Saxony*, where having waſted *Wiltſhire* and other Parts, they return'd again to their Ships, as ſo many ravenous wild Beaſts glutted with Blood to their Dens. They were neither yet ſo wearied with Travel, nor ſatisfy'd with Wealth, but that in the following Year they took a larger Range than ever. For on the North Side of the *Thames*, with Fire and Sword they waſted all *Eaſt-England*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Cambridge*, with Half of *Huntington*, and the greateſt Part of *Northampton*; and on the South Side *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, with the Counties of *Southampton*, *Wilts* and *Berks*.

Sax. An. Hunting. Florent. Sim. Dun.

Dreadful Ravages and Barbarities from the Danes.

Upon theſe inſupportable Miſchiefs, Meſſengers were ſent to ſolicit for Peace, promiſing them more Mony; which they accepted, but without any Intention to keep their Faith. For they ſoon broke their Words, firſt by plundering the Country in ſeveral Parties, and in *September* by laying Siege to *Canterbury*, which in twenty Days they took by the Treachery of *Almere* the Arch-Deacon. Here they committed unheard of Barbarities by Way of Sport and Diverſion: They ſlew ſome by the Sword, threw others over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung up ſome by the Privy Members, Infants torn from their Mothers Breaſts

Sax. An. Florent. Malmſb. Sim. Dun.

Canterbury *taken.*

Breaſts were either toſt on Spears, or had Carts drawn over them, Matrons and Virgins were dragg'd about by the Hair and raviſh'd; *Alfage* the Arch-Biſhop was taken, wounded, and impriſon'd in a noiſom Place; Chriſt-Church was burnt, Monks, Men, Women and Children were decimated, whereof nine were kill'd, and the tenth reſerv'd to a Life worſe than Death: So that of the whole Multitude there remain'd only four Monks, and eight hundred Men. They kept the Arch-Biſhop Priſoner for ſeven Months, during which Time theſe barbarous Miſcreants were viſited with a Plague in their Bowels, of whom two thouſand periſh'd miſerably; and thoſe who ſurviv'd being grievouſly tormented, the Chriſtians took Occaſion to urge the Delivery of the Arch-Biſhop, but they ſtill deferr'd it. As ſoon as Spring appear'd, the traiterous *Edric*, and the reſt of the Nobility of both Orders aſſembled at *London*, where they held their Councils, and continu'd ſo long, 'till a fifth Sum or Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now was rais'd from thirty ſix to forty eight thouſand Pounds. In the mean Time the Arch-Biſhop had his Ranſom ſet at three thouſand Pounds, which he conſtantly refuſing to pay or procure, was at length barbarouſly murder'd by them in a full Aſſembly of drunken People; his Body being afterwards bury'd in the Church of St. *Pauls* in *London*. The Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirm'd by ſolemn Oath on both Sides, the *Daniſh* Fleet retir'd, only forty five Ships remain'd with King *Ethelred* for the Defence of *England* againſt all Foreigners, on Condition to be maintain'd with Victuals and Cloathing. It appears from the *Saxon* Laws, that beſides this Payment of forty eight thouſand Pounds, it was this Year reſolv'd that a yearly Payment ſhould be made call'd *Danegeld*, that is twelve Pence upon every Hide of Land in the Nation, for the Subſiſtance of thoſe who were to hinder the Irruptions of the *Danes* and other Pirates; which Tax continu'd for about thirty eight Years, 'till it was remitted by *Edward* the Confeſſor. So that there were two Sorts of *Danegeld*; the former, thoſe five occaſional Sums formerly recited; the latter, that continu'd Tax laſt mention'd. But both Sorts alike contributed to the Ends for which they were paid: The former only bought off the perfidious *Danes* for a ſmall Time; and the other was ſo far from ſecuring the Coaſts by ſcouring the Seas, that *Turkill*, who ſtaid behind as Admiral of the new modell'd *Engliſh* Fleet, ſeems to have done it for no other End, beſides ſqueezing the Nation's Mony, than to give Intelligence to King *Swane* when it would be moſt ſeaſonable to reinvade the Land.

A. D. 1012. *The fifth Tribute paid to the* Danes. 48000 *Pounds.*

The Payment of Danegeld.

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c. Accordingly in *July* 1013, King *Swane* with a powerful Force landed at *Sandwich*, reſolving now to make a full Conqueſt of the Nation; finding it ſufficiently weaken'd by Diviſions, and exhauſted by Poverty. He ſtay'd but a few Days there, finding *Humber* to be a more convenient Place, into which he enter'd; and paſſing up the *Trent*, he ſail'd to *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*, where he landed, and encamp'd his great Army. To which Place Earl *Uthred* with the *Northumbrians* repair'd to him with all Speed; the Inhabitants of *Lindſey*, afterwards thoſe of *Fisburgh*, and by Degrees all ſuch as inhabited North of *Watling-Street*, yielded up themſelves, deliver'd Hoſtages, and ſwore Allegiance to him as their King. He only now impos'd upon them the Furniſhing of his Army with Horſes and Proviſions, and then delivering the Hoſtages and the Fleet into the Hands of his Son *Canute*, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from the *Engliſh*, he undertook an Expedition againſt the Southern *Mercians*. Having paſs'd over *Watling-Street* he gave order to his Men to waſte the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males, and reſerve the other Sex for their Luſt. Which being rigorouſly executed, in the Terror of theſe Actions he march'd to *Oxford*, and took it ſooner than he expected; where having receiv'd Hoſtages, he haſten'd to *Wincheſter*, which in a great Fear alſo yielded, and deliver'd up their Hoſtages. From thence he turn'd his Courſe towards *London*, and not being careful in finding a Bridge or Ford over the *Thames*, he loſt many of his Men in that River. Nor was

King Swane *again invades the Land.*

his Expedition againſt *London* proſperous; for uſing all Methods of Force and Policy to take the City, where *Ethelred* himſelf, and *Turkill* with his Forces reſided, he was bravely repell'd as at other Times. Upon which he directed his March to *Wallingford*, and after that to *Bath*, where, after he had made new Devaſtations, he ſtay'd ſome time to refreſh his Army. To which Place *Ethelmar* Earl of *Devonſhire*, with other Officers of the Weſtern Parts, repair'd, gave Hoſtages, and made Peace with him; whoſe Example was not long after follow'd by the Citizens of *London*, who finding it in vain to ſtrive againſt the Univerſal Current, and dreading his Cruelties, ſent alſo their Hoſtages, and made their Peace. Which Things being accompliſh'd according to his Deſires, *Swane* was by all the Nation of the *Engliſh* both ſtiled and accounted King; if by Right we can call him a King, ſays our Author, who acted all things like a barbarous Tyrant.

All Places ſubmit to him,

and acknowledge him their King.

A. D. 1013. VIII. From this Time we may date the firſt Soveraign Power of the *Danes* in *England*, for which in the Space of two hundred Years they had been often contending, with infinite Ravages and Devaſtations. And now *Ethelred*, being a King more in Name than Nature, thought it moſt conſiſtent with the Straitneſs of his Fortunes to ſend away *Emma* his Queen, and his two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred* with all his Treaſure into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the ſecond of that Name, and Duke of that Province. He himſelf continu'd for ſome time at *Greenwich* with the *Daniſh* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and from thence remov'd to the Iſle of *Wight*; where having kept a melancholy *Chriſtmaſs*, he follow'd them into *Normandy*, and at *Roven* was ſplendidly entertain'd by the Duke, tho' known to have behav'd himſelf proudly and churliſhly to his Siſter *Emma*, beſides his diſſolute Company with other Women. In the mean Time *Swane* the Tyrant, reſiding at *Gainsborough*, laid inſupportable Taxes upon the Country, beſides the Contribution for Maintenance of his Fleet; and at the ſame Time *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not backwards in his Exactions for inriching himſelf and his Followers. So that both Parties were fully agreed in this, by their Violence and Rapines to harraſs and exhauſt the miſerable *Engliſh* Nation. But *Swane* to all his other Cruelties and Impieties, added one, which in the Opinion of our Writers, compleated his Condemnation. He endeavour'd to prophane the Memory of the King and Martyr St. *Edmund*, and exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, where his Body reſted; threatning that if the Mony was not ſpeedily paid, he would lay the Town in Aſhes, demoliſh the Church of their Martyr, and put the Clerks to various Torments. Now to proceed in a Story, once univerſally believ'd; becauſe, ſay they, he would not moderate his Wickedneſs, divine Vengeance would not permit the Blaſphemer to live. But at *Gainsborough*, as he held an Aſſembly, incircled with arm'd Men, upon his caſting out his Threats, he immediately ſaw St. *Edmund* coming arm'd upon him, whereupon he cry'd out, *Help, Fellow Soldiers, St.* Edmund *comes to kill me!* upon which Words, he receiv'd a mortal Wound by the Hands of the Saint, and dy'd ſoon after in great Torment; his Body being bury'd in the City of *York*. Thus much our Monkiſh Writers report concerning his Death, which ſeems to hint this Truth to us, that *Swane* was kill'd by ſome unknown Hand, who had the good Fortune to eſcape. All agree that he met with a ſudden End at *Gainsborough*, which Place was his chief Reſidence the ſhort Time of his *Engliſh* Soveraignty, and the Place where moſt of his Ships and Soldiers lay, in order to make their Excurſions as occaſion requir'd.

Malmſb. Sim. Dun. M. Weſt.

Ethelred *retires to* Normandy.

Swane *kill'd at* Gainsborough.

A. D. 1014. King *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes* elected his Son *Canute*, or *Cnute*, for his Succeſſor. But the Inclinations of the *Engliſh* were towards their own natural Prince, whom they aſſur'd by Meſſengers ſent to *Normandy*, *That they would aſſiſt and join with him againſt all Pretenders, if he would promiſe to govern them with greater Care and Clemency than formerly. Ethelred* before he would put himſelf

Sax. An. Malmſb. &c.

Canute *ſucceeds him.*

ſelf into their Hands, thought fit to ſend over his Son *Edward* to promiſe all good Deportment, and to ſound the Affections of the Nobility and People, who finding all Things correſpondent to his Deſires, return'd back with Confidence to bring over his Father. The King was receiv'd by his Subjects with all imaginable Joy and Applauſe, and he to oblige the Nation, and to anſwer their Expectations, us'd all Diligence and Diſpatch in raiſing an Army againſt *Canute*; who lying now at *Gainsborough* with his Fleet and Hoſtages, was no leſs diligent in levying Men and Horſes, threatning ſeverely to chaſtiſe the Revolters from his Father's Kingdom. But *Ethelred*'s Forces ſurpriz'd him before he was fully prepar'd, and conſtrain'd him to quit the Parts of *Lindſey*, the Inhabitants of which being left to the Anger of their Countrymen, were proſecuted without Mercy by Fire and Sword. *Canute* ſailing away with his Fleet, and being driven by Weather into *Sandwich* Road, there to revenge himſelf upon the *Engliſh* Nation, he cut off the Ears, Noſes and Hands of all the Hoſtages he had in his Power, and ſetting them a-ſhore, departed for *Denmark* to recruit his Army. Upon the *Danes* Departure another Calamity ſucceeded; for on the 27th of *September*, the Sea aroſe to ſuch a Height, by an impetuous Wind and Tide, that it broke the Banks, and overwhelm'd many Villages, and drown'd a vaſt Number of People. And notwithſtanding this great Damage to the Nation, yet Neceſſity urging, a new Tax of thirty thouſand Pounds was levy'd for paying the *Daniſh* Fleet which lay at *Greenwich*. The next Year produc'd Miſchiefs of another Nature, when at an Aſſembley of the Eſtates, as well *Danes* as *Engliſh*, held at *Oxford*, by the Advice of the traiterous *Edric*, the King caus'd ſeveral *Daniſh* Noblemen to be put to Death under Pretence of a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon. Beſides this, *Edric* by plauſible Words intic'd *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two *Northumbrian* Earls, into his Lodgings, and there ſecretly murder'd them; upon which their Servants and Dependents aroſe and endeavour'd to revenge their Deaths, but were repell'd by the King's Soldiers, and purſu'd into the Tower of St. *Frideſwith*'s Church, where Fire being ſet to it, they all miſerably periſh'd in the Flames. The King, without any known Cauſe, ſeiz'd upon the Eſtates of the two murder'd Earls, and commanded *Algitha*, the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be kept Priſoner at *Malmesbury*, as a Lady of great Power and Intereſt. But not long after *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in Love with her, and without his Father's Knowledge, marry'd her; after which he took her with him into *Northumberland*, where invading the Lands of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, he ſubdu'd that Country.

Ethelred *returns back to* England.

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c. About the ſame time King *Canute* arriv'd with a vaſt Power from *Denmark*, and as ſome write with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olaus* of *Norway*, making for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it is ſaid that *Turkill* join'd with him, and gave the *Engliſh* a great Defeat. *Canute* coaſting about *Kent*, enter'd the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it paſs'd up into the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Wilts*, where he committed his uſual Kinds of Hoſtilities. King *Ethelred* then lay ſick at *Coſham* in *Wiltſhire*, but had his Place better ſupply'd by his Son *Edmund*, whoſe only Infelicity was to have the falſe *Edric* join'd with him, which not only hinder'd his preſent Succeſs, but brought him into great Danger of his Life. For *Edric* made a Faction in the Army, and plotted the Prince's Death, which being timely diſcover'd, *Edmund* was oblig'd to remove ſuddenly from the Place where he lay. This Diſcovery gave an Occaſion to *Edric* to throw off the Mark he had worn ſo long, and openly to revolt to *Canute*, to whom he carry'd off no leſs than Forty Ships; which had ſuch an Influence upon the *Weſt-Saxons*, that they immediately gave Hoſtages to *Canute*, and provided Horſes for his Army. *Canute*, being thus ſtrengthen'd beyond Expectation, in the Beginning of the following Year, with *Edric* the Traitor, paſs'd over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, and invaded *Mercia*, and proceeded in the uſual manner with Fire and Sword. Whereupon Prince *Edmund* gather'd together what Troops he could; but upon their March, the

A. D. 1015.

Canute *returns into* England.

Edric *revolts.*

the *Mercians* refus'd to meet with the *Danes* and *Weſt-Saxons*, except the King and the *Londoners* would ſupport them, and thereupon the Army diſbanded it ſelf. But ſhortly after, *Edmund* with great Diligence rais'd more Forces, and ſent to his Father at *London*, to come and join him with all his Power; to which *Ethelred* agreed, but upon joining their Forces by the ſubtlety of the Enemy a Rumor was ſpread, that if the King did not uſe extraordinary Precautions, he would ſpeedily be betray'd. Which ſo confounded the diſpirited King, that he disbanded his Army, and retir'd to *London*; while his Son haſten'd into *Northumberland*, as was ſuppos'd, to raiſe a greater Army againſt *Canute*. But in this both ſides agreed in the ſame Meaſures; *Canute* and *Edric* waſted one Part of the Country, and *Edmund* and *Uthred* deſtroy'd the other, only with this Difference, that one Party harraſs'd the miſerable Inhabitants, becauſe they would not revolt, and the other pretended to puniſh them for their Neutrality. So that the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham* were ravag'd becauſe they dare not oppoſe King *Ethelred*; and *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire* were waſted, becauſe they refus'd to fight againſt the *Danes*. At length *Canute*, piercing into *Northumberland*, Prince *Edmund* retir'd to *London*, and *Uthred* was conſtrain'd to ſubmit himſelf to *Canute*, and give up the North Country with Hoſtages; which notwithſtanding, either by Command or Permiſſion of *Canute*, he was kill'd by one *Turebrand* a *Daniſh* Nobleman. Upon this, *Canute* preferring one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, haſten'd Southwards by another Way to his Fleet; with which he join'd his Army before *Eaſter*. About the ſame Time King *Ethelred* dy'd at *London* on the 22d Day of *April*, 1016, after an inglorious and miſerable Reign of thirty ſeven Years, and was bury'd in the Church of St. *Paul*'s in *London*.

Great Calamities in the Nation.

Ethelred *dies.*

His Laws. In this Reign many Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Laws were enacted or confirm'd, among which theſe three were uncommon, 'That Prieſts ſhould not marry, it 'being the Cuſtom then for them to have two or three Wives. That none ſhould 'be ſold out of their Country, eſpecially to a *Pagan*. That Widows ſhould re-'main ſo for twelve Months after their Husband's Death. Other Laws were made for the Preſervation of the Peace, Correction of falſe Mony, and bringing of Weights and Meaſures to a juſt Rule.

15. *EDMUND Ironſide.*

A. D. 1016. *His Son* Edmund *ſucceeds him in* Weſt-Saxony.

Edmund the third Son of *Ethelred*, and the Eldeſt alive, was by the Nobility at *London* choſen his Succeſſor; who was not his Son by *Emma* his Queen, but as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays by an ignoble Mother, or Concubine, tho' others affirm her to be the Daughter of Earl *Thorold*, and King *Ethelred*'s former Wife. But ſetting aſide the Obſcurity of his Birth, he was a Man without all Exception, both for Strength of Body and Mind, whence he obtain'd the Sirname of *Ironſide*; and he might have made large amends for his Father's Cowardice, and his Mother's Diſhonour, had he enjoy'd a longer Life. Having obtain'd the Crown, *Edmund* haſten'd into *Weſt-Saxony*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the People, and acknowledg'd for their Soveraign; while a far greater Number with many Biſhops, Abbots, and others of the Nobility meeting at *Southampton* ſwore Allegiance to *Canute*; and having abjur'd the Race of *Ethelred*, receiv'd an Oath from him of good Government, as well in Religious as Secular Affairs. *Canute* much animated by ſo conſiderable a Part of the Nation, haſten'd to *London* with his Fleet, about Rogation Week, where being arriv'd on *Surrey* Side, he caus'd a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his Ships Weſtward of the Bridge. He alſo ſurrounded the City with a vaſt Intrenchment, and made ſeveral Attacks; but the Citizens ſo bravely defended themſelves, that he found it more advantagious to break up; therefore leaving a Guard

Sax. An. Malmſb. Sim. Dun. &c.

The reſt obey Canute.

Guard for his Ships, he haſten'd into the Weſt to meet with King *Edmund*, before all his Forces were gather'd together. He found him very ill provided to receive an Enemy; but notwithſtanding that, *Edmund* ventur'd to give him Battel near *Gillingham* in *Dorſetſhire*, with ſuch Succeſs, that he forc'd *Canute* and his Army to retreat. Encourag'd with this Succeſs, he made greater Preparations, after Midſummer, he reſolv'd to engage with *Canute* a ſecond Time; and meeting him near a Town call'd *Swarſtan*, he gave him Battel, which muſt have prov'd fatal to the *Danes*, had not the Traitor *Edric*, together with *Almar* and *Algar*, the chief of the Nobility, who commanded the *Hampſhire* and *Wiltſhire* Men, join'd with them. So that it prov'd a drawn Battel, notwithſtanding *Edmund* perform'd all the Offices of a ſtout Soldier, and an expert General, which being parted by the Night, was renew'd with great Vigour the next Morning, and *Edmund* would again have won the Victory, but when he was near obtaining of it, the perfidious *Edric* cut off the Head of one *Oſmear*, who in his Face much reſembled the King, and lifting it up on high, cry'd to the *Engliſh* to *behold the Head of their Party, and if they valu'd their own Lives to fly immediately*. This much ſtartled and diſcourag'd them, 'till *Edmund*, ſenſible of the Cheat, from a Hill made himſelf known to his Soldiers, and toſs'd a Spear againſt *Edric*, which miſſing him kill'd two other Perſons who were next him; and recovering Courage, his Soldiers preſs'd bravely upon the *Danes*, but were parted by the Night as before.

Several Battels between him and Edmund.

Sax. An. Malmſb. *Canute* finding that in all Probability he would receive but ſmall Advantage from a pitch'd Battel, decamp'd in the Night, and returning to *London*, where he left his Ships, again inveſted the City. Upon which King *Edmund* with Speed march'd into *Weſt-Sex* to recruit his Forces; and now the perfidious *Edric*, having ſufficient Experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought it the moſt effectual Method to be reconcil'd to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Inſinuations ſtem the Current of his good Fortune. He made Application to him, owning him for his natural Prince, ſwore future Fidelity to him, and obtain'd Pardon for what was paſt. Being ſufficiently recruited, *Edmund* directed his March to *London*, rais'd the Siege, and drove the *Danes* with Diſhonour to their Ships. After two Days he paſs'd the *Thames* at *Brentford*, where many of his Men were loſt in the Water; yet coming ſuddenly upon the Backs of his Enemies, he put them to flight. By his Loſs ſuſtain'd in paſſing the Water, and his ſeveral Ingagements, the Number of his Men were ſo diminiſh'd, that he found himſelf oblig'd to retire into *Weſt-Sex* for Recruits; which the *Danes* perceiving, they return'd and beſieg'd *London* a third Time, uſing all poſſible Means to become Maſters of it. Yet ſtill the Induſtry and Courage of the Inhabitants fruſtrated all *Canute*'s Attempts; ſo that deſpairing of Succeſs he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet enter'd a River then call'd *Arenne*, where landing in *Mercia*, he proceeded after his uſual Way to waſte the Country with Fire and Sword; then he caus'd his Foot to paſs by Ships to *Medway*, and the Horſe by Land with the Captives and Cattel. In the mean Time King *Edmund* having with great Diligence levy'd a ſtrong Army a fourth Time, croſs'd the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and march'd into *Kent*; where at a Place call'd *Otford*, he bravely ingag'd the *Danes*, who not able to ſuſtain the Force of his Arms, fled in great Numbers into the Iſle of *Shepey*. And here he might have obtain'd a compleat Victory, had not *Edric*, ſtill as treacherous as ever, by his ſpecious Allegations obſtructed and detain'd his Purſuit of the Enemy at *Englesford:* And *Edmund*, who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be ſo miſs-led, and from this Time began to be forſaken by his wonted good Fortune.

Canute *beſieges* London.

He is ſeveral Times worſted.

Sax. An. &c. King *Edmund* finding the *Weſt-Saxons* moſt firm and loyal to him, return'd for a while into their Country for new Recruits, the Opportunity of whoſe Abſence

Abſence *Canute* took to vent his Malice and Revenge upon a naked People; for marching into *Eſſex*, he from thence invaded *Mercia*, where he ſhew'd more Cruelty than ever, commanding his Men to omit no Puniſhment that could be inflicted upon Enemies. *Edmund* with an Army gather'd out of all Counties overtook and engag'd them in their Retreat at *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*, where a Battel was fought with great Reſolution and Bravery on both Sides; and *Edmund* had a fair Proſpect of gaining the Victory, which the impious *Edric* perceiving, as he had formerly ingag'd to *Canute*, fled over to him with all the Troops under his Command, and ſo leaving the *Engliſh* overnumber'd and diſappointed, by his Villany procur'd their Defeat and Ruin. For they never receiv'd a greater Blow, almoſt all their Nobility here falling, particularly *Alfric*, *Godwin*, *Ulfketel* and *Ethelward*, all Dukes; *Eadwoth* alſo Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, and *Wolk* an Abbot, who came to the Place to pray for the Army's Succeſs, among the reſt loſt their Lives. *Speed* tells us that the Remembrance of this Field was retain'd to his Time, by certain ſmall Hills there remaining, from whence have been digg'd the Bones of Men, Armour, and the Water-Chains of Horſe Bridles.

A bloody Battel at Aſhdown.

Edmund *by Treachery is worſted.*

Yet this great Diſaſter did not ſo far diſcourage King *Edmund*, but by his Diligence in a ſhort Time he brought himſelf into a Condition to make another Trial of his Fortune in the Field, and both the Armies fac'd each other in *Gloceſterſhire*. Upon which, as *Huntington* aſſures us, the Noblemen dreading the Courage of *Edmund*, and the Power of *Canute*, began to murmur among themſelves, and to declare *how fooliſh it was for them ſo often to venture their Lives for the Ambition of others, who alone ought to fight for the Crowns they wore.* Which Saying being agreeable to the Temper of the two Kings, they generouſly agreed, to prevent the Effuſion of more Blood, and to decide the Controverſie by a ſingle Combat between themſelves. In which we are told, That their Darts and Lances on both Sides being broken, they fell furiouſly with their Swords upon each others moſt incomparable Armor, the reſounding Noiſe of which ſtruck the Ears of the Spectators with Terror, and their Eyes were dazled with the Flaſhes of Fire which flew from the Swords of theſe Heroes. At length the admirable Valour of *Edmund* prevail'd, whom *Canute* very ſtrenuouſly reſiſted, but fearing the Succeſs, he thus obligingly accoſted his Adverſary: *Young Man, the moſt valiant of all others, what Neceſſity is there for either of us to dye by the Sword, out of Ambition of Governing? Let us be Adoptive Brothers, and divide the Kingdom; let me have a Share in yours, and do you Command in mine.* With theſe Words the generous Mind of the young King was mollify'd, and a Kiſs of Peace was given on either Part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for Joy, *Edmund* by Agreement had the Weſtern Parts of the Land, and *Canute* and the *Danes* the Eaſtern. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* agrees with *Huntington* as to the Combate, but *Malmesbury* ſays that *Canute* declin'd the Combate, but agreed to the above-nam'd Diviſion of the Land. But *Simeon*, *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worceſter* all mention the Diviſion, but ſay nothing about any Combate propos'd. So great an Uncertainty we have of the Affairs of theſe Times. All agree that the *Danes* retir'd to *London* after this Diviſion, and were peaceably receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City.

Edmund *and* Canute *fight a Combate.*

and divide the Nation between them.

King *Edmund* did not long ſurvive this Diviſion, but dy'd ſuddenly at the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, after a very ſhort but vigorous and honourable Reign of ſeven Months, three Weeks and five Days, and was bury'd by his Grandfather King *Edgar* at *Glaſſenbury*. Our Authors ſpeak as uncertainly about the Death of this worthy Prince, as about his Combate: *Simeon*, *Florent* and *Hoveden*, mention no Cauſe of it: *Malmesbury* confeſſes it was uncertain of what Diſeaſe or Caſualty he dy'd, but adds, That Fame charg'd *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, in whoſe Fidelity he confided, to murder

The Death of King Edmund.

murder him with a ſharp Iron thruſt into his Body as he ſat to eaſe Nature. *Huntington* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric*, as the King ſat in a Privy-Houſe, with whom agrees *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*. *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither Place nor Perſon, but ſays it was done with an Iron Spit, by the Procurement of the Traitor *Edric*. Thus *Edmund* in the ſame Year both began and ended his Reign; leaving two Sons behind him, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and two Daughters call'd *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*; beſides three Brothers, *Edwin* by his own Mother, and *Alfrid*, and *Edward*, afterwards call'd the *Confeſſor*, by his Step-Mother *Emma*. With *Edmund* fell the Glory of the *Engliſh Saxons*, and the aged Body of their oppreſs'd Monarchy, ſeem'd to be bury'd with him in the ſame Sepulchre: For however it might ſeem to recover it ſelf in the ſame Age, yet it prov'd like a Plant new ſet after it had been long out of the Ground, which while there remains any Sap in the Root will ſhoot out freſh Branches, but thoſe ſo weak and tender, that the leaſt Storm blaſts and deſtroys them. By his Death the *Danes* prevail'd, and the *Saxon* Monarchy in a great meaſure ended, after it had continu'd 189 Years from the Eſtabliſhment made by King *Egbert*, 421 after the *Saxons* had wholly diſpoſſeſs'd the *Britains*, and 567 after the firſt Entrance of the *Saxons* under *Hengeſt* and his Companions.

The Fall of the Saxon *Monarchy.*

CHAP. V.

From the Beginning of the Monarchy of the Danes *in* England *under* Canute, *to the Death of* Hardecanute, *the laſt King, and the Reſtoration of the* Saxons *in* Edward *the Confeſſor.*

Containing the Space of about 26 Years.

16. 1. *CANUTE.*

Sim. Dun. Florent. I. THE *Danes* had formerly in ſome Parts of the Nation, as in *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*, ſet up their petty Kingdoms, but now at length, after two hundred Years Struggle, they obtain'd the entire Monarchy of *England*. They had formerly been Strangers, fierce Invaders, and ſavage Deſtroyers, but now they became principal Inhabiters, and chief Proprietors, and *Canute* one of their Kings Lord of the whole; ſoften'd and civiliz'd not ſo much by Chriſtianity and good Education, as by Policy and Secular Intereſt. This Prince upon the Death of King *Edmund*, finding that he had ſeveral Relations left, who were dear to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſummon'd all the Biſhops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and ſubtlely demanded of ſuch as had been preſent at the Agreement between him and *Edmund*, *What Proviſion was made by that Agreement for the Sons and Brothers of* Edmund, *and whether in caſe* Edmund *dy'd before Him, any of them was to ſucceed in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons? They being overcome with Fear made Anſwer, *That to their Knowledge* Edmund *neither living nor dying had made any Proviſion for his Relations, but deſign'd Him the Protector and Guardian of his Sons 'till they ſhould come to Age*. By this falſe Teſtimony they hop'd for Favour and Rewards from *Canute*; but ſome of them receiv'd a juſt Recompence

A. D. 1017.

for their Perjury, by being not long after put to Death. But *Canute* taking the Advantage that it afforded him, immediately exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily choſe him for their King, and at the ſame Time abjur'd the two Sons of *Edmund* from ever being Kings of this Nation. Thus Baſeneſs and Fear caus'd the *Engliſh* Nobility ſervilely to ſubmit, ſo that there was no want of any Thing to effect his Purpoſes but his bare Commands; which they often prevented by their Readineſs in doing thoſe Things, to which they knew he was but inclin'd. For *Edwin*, the Brother of King *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments and great Hopes, was by them immediately voted to Baniſhment; which Reſolution ſo full of Injuſtice and Flattery, gave Occaſion to *Canute*, immediately to conſult with the Traitor *Edric* how to take his Life. This wicked Deſign was by *Edric* firſt left to one *Ethelward*, who did not anſwer their Expectations; ſo that a ſeeming Reconciliation was pretended, and *Edwin* recall'd from Baniſhment, by which means Opportunity was given for ſome to end his Life whom he had moſt truſted. *Edric* not ſatisfy'd with this, adviſ'd *Canute* alſo to put to Death the two young Sons of King *Edmund*, namely *Edward* and *Edmund*; but this being accounted a Thing very odious, and ſuch as would exaſperate the People to have them murder'd in *England*, within a ſhort Time they were ſent to the King of the *Swedes* there to be diſpatch'd, who notwithſtanding the League and Kindneſs between him and *Canute*, abhorr'd the Fact, and by no Intreaties would be brought to commit it, but convey'd them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, by him to be carefully educated. *Edmund* in proceſs of Time ended his Days in that Retirement; but *Edward* marry'd *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he had *Margaret* afterwards Queen of the *Scots*, *Chriſtina* that turn'd Nun, and *Edgar-Ætheling*, who ſhall be treated of hereafter.

Canute *acknowledg'd King.*

King Edmund's *Relations remov'd.*

Canute *divides* England *into four Parts.*

Canute being ſetled in his new Power and Soveraignty over all *England*, divided his Kingdom into four Parts; he committed the Government of *Mercia* to *Edric*, as an Inſtrument not yet to be laid aſide, aſſign'd *Eaſt-England* to Earl *Turkill*, *Northumberland* to *Eric*, and reſerv'd *Weſt-Saxony*, as the ancient Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Line, to his own proper Management. After which he proceeded to puniſh ſuch as were concern'd in the Death of King *Edmund*, who having diſcover'd themſelves in Hopes of a Reward, he kept them cloſe Priſoners, and in a grand Aſſembly of the People caus'd them to be executed, as thoſe whom their own Mouths had condemn'd. Having thus ſmooth'd the Way, he made a Covenant with the Nobility and People, to govern according to Law, which was confirm'd by Oath, and an Amneſty decreed for whatſoever had formerly paſs'd between the two Nations. Then to ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh his Intereſt, after the Death and Abſence of all Competitors, he ſu'd and marry'd the famous *Emma*, Widow of King *Ethelred*, in *July* following; concluding that it would win him the Hearts of the People, and divert the Thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* from the Sons ſhe had had by the former King. Being now arriv'd at the Height of his Wiſhes, he thought fit to remove the Scaffolds by which he had aſcended, leſt they ſhould ſerve the End of ſome other Pretender. He had for a long Time made uſe of the Treachery of Duke *Edric*; but now inſtead of loving he deteſted the Man, as well out of Fear as Honour, therefore thought it high Time to remove him. It is reported that after he had procured King *Edmund* to be ſlain in the Manner before related, he came to *Canute* and congratulated him as *ſole Monarch of* England, to whom the King anſwer'd, *That for ſo great a piece of Service he would exalt him above all the* Engliſh *Nobility*. Remembring therefore that Promiſe, at a Time when *Edric* began to upbraid him with his great Services in betraying his two Soveraigns *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, he convicted him of Treaſon from his own Mouth, and caus'd him in the Time of *Chriſtmaſs* to be beheaded, and his Head to be ſet upon a Pole on the higheſt Tower in *London*. Authors vary as to the Manner of his Execution, but all agree that he

Sax. An. Ingulph. &c.

He marries Emma.

Edric *juſtly executed.*

he receiv'd the juſt Reward of his Villanies. Upon his Account ſeveral other Noblemen were put to Death, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Brithric* the Son of *Elfege* Governor of *Devonſhire*, who ſuffer'd under the Pretence of being Accomplices, or at leaſt Familiars with this Traytor. But ſtill King *Canute* thought himſelf not ſecure, but by keeping a ſtanding Army in the Nation, for the Maintenance of which, in the following Year, he exacted a ſevere Tax of ſeventy or eighty two thouſand Pounds out of all *England*, beſides fifteen thouſand out of the City of *London*. But no leſs than theſe Severities could be expected from an Uſurper and a Foreigner; yet after a few Years, at the Importunity of the Nobility he ſent back his Army to *Denmark*, having firſt taken Security for the Safety of his Nation by a particular ſtrict Law made againſt killing any *Danes*.

Canute lays a ſevere Tax upon the Nation.

Sim. Dun. &c. Theſe Things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Conteſt aroſe between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Uthred* the Son of *Waldef* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Succeſſor *Eric*, for *Uthred* was ſlain by *Canute* two Years before. This Rupture proceeded to a great War, as our Author terms it, wherein on the Parts of the *Scots*, *Eugenius Calous* King of the *Lothians* was engag'd; but he does not tell what were the Effects of ſo great a Controverſie. In the mean Time King *Canute* having united the *Engliſh* and *Danes* in one Government, thought the beſt Cement would be to frame their Minds to the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, for which purpoſe he call'd a general Aſſembly to *Oxford*, where both Parts conſented to obſerve the Laws of King *Edgar* and *Ethelred*. And here they eſtabliſh'd many wholeſom Acts both for the Clergy and Laity to obſerve, ſome of which are extant in *Lombard*, and a few of thoſe touching Religion we have mention'd here, as having been obſerv'd a long Time after, and ſome of them to this Day. And firſt, for the Celebration of God's moſt Divine Service, it was ordain'd, 'That all 'decent Ceremonies, tending to the Encreaſe of Reverence and Devotion, ſhould 'be us'd as need requir'd. That there ſhould be no Markets, Fairs, Aſſemblies, 'or other Secular Actions practis'd on the Lord's Day. That all Chriſtians 'ſhould receive the Eucharift, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at leaſt three 'Times in the Year. That if a Prieſt kill'd a Man, or committed any notorious 'Crime, he ſhould be depriv'd of his Order and Dignity. That a marry'd Wo-'man convict of Adultery, ſhould have her Noſe and Ears cut off. That a 'Widow marrying within twelve Months after her Husband's Deceaſe, ſhould 'loſe her Jointer and Dowry. Theſe and many others were made, whereby Sin and Looſeneſs were much reſtrain'd, and the Nation peaceably and juſtly govern'd. As alſo were divers other Countries by this King's pious Endeavours; particularly by means of a young Gentleman of the *Daniſh* Royal Blood nam'd *Odin*, whom *Canute* brought over with him into *England* to be inſtructed in Learning, where he improv'd ſo well, and by his Travels through *France*, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Sapient*; and afterwards by his Preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia* and *Swedeland*, he converted great Multitudes of Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith.

A. D. 1018.

Several good Laws enacted.

Sim. Dun. Hunting. M. Weſt. Sax. An. King *Canute* having ſo well ſetled his Affairs here, he thought he might ſafely give a Viſit to his ancient and native Kingdom of *Denmark*, to which Place he ſail'd in the third Year of his Reign, and continu'd there the whole Winter. *Huntington* writes, that he led thither an Army of *Engliſh* and *Danes* againſt the *Vandals*, by which he muſt mean no other than the *Swedes*: That incamping near his Enemies with Intention not to fight 'till the next Day, *Godwin* the *Engliſh* General without his Knowledge ſet upon them unprepar'd, kill'd many, and put the reſt to flight. In the Morning the King, imagining that the *Engliſh* were either run away or revolted to the Enemy, ſet the *Danes* in order of Battel, and advanc'd towards the *Swediſh* Camp, where he found nothing but Blood, Carkaſſes and Plunder, which caus'd him not only to reward *Godwin* with an Earldom, but exceedingly to prize the *Engliſh*, and to

A. D. 1019.

Canute *ſails into* Denmark.

and beats the Swedes.

He returns to England.

hold them in no leſs Eſteem than the *Danes* themſelves. In the Spring he return'd into *England*, and at *Eaſter* held a grand Council at *Circeſter*, in which he baniſh'd Duke *Ethelward*, or *Edward*, as others call him. In the following Year, fearing the growing Greatneſs of Earl *Turkil* the *Dane*, he baniſh'd him and his Wife *Egitha* out of *England*; and found occaſion to do the like by *Eric* the *Daniſh* Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the ſame Principle of Jealouſie. As ſoon as they ſet foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* ſays, that *Turkil*, who had firſt perſuaded King *Swane* to invade *England*, was kill'd by the Noblemen of the Country. But whether it was that theſe baniſh'd Perſons excited the People againſt their King, or that his Abſence caus'd his Authority to be deſpis'd, *Huntington* tell us that *Canute* in the ninth Year of his Reign carry'd over another Army againſt *Ulf* and *Eilaf*, who had rais'd ſuch great Numbers againſt him both by Sea and Land, that they gave him a conſiderable Defeat. But others make this the ſame Expedition with the former; and indeed had his Affairs been ſo much embroild'd now in *Denmark*, he would not ſo ſoon have caſt his Thoughts upon the Conqueſt of *Norway*; from whence having Intelligence that the People deſpis'd *Olaus* their King, he ſent great Sums of Mony to make way for his own Power, which had ſuch prevailing Effects, that in the following Year 1028, he found ſufficient Incouragement to ſail into *Norway* with Fifty Ships. The Succeſs was, that he drove *Olaus* out of his Country, and then eaſily reduc'd it to his own Power, whither *Olaus* the following Year returning to try the Minds of the Revolters was ſlain by them with all his Followers. *Canute* being now King of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, return'd with Applauſe into *England*; tho' not ſo ſecure in his Thoughts, but that under colour of an Embaſſy, he ſent into Baniſhment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had marry'd the Daughter of his Siſter *Gunilda*. This Man was grown ſo powerful and popular, that he ſtood in fear of being kill'd or depos'd by him, and thereupon he drove him to ſuch Extremities, that within twelve Months he either periſh'd at Sea, or elſe was kill'd in the Iſle of *Orkney*.

He conquers Norway.

A. D. 1031.

Such were the Fears of this Prince, and ſuch the Means he us'd to prevent them, declining no Actions or Methods that might fix and ſecure the Crown on his Head. But now the Occaſions and Temptations for Injuſtice being remov'd, he reſolv'd to be eminently religious, as ſuch who having gain'd vaſt Riches by infamous Practices, frequently think to appeaſe the ſupream Majeſty of Heav'n by dedicating ſome part of them to pious Uſes. Accordingly in the fifteenth Year of his Reign he took a Journey to *Rome*, viſited the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles, and on St. *Peter* conferr'd extraordinary Quantities of Gold, Silver and other valuable Preſents; procur'd from Pope *John* a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the *Engliſh* School there, gave large Alms to the Poor both in his Paſſage and Return, and bought off ſeveral Toils and Impoſitions laid upon Travellers. From this City he ſent an Epiſtle to the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility, which is extent in *Malmesbury* and begins thus. 'Canute 'King of all *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, to *Ailwoth* Metropo-'litan, *&c.* Wherein, having firſt given the Reaſon of his Pilgrimage to *Rome*, 'which was eſpecially to honour St. *Peter*, he makes relation of his honoura-'ble Entertainment with the Pope, the Emperor *Conrade*, and other Foreign 'Princes, ſhewing what exceſſive Sums were exacted by the Pope from the '*Engliſh* Arch-Biſhops, when they receiv'd their Palls from *Rome*; for the re-'dreſſing of which, and other Grievances, the Pope oblig'd himſelf in a ſolemn 'Aſſembly of four Arch-Biſhops, twenty Biſhops, and an innumerable Multi-'tude of Princes and Noblemen. Then he proceeds in vowing the Remainder 'of his Life and Reign to the only Service of God, and the due Adminiſtration 'of Juſtice to his People; to which end he firſt gives Command to his Counſel-'lors, that thence forward they preſume not, upon any reſpect to give Counte-'nance to the leaſt Injuſtice in his Kingdom: And next to his Officers of Ju-'ſtice, that as they tender his Royal Favour, and their own Lives, they deviate 'not

Sax. An. Malmſb.

He makes a Journey to Rome.

His Epiſtle from thence.

'not from exact Equity, in reſpect of any Man whatſoever, no not for the in-'riching of the King's own Treaſury, *becauſe*, adds he, *there is no Neceſſity* '*that my Revenues ſhould be augmented by any unjuſt Exactions:* And ſo 'concludes with a ſtrict Charge to all his Biſhops and Juſtices, upon their Al-'legiance both to God and himſelf, to take care in his Abſence, that God's 'Church and his Miniſters be not defrauded of their Tithes and Rights, whereof 'he vows at his Return to take a moſt ſevere Account.

Sim. Dun. Hunting. &c.

From *Rome* this King went to *Denmark*, and at his Return to *England* he ſpent a great Part of his Time in building and repairing Monaſteries and Churches. In *Eſſex* he built the Church of *Aſhdown*, in the Place of that great Victory over King *Edmund* which won him the Crown. In *Norfolk* he founded the noted Abby of St. *Bennet's in Holme*, which Saint he highly reſpected; and in *Suffolk* with a ſpecial Devotion he rebuilt and endow'd the Monaſtery of St. *Edmund's Bury*, which Saint he no leſs dreaded. For it is reported that the ſeeming Ghoſt of St. *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which Cauſe, as alſo to expiate the Sins of his Father, who had done great Damage to his Poſſeſſion, he ſurrounded the Monaſtery with a deep Ditch, and offer'd up his Crown at the Martyr's Tomb. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church of *Wincheſter*, of which one is recorded to be a Croſs, worth one Year's Revenue of the Kingdom; and to *Coventry* he gave the Arm of St. *Auguſtine* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his Return from *Rome*, for which he paid a hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. The Magnificence of this great King now ſo ſhin'd in the Eyes of his Courtiers and Flatterers, that they extoll'd him equal with *Alexander*, *Cyrus* and *Cæſar*, and applauded him as poſſeſs'd with more than Human Power. But to convince and reprove ſuch miſchievous Inſtruments, and to ſhew the ſmall Power of Kings in reſpect of the King of Heav'n and Earth, he caus'd his Royal Seat, ſays *Huntington*, to be plac'd by the Sea-ſhore at *Southampton* while the Tide was flowing in; and being ſeated in his Robes, and his Courtiers about him, he with all the Air of Majeſty ſpoke in theſe Terms, *Thou Sea art under my Dominion, and the Land on which I ſit is mine; nor has any unpuniſh'd reſiſted my Commands: I charge thee therefore preſume no further upon my Land, nor dare to wet the Feet of thy Soveraign Lord.* But the Sea, as at other Times, came rolling on, and both wet his Feet, and daſh'd againſt his Robes; which caus'd him ſuddenly to riſe up, and cry'd out, *Let all the Inhabitants of the World know how vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings! Nor is there any that can deſerve that Title, but he whoſe eternal Laws the Heav'ns, Earth and Sea obey.* From which Time this King would never wear his own Crown, but commanded it to be put upon the Head of the Crucifix at *Wincheſter*. From whoſe Example, according to *Petrus Pictavienſis*, aroſe that Cuſtom of hanging up the Armour of great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had obtain'd any Honour to themſelves, or Benefit to their Country, either by Victory, or an honourable Death.

He returns to England.

His Buildings.

He reproves his Courtiers by an Example.

This King's Building of ſo many Churches and Monaſteries ſo far repair'd his Fame and Eſteem with the Monkiſh Writers, that notwithſtanding all his Violence and Injuſtice, and his being a Depoſer, and a Procurer of the Death of King *Olaus* one of their Saints, they all diſmiſs him with a very fair Character. Nay ſome tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, that of *Scotland*, which, according to *Matthew of Weſtminſter*, at this Time depended on *England*; for he writes that the *Scots* now rebell'd, and that thereupon he march'd thither with an Army, and eaſily conquer'd *Malcolm* the King, with two other *Reguli* which *Huntington* mentions by the Names of *Melbeathe* and *Jermare*. But if the Kingdom of *Scotland* was given him for his Piety, that of Heav'n follow'd not long after; for within two Years he dy'd, at *Shaftſbury* on the twelfth Day of *November*, and was bury'd in the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, after he had reign'd nineteen Years, wanting a few Days. It cannot

He adds Scotland *to his Dominions.*

His Death.

cannot be deny'd but that he was a magnificent Prince, bountiful both to religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. The Means and Methods by which he arriv'd at his Greatneſs, are no ways to be juſtify'd; but there are few that obtain'd Crowns ſo unjuſtly have afterwards manag'd their Power with ſo much Juſtice and Humanity; ſo that he may well bear away the Title generally given him of *Canutus the Great*. And we may ſay of him what a *Roman* Author does of one of his Emperors, That it had been well for the Kingdom if he had never reign'd at all, or elſe had continu'd longer; none of his Sons reſembling him either in Wiſdom or Valour.

17. 2. *HAROLD.*

A. D. 1036. **II.** *Canute* by *Elgiva* his firſt Wife, or rather Concubine, had two Sons, the firſt call'd *Swane*, and the ſecond *Harold*; tho' ſome ſay, to conceal her Barrenneſs, ſhe procur'd the former from a Prieſt's Wife, and the latter from the Wife of a Shoomaker, and ſo impos'd upon the Credulity of the King. By *Emma* the Relict of King *Ethelred*, whom he ſeems to have marry'd in the Life Time of *Elgiva*, he had a Son nam'd *Harde-canute*; and before his Death it is ſaid that he appointed *Swane* to be King of *Norway*, *Harold* King of *England*, and *Harde-canute* King of *Denmark*. But this ſeems very improbable that he ſhould ſeparate the Son of his beloved Wife ſo far from her; eſpecially if that be true which ſome have written, that he formerly promis'd to leave the Crown of *England* to ſuch Iſſue as he ſhould have by her. However it was, *Harold* by means of the *Danes*, and the Citizens of *London*, and afterwards by Injuſtice obtain'd the *Engliſh* Crown, but not without ſome Struggles and Difficulties. For each Pretender endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf with Friends and Forces; as Earl *Leofric* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* ſtood up for *Harold*, ſo moſt of the *Engliſh* contended for *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and ſome for *Harde-canute* the Son of *Canute* by Queen *Emma*. Upon which Differences all expected a Civil War, which caus'd great Multitudes to quit their Habitations, and retire to the moſt Fenny and Impaſſable Places, particularly to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, where they caus'd ſuch Diſturbance, that the Religious in the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All Things now tended to Confuſion, when by the Interpoſition of the more ſober ſort, Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to accommodate Affairs by a publick Aſſembly. The Place appointed was *Oxford*, where after a long Debate, the major Part concluded, That the Kingdom ſhould be divided between *Harold* and *Harde-canute*, the former to have all the Countries lying Northwards from the *Thames*, with the City of *London*, and the latter to enjoy all the Southern Provinces. But *Harde-canute* being abſent upon ſome neceſſary Affairs in *Denmark*, *Harold* ſoon took the Advantage, and being already in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part, he ſeiz'd upon all; which he obtain'd by the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes* and *Londoners*, and now at length by *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, who being made up of Ambition and Cunning, had at the Beginning of the Conteſt profeſs'd himſelf a Champion for *Emma* and her Children, but upon the Turning of the Tide reſolv'd to ſwim with the Stream, or was wrought upon by the Promiſes of *Harold*, who gave him Hopes of marrying one of his Daughters. Yet ſtill the Clergy adher'd to the Children of *Emma*, and tho' the Nobility join'd with *Harold*, they continu'd ſo firm, that *Ailnoth* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* refus'd the Office of crowning him, profeſſing, *That as long as any of the ſaid Children liv'd, he would not give his Aſſent or Benediction to any other*, and affirming, as ſome write, *That* Canute *on his Death Bed had commended them to his Care and Fidelity*. Then laying the Enſigns of Royalty upon the Altar, he denounc'd a Curſe againſt his Brethren the Biſhops in caſe any of them ſhould deliver them to *Harold*, likewiſe

Mahmſb. M. Weſt. Hunting. Ingulf. Sax. An. &c.

Harold obtains the Crown.

But with much Oppoſition.

wiſe inhibiting Him from taking thoſe Things away which he had commited to God and that holy Place. But notwithſtanding all this Zeal and Reſolution, the Arch-Biſhop was at length prevail'd upon by Threats or Promiſes; ſo that the Ceremony was perform'd, and *Harold* acknowledg'd King of all *England.*

As to the Character of this Prince, *Brompton* tells us, That in all Reſpects he degenerated from the Worth of his Father *Canute*, for he was altogether careleſs both as to Matters of War and Peace, only he would purſue his own Will, and what was misbecoming his high Station, choſe rather to go on foot than ride, whence from the Lightneſs and Swiftneſs of his Feet he was call'd *Harold Harefoot*. One of the firſt Things he attempted was to inſnare and deſtroy his Emulators and Rivals in the Throne, particularly King *Ethelred*'s two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, then in *Normandy*. In order to effect his Purpoſe, the Author of the *Encomium Emmæ* ſays that he forg'd a Letter to theſe two young Princes in the Name of Queen *Emma* their Mother, earneſtly inviting them into *England:* Wherein, perſonating her, 'She ſeem'd to chide them 'gently for their Delay, in not coming over to inſpect their own Affairs; ſince 'they could not but know that it daily confirm'd the Uſurper in his Power, who 'omitted no Artifices to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party; yet alſo aſ-'ſur'd them that the *Engliſh* Nation had much rather have one of them to be 'their King; and in concluſion, urg'd them to come as ſpeedily and as privately 'as they could, to conſult with her what Methods were moſt proper to be taken. This Letter was ſent to the two Princes in *Normandy* by an expreſs Meſſenger, with Preſents alſo, as from their Mother; which they innocently and joyfully receiving, return'd anſwer by the ſame Hand, That one of them would be with her ſhortly, naming both the Time and Place. *Alfred* the younger was judg'd moſt proper for this Affair, who at the appointed Time, with a few Ships, and a ſmall Number of *Normans* on board, appear'd on the Coaſt, and no ſooner landed, but fell into the Snare that Earl *Godwin* had laid for them, being ſent purpoſely to betray them. For being deluded into a Belief that he was ſent for by the King then at *London*, he was in the Way met by Earl *Godwin* at *Guilford*, who with all ſeeming Friendſhip kindly entertain'd him, but in the Night ſurpriz'd the Prince and made him Priſoner, with all his Company, to the Number of about ſix hundred *Normans*. Moſt of theſe were us'd with the greateſt Barbarity, put to various Kinds of Torments and cruel Deaths; and being twice decimated, every tenth Man ſuffer'd without Mercy. The unfortunate Prince was brought to *London*, and by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, where he had his Eyes put out as ſoon as he landed; and being deliver'd up to the Monks to be kept there, out of Pain and Grief he dy'd ſoon after in their Cuſtody. This did not ſatisfie King *Harold*, for ſoon after he baniſh'd the Mother Queen *Emma* out of the Kingdom, tho' Winter was then begun. She retir'd not into *Normandy*, becauſe, as ſome alledge, Duke *William*, the baſe Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then in the *French* Court, and ſome add, that her Son *Edward* was gone into *Hungary* to conſult with his Coſen *Edward*, whom *Canute* had formerly baniſh'd thither. Therefore ſhe went directly to *Flanders*, where ſhe was courteouſly receiv'd by *Baldwin* Earl of that Country, who pitying a diſtreſſed Lady and Queen, aſſign'd her *Bruges* for her Habitation, and munificently provided for her during her whole Continuance.

He is treacherous in his Proceedings.

A Maſſacre of the Normans.

Emma *baniſhed.*

Sim. Dun. Hunting. &c. After two Years this Queen was viſited by her Son *Harde-canute* out of *Denmark*, and they comforted themſelves with the Hopes of better Fortune, that either the Hearts of the *Engliſh* would relent, or the Uſurper by ſome other Means finiſh his Days or his Reign. *Harold* on the other Side, incourag'd by Poſſeſſion, omitted nothing that might ſerve to exclude them, or any other Pretenders; and accordingly provided himſelf with a Fleet, the only Bulwark of the Iſland, for the furniſhing of which every Port in the Nation was oblig'd to pay eight Marks of Silver to every ſixteen Ships. This Tax ſo exaſperated the *Engliſh*, that it gave Occaſion to the *Welſh* to commit ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility; for

A. D. 1039.

Harold *diſliked.*

for the quelling of whom *Edwin* Brother to Earl *Leofric*, *Turkil* and *Algeat* Sons of *Eſſi*, with ſeveral other Noblemen loſt their Lives. But theſe Things could not accompliſh the Hopes of the Baniſh'd, which was left to be effected by
He dies. Death, which not long after on the ſixteenth Day of *April* ſeiz'd upon King *Harold*, after he had reign'd with no Reputation four Years and as many Months. He was bury'd at *Weſtminſter*, and left neither Wife nor Child behind him. As for his Laws we have only one mention'd by Mr. *Selden*, which was, That whatſoever *Welſh* Man, coming into *England* without Leave, was taken on this Side *Oſfa*'s Ditch, ſhould loſe his right Hand.

18. 3. *HARDE-CANUTE.*

A. D. 1040. III. The States of the Land as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*, that had ſtood up for the Intereſt of *Harold*, now ſeeing him fallen, thought it moſt advantagious to make way for their Peace, before *Harde-canute* ſhould command their Obedience by his Sword: Therefore they unanimouſly ſent Meſſengers to him at *Bruges*, where he continu'd with his Mother, humbly deſiring him to come over, and receive the Crown as his Right. Hereupon he haſten'd to *Denmark*, there to ſettle Affairs, and from thence with ſixty Ships and many Soldiers he came over in the Month of *Auguſt*, and landing at *Sandwich* was there joyfully
Harde-canute is crown'd King receiv'd, and both by *Engliſh* and *Danes* admitted, and crowned King. Having obtain'd the Kingdom, he perform'd but little worthy of his Condition and Station, but made uſe of that Advantage only to pleaſe and gratifie his exorbitant Paſſions. His firſt Undertaking was to ſhew his Reſentment againſt *Harold*,
He revenges himſelf upon Harold's Friends. for the Injuries offer'd to himſelf and his Mother, whoſe Body he caus'd to be digg'd up by *Alfric* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Earl *Godwin* and others, the Head to be cut off, and both that and the Trunk to be caſt firſt into a Ditch or Privy, and then into the *Thames*, where being caught in a Fiſherman's Net, it was by ſome of his Relations convey'd to Land, and bury'd in a Burying-Place of the *Danes*, which conſtant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Church-yard of St. *Clements Danes* in *London*. Following on this Courſe of Revenge, which ſome ſtile by the Name of Piety to his Relations, he deſervingly depriv'd *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was concern'd in the barbarous Treatment of his Brother *Alfred*; but within a Year he was appeas'd with a Sum of Mony,
Godwin *and others appeaſe him.* and reſtor'd him. *Godwin* that ſubtle Earl found Means to purchace his Peace with an extraordinary Preſent, which was a Gally with a gilded Stern, wonderfully rigg'd, furniſh'd out with all Conveniencies both for War and Pleaſure, and mann'd with eighty choice Soldiers, every one having upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing ſixteen Ounces, an Helmet and Corſlet finely gilt, a *Daniſh* Scimiter adorn'd with Silver and Gold hung on his left Shoulder, in his left Hand a Shield with gilt Boſs and Nails, and in his Right a Lance, which in the Language of the *Engliſh* was call'd a *Tegar*. This uncommon Preſent was not ſufficient 'till he alſo took a ſolemn Oath, That Prince *Alfred* loſt not his Eyes by his Advice or Deſire, but in that he merely obey'd King *Harold*, then his Soveraign Lord; which Oath was alſo taken by moſt of the Nobility of the Land.

Sim. Dun. Malmſb.

At the ſame Time he enquir'd after ſuch as had been cruel to his Relations, and much incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of the People by a new Tax he laid, for the
Harde-canute *lays heavy Taxes upon the Nation.* Payment of eight Marks to every Rower in his Navy, and twelve to every Officer, a Burden ſo heavy, that every one repented their helping of him to the Crown. However he collected the Tax with all Rigour, inſomuch that two of his Officers for that purpoſe call'd *Feader* and *Turſtan*, going to *Worceſter*, were ſlain by the People. The King highly incens'd ſent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, *Godwin* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others with great Forces, and Orders to kill all the Men, to burn the City, and waſte all the

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c.

the Country. Terrify'd with this News, all the People fled, the Country Men to ſeveral remote Parts, and the Citizens to a ſmall Iſland in the *Severn* call'd *Beverege*, which they fortify'd and valiantly defended, 'till Peace was granted them, and free Liberty to return home; but they found their City plunder'd and burnt. Appeas'd with this Act of Severity, *Harde-canute* began to ſhow a better Temper, and ſhortly after he gave a kind Entertainment to *Edward* his Brother, the Son of King *Ethelred* and *Emma*, who now return'd home, after a tedious Exile in *Normandy*. To his further Commendation he took care to prefer his Siſter *Gunhilda* to be Wife of *Henry* the *German* Emperor; a Lady of admirable Beauty, who in her Father's Time had in vain been courted by ſeveral Lovers. Her Brother ſent her forth with all imaginable Pomp and Splendor, the Nobility both accompanying her to the Sea, and greatly contributing to the Expences, beſides what the King's Exchequer could furniſh. But Covetouſneſs was not this Prince's Crime, for he delighted in extravagant Expences, eſpecially in Banquets and Feaſtings; and he allow'd four Meals a Day in his Court, which *Huntington* attributes to his Bounty, as rather deſiring that Meat ſhould be taken away untouch'd from ſuch as were invited, than that ſuch as were not invited ſhould complain of Scarcity. As *Harde-canute* liv'd ſo he dy'd in his beloved Cuſtom of Feaſting, at *Lambeth* at a Nuptial Entertainment, which with great Splendor was ſolemniz'd between *Tovy* a *Daniſh* Nobleman, and *Gorthy* the Daughter of *Oſgod Clapa*, a great Lord of the ſame Nation, in the Height of his Mirth and Jollity, carouſing with the Bride and ſome of the Company, he ſuddenly fell down ſpeechleſs, and dy'd on the eighth Day of *June*, in the Flower of his Age, after a ſhort Reign of two Years and almoſt two Months.

He waſtes Worceſterſhire.

He marries his Siſter to the Emperor.

His ſtrange Death.

Such was the End of this diſſolute young Prince by that Vice which was too familiar to the *Daniſh* Nation, which to the Cruelty they ſhew'd before they got Poſſeſſion of the Land, they afterwards added Gormandizing and Drunkenneſs. But as he exceeded all in this kind, ſo tho' he was born in *England*, and conſequently might have naturally follow'd the Cuſtoms of that Country, yet out of Simpathy with the Humour of the *Danes*, he bore moſt Affection to them; nay and ſuffer'd them moſt inſolently to domineer over the *Engliſh*. So that we are told, If a *Dane* met an *Engliſh* Man upon a Bridge, the latter durſt not move 'till the former paſs'd over; and if the *Engliſh* Man did not bow in the moſt humble Manner, his Head ſhould be broken, or for his Clowniſhneſs he ſhould be ſeverely baſtinado'd. And according to *Knighton*, this *Harde-canute* ſo far increas'd this Inſolence, that upon every *Engliſh* Family he impos'd a *Dane* as their Lord and Governor; which confirm'd the Occaſion of the Word *Lordane* formerly mention'd. The ſame Vices of Luxury and Effeminacy, which had procur'd Slavery to the *Engliſh*, were now come to the Height in the *Danes*, and, as in all Changes of States, caus'd their Ruin in this Nation, and made way for another Revolution. Not that the *Engliſh* were much reform'd, for they ſtill retain'd ſuch Diſtempers, as within a few Years procur'd the intire Deſtruction of their Empire; but being unreaſonably inſulted and oppreſs'd, upon the Death of *Harde-canute* they found Means to throw off their Yoak, and to ſlay and baniſh the moſt inſolent and tyrannical of that Nation. And as the old *Romans*, for the Expulſion of their Kings, annually ſolemniz'd the *Fugalia*, ſo the joyful *Engliſh* in Imitation of them, being freed from the *Daniſh* Tyranny, inſtituted the annual Sports of *Hock-Tide*, which ſignify'd the Times of Scorning or Triumphing; of which there are ſome Remainders to this Day. *Harde-canute* dying without Iſſue, and *Denmark* being then embarraſs'd with Troubles, with him expir'd, not only the Dominion, but in Effect all Attempts or Invaſions of the *Danes* in *England*; which tho' they had been continu'd, and often renew'd with mighty Numbers, for two hundred and fifty five Years from their firſt Invaſion, left no conſiderable

The Danes *decline.*

Change of Laws, Cuſtoms, Language or Religion, nor other Traces of their Eſtabliſhment beſides the many Caſtles they built, and the many Families they left behind them, who in a few Years came to incorporate and make a Part of the *Engliſh* Nation without Diſtinction.

CHAP. VI.

The Monarchy of the Engliſh Saxons *reſtor'd; From the Death of* Harde-canute, *to the Death of* Harold *the laſt King of the* Engliſh *Race, and the final Period of the* Saxon *Empire by* William *Duke of* Normandy.

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

19. 16. *EDWARD the Confeſſor.*

A. D. 1042. I. THE *Engliſh* being happily deliver'd from the Power of the *Danes*, took the Advantage of the laſt King's dying without Iſſue, and began to caſt their Eyes upon the Poſterity of the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, particularly *Edward*, the Son he had by Queen *Emma*. However this Prince was ſtill at a Loſs, not knowing what Methods to take for his Safety, 'till at length he reſolv'd to caſt himſelf upon the Counſel and Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, who being ſent to for a friendly Conference, for ſome Time conſider'd in his Thoughts whether he ſhould acknowledge him or not, but at length conſented to converſe with him. *Edward* gaining Acceſs, was ready to fall at his Feet, which when he would not ſuffer, he related the ſad Story of his Brother *Harde-canute*'s Death, and with great Promiſes begg'd his Aſſiſtance towards his ſafe Return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gave him this unexpected Anſwer, *That he had better live gloriouſly a King in* England, *than ignominiouſly to dye an Exile; that the Crown did of Right belong to him, as the Son of* Ethelred, *and Grandſon of* Edgar, *one who was ripe in Years, inured to Toils, and taught by Experience how to adminiſter publick Affairs, and by his own Afflictions how to prevent thoſe of his People. To effect this there would be no Obſtacle, if he would confide in him, whoſe Intereſt was ſo great in the Land. Therefore on Condition he would eſtabliſh a firm Friendſhip with him, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he ſhould ſhortly ſee himſelf a King; tho' now as one ſhipwrackt in his Fortunes, and a Man baniſh'd from all Expectations, he implor'd the Aid of another Perſon.* This Prince's Circumſtances were ſuch, as not to reject ſo fair Propoſals, but to agree to every Thing, and comply with the State and Condition of the Times; and whatſoever he requir'd he promiſs'd by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for the managing ſuch an Affair, having a very ſmooth inſinuating Tongue, ſo eloquent and prevailing, that he could work upon the Affections of the People as he deſired, and draw them with Eaſe to any Thing he deſign'd. He procur'd a Council to be ſummon'd to *Gillingham*, where perſuading ſome by his Authority, ſome by Promiſes, and others being already inclin'd to favour *Edward*'s Cauſe, he eaſily brought over a great Majority to his Party; the reſt who made Oppoſition, were overpower'd at preſent, diſgrac'd, and afterwards baniſh'd out of the Land. On *Eaſter* Day, which this Year fell on the third of *April*, he was

Malmſb.

Earl Godwin *a Friend to* Edward.

By whoſe Intereſt he is crown'd King of England.

was crown'd at *Wincheſter* by the two Arch-Biſhops, *Edſi* of *Canterbury*, and *Alfric* of *York*, aſſiſted with other Prelates, of whom *Living*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, much contributed to the compleating this Deſign. This happen'd about ten Months after the Death of *Harde-canute*, ſo that this Alteration requir'd ſome conſiderable Time, and probably found as conſiderable Oppoſition, notwithſtanding the great Power of Earl *Godwin*. And thus was the Monarchy of the *Engliſh* reſtor'd to the *Engliſh* Royal Blood, and the People ſo unexpectedly deliver'd from the *Daniſh* Tyranny, were exceedingly tranſported with Joy, yet ſtill making way for another Revolution, which they little imagin'd was ſo near.

Malmsb. &c. *Edward* was now near forty Years of Age, of a ſoft and complying Temper; and being the Creature of Earl *Godwin*, he conform'd himſelf wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The firſt material Thing he did, was to ſeize on the Treaſure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Wincheſter*. The Cauſe alledg'd was, that ſhe had been hard and unkind to him in the Time of his Exile and greateſt Neceſſities; and in reality, ſhe is believ'd to have born too little Affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children: But *Godwin* however ſeems to have been the Inſtiller of this Treatment into the King's Mind, bearing a ſecret Hatred againſt her, for concerning her ſelf about the Cruelty ſhewn to her Son *Alfred*. *Simeon* expreſly ſays, that King *Edward* did it by the Advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Geward*, who accompanying him from *Gloceſter* to *Wincheſter*, he came ſuddenly to her, and took away all the Gold, Silver or Jewels ſhe had then in Poſſeſſion; to which *Matth. Weſtminſter* adds, that he yet commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſupply'd with Neceſſaries, and be free from all further Moleſtation. But how fair ſoever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* took care that he ſhould deal juſtly with him, in the Marriage of his Daughter *Egitha*, which about this Time he procur'd to be ſolemniz'd. The Lady for her admirable Perfections and Qualifications might well deſerve a Crown; ſo that this was none of thoſe many Things wherein the Earl impos'd upon the King. *Ingulph* the Abbot, who in his Youth had often been pos'd by her both in Grammar and Logick, teſtifies that ſhe was moſt beautiful, moſt chaſte and virtuous, but eſpecially noted both for her Humility and Learning, ſavouring nothing of the Inſolence either of her Father or Brothers, but mild, modeſt, faithful and obliging, never doing any kind of ill Offices, ſo that it became a Proverb, 'That 'as a Thorn produces a Roſe, ſo *Godwin* begot *Egitha*.

He ſeizes on his Mother's Treaſury.

He marries Godwin's *Daughter* Egitha.

Sim. Dun. *Edward* thus ſetled in the Throne, ſtill thought himſelf not ſecure, while any eminent Perſons of the *Daniſh* Blood continu'd in the Land. Therefore he baniſh'd *Gunhilda*, the Siſter of King *Canute*, marry'd firſt to *Hacun*, and then to *Harold* both Earls, but now a Widow, who with her two Sons *Hemmung* and *Turkill*, were oblig'd to leave the Land, go firſt to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and then to *Denmark*. But while he thus thought to prevent Storms at home, he was threaten'd with a Tempeſt from the Northern World, where *Magnus* the Son of *Olaus* King of *Norway*, to revenge the Injury done here to his Father in the Reign of *Canute*, prepar'd to invade *England*. King *Edward* to ſecure himſelf, provided a ſtrong Fleet, which lay expecting *Magnus* in *Sandwich* Road; but *Swane* King of *Denmark*, tho' he had no Reaſon to oblige the *Engliſh*, yet to hinder the Growth of a dangerous Neighbour, intirely diverted *Magnus* by making an Invaſion of his Kingdom. This rais'd ſuch Fewds between theſe two Northern Kings, that *Magnus* in revenge enter'd *Denmark* in the following Year, expell'd King *Swane*, and made himſelf Lord of the Country. Upon which *Swane* ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring him, *That he would now return ſuch Kindneſs as he had receiv'd from him, when he was in Danger.* *Godwin*'s Opinion was for ſupplying him with a Fleet of fifty Veſſels, both to requite *Swane*, and to give a check to the Succeſs and Ambition of *Magnus*; but Earl *Leofric* and others thought it ſafer *That the King ſhould only be a Spectator, rather than to run the Hazard of*

A. D. 1045.

He baniſhes many of the Daniſh *Nobility*

diſobliging the prevailing Party, and bringing Danger upon himſelf. And tho' Swane *had by his Invaſion of* Norway, *done that which tended to the Repoſe of* England, *yet ſince he took thoſe Meaſures purely from his own Intereſt, he could not take it amiſs, if King* Edward *alſo ſhould ſteer his Courſe by the ſame Compaſs.* And their Counſel had this good Effect, that as *Magnus*, tho' he held the Crown of *Denmark* all his Life, offer'd no further Attempts upon *England*, ſo *Harold Harvager* his Uncle and Succeſſor, as ſoon as he came to the Crown ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, and made a ſolemn League and Alliance with him. This was look'd upon as a great Happineſs to the Nation; but an Earthquake at *Worceſter* and *Darby*, a Peſtilence and Famine in many Places, much diminiſh'd the Enjoyment of it.

A. D. 1049. *He engages with the Emperor againſt* Baldwin *Earl of* Flanders.

While King *Edward* was free from Wars at home, he was ingag'd by *Henry* the Emperor againſt *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, with whom he had a Conteſt about a Palace of his Country, which the Earl had fir'd. Pope *Leo* and *Swane* King of the *Danes* aſſiſted by Land, and leſt *Baldwin* ſhould eſcape by Sea, he procur'd King *Edward* to ſecure the Coaſts, which he perform'd, lying with his Fleet before the Port of *Sandwich*, 'till he underſtood that an Accommodation was made between them. In the mean Time *Swane*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, having formerly been baniſh'd, or left the Land, for deflouring *Edgitha* Abbeſs of *Cheſter* whom he would have marry'd, came back from *Denmark* with eight Ships, pretending a great Deſire to be reconcil'd to the King; and Earl *Beorn*, a *Dane* and his Coſen-German, undertook to make his Peace. The War being ended between the Emperor and Earl *Baldwin*, this *Beorn* and *Godwin* who commanded forty two Veſſels, by the King's leave were remov'd to *Pevenſey*; to which Place *Swane* came and ſollicited his Coſen *Beorn*, according to Promiſe to carry him to the King at *Sandwich*, and obtain his Pardon. *Beorn* without Scruple repair'd to him, attended only with three Servants, but *Swane* having brought him to *Boſenham*, where his Ships lay at Anchor, carry'd him on Board, caus'd him to be bound, and removing to *Dartmouth*, he there murder'd him, and threw his Body into a deep Ditch. The Inhabitants of *Haſtings* took ſix of *Swane*'s Ships, and killing all the Men, carry'd the Veſſels to the King at *Sandwich*. *Swane* with the other two fled into *Flanders*, where he continu'd 'till afterwards *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* brought him back, and notwithſtanding all this, reconcil'd him to this gentle King. Crimes of this Nature were at this Time but too common, and too little puniſh'd; ſuch was the Wickedneſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, which now again fell into a dangerous Security, tho' the late dreadful Scourge was but juſt remov'd from their Backs. Nay at this very Time it was again ſhaken over them: For *Oſgod Clapa*, having with his Wife, as well as other *Danes*, been baniſh'd the Land, had got together twenty nine Ships, which infeſted the Coaſts of *Eſſex*, but after great Damage done, they met with a Storm, and two of their Ships being driven on Shore, the Men were all put to the Sword. But the *Engliſh* were not only put in mind of the late *Daniſh* Cruelties, but the Remembrance of the old Devaſtations from the *Iriſh Scots* was reviv'd on the other Side of the Iſle; but with this Difference, that whereas formerly the *Britains* were Sufferers, now they were become Actors and Abettors. For, as *Florent* tells us, this ſame Year in the Month of *Auguſt*, certain Pirates from *Ireland*, with thirty ſix Ships enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*, where joining with *Griffen*, King of *South-Wales*, they ravag'd the Country, and caus'd much Miſchief. They proceeded in ſeveral Places with Fire and Sword, but whether they retir'd of themſelves, or were ſuppreſs'd by the *Engliſh* Forces, we do not find.

Sim. Dun. Florent.

The Sea-Coaſts infeſted by Pirates.

A. D. 1051. *He is too kind to Strangers;*

The next Year but one, King *Edward* to comfort and relieve his People now oppreſs'd with Famine and Poverty, took off the Tax formerly mention'd call'd *Danegeld*, impos'd by his Father *Ethelred*, which had laid heavy upon them for thirty eight Years. But as this Effect of his Indulgence to them, tended much to their Eaſe and Conveniency, ſo other Acts of his Kindneſs to Strangers this

Florent. Sim. Dun. Malmſb.

this very Year, prov'd of dangerous Conſequence to the whole Nation. The Occaſion began from *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father to the famous *Godfry*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Siſter, who having been to viſit the Court, and returning through *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers was ſo rude with a Townſman in ſeeking for Lodgings, that in the Heat of Anger he provok'd him to kill him. The Earl with his whole Retinue going into the Houſe where this Servant had been kill'd, ſlew both the Murderer and eighteen more who defended him; but the Townſmen running to Arms, reveng'd themſelves by the Slaughter of twenty one more of the Earl's Servants, and the wounding almoſt all the reſt. *Euſtace* with much Difficulty eſcaping, with great Clamour haſten'd to the King, and being ſeconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he rais'd him to that Fury, that he immediately order'd Earl *Godwin* to march to *Canterbury*, and puniſh the Citizens with military Execution. He on the contrary alledg'd, *That no Man was to be condemn'd unheard*, inwardly grieving that the King ſhould favour Strangers more than his own Subjects; for many of them he had preferr'd to great Places, and Truſt, both in Church and State; particularly *Robert* a *Norman* was made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* another of that Country Biſhop of *London*, which much exaſperated the *Engliſh* againſt the *Normans*. Being join'd with ſome others who lov'd their Country, *Godwin* urg'd, *That the chief Actors in the late Diſorder ſhould firſt be fairly try'd; in caſe they were found innocent to be diſmiſs'd, but if culpable to be fin'd, or undergo ſome corporal Puniſhment for the Breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront that they had offer'd to the Earl.* He further put him in mind, *That it was his Buſineſs to protect his People, and not to condemn them without due Proceſs.* In concluſion he refus'd to obey his Commands; not regarding the King's Anger, which he conceiv'd would laſt but a ſhort Time; but *Edward* diſpleas'd at his Behaviour, and being by others excited to Revenge, he call'd an Aſſembly of all the Nobility at *Gloceſter*. Moſt repair'd thither, only *Godwin* and his Sons appear'd not, ſuſpecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's Humour, but immediately took to Arms. *Godwin* rais'd Forces out of his Earldom, which conſiſted of *Kent*, *South-Sex* and *Weſt-Sex*; his Eldeſt Son *Swane* did the ſame in his, which contain'd *Oxfordſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Barkſhire*; and *Harold* the youngeſt Son out of his, compriſing *Eſſex*, *Eaſt-England* and *Huntingtonſhire*.

which occaſions Godwin *and his Sons to take to Arms.*

Malmſb. Sax. An. Theſe took up their Quarters at *Beverſtan*, and ſpread a Report that their Forces were to march againſt the *Welſh*, who deſign'd an Irruption into *Herefordſhire*; and *Swane* under that Pretence lay encamp'd with Part of his Army in thoſe Parts. But the *Welſh* having ſome notice of this Artifice, prevented it by clearing themſelves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were render'd ſo odious, that the King's Army now immediately expected to march againſt them. *Edward* had ſent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland* to come and aſſiſt him in this Extremity; who after a little Time gather'd together a conſiderable Force, with which *Rodulph*, the King's Nephew by his Siſter *Goda*, join'd himſelf. In the mean Time *Godwin* and his Sons proceeded into *Gloceſterſhire*, and incamp'd at a Place call'd *Langtreo*, from whence they ſent to the King then lying at *Gloceſter*, and demanded Earl *Euſtace* and his Company to be deliver'd up, together with ſuch *Normans* and *Bulloignois* as held the Caſtle at *Canterbury*, upon Refuſal denouncing War. The King was much ſurpriz'd at this Meſſage, not knowing how to act; but upon hearing that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodulph* were on their March, he ſent back the Meſſenger with an abſolute Refuſal. They were newly gone when the King's Forces arriv'd at *Gloceſter*, ſo enrag'd, that he with great Difficulty reſtrain'd them from marching immediately to engage with *Godwin*. *Leofric* and the wiſer Sort, ſenſible of the Miſeries of a Civil War, perſuaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which they conceiv'd the greater Hopes, becauſe *Godwin* had

had given Orders to his Sons not to engage firſt, but to defend themſelves if they were attack'd by the King's Forces. They brought both Parties to this Agreement, that Hoſtages ſhould be given on both Sides, and the whole Conteſt be referr'd to a further Debate to be held at *London*. The King having encreas'd his Forces out of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, went with them and his Nobility to *London*; and *Godwin* having done the like in *Weſt-Sex*, repair'd to *Southwark*. The grand Council, by way of Satisfaction to the King, order'd *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* to appear before them unarm'd, and but with twelve Attendants, and to deliver up all their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded *That they could not give up themſelves into the Hands of their Enemies without ſufficient Caution and Security, otherwiſe they were ready to ſurrender their Forces, and to obey the King in all Things that were conſiſtent with their Honour and Safety; but to come unarm'd, and with ſo few Followers, was to hazard both their Lives and Reputations.* The King by this Anſwer was further exaſperated, and thereupon an Edict was publiſh'd by Conſent of the Council and Army, That *Godwin* and his Sons ſhould quit the Land within five Days. His Soldiers dreading the Conſequence, began to abandon him, ſo that finding it ſafeſt to give way to the Times, the Earl departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and three Sons, *Swane*, *Gyrth* and *Toſti*, into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, Father-in-Law to *Toſti*, with as much Treaſure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin*, his other Sons, went to *Briſtol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himſelf, they ſail'd into *Ireland*. *Harold*'s Earldom was conferr'd on *Elgar*, the Son of *Leofric*; and the King to purſue his Indignation, depriv'd *Egitha* his Queen of all her Jewels and Treaſure, and ſent her away only with one Attendant to the Nunnery of *Warewell*, there to be kept in Cuſtody by the Abbeſs his Siſter.

who are forc'd to quit the Land.

William *Duke of* Normandy *viſits King* Edward.

The Enemy thus remov'd, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, with a great Train of *Normans*, came over into *England* to viſit his old Friend King *Edward*, where he and his Retinue were nobly and magnificently entertain'd, richly preſented, and imprudently led to the chief Caſtles and Forts, and ſhew'd the whole Strength of the Nation, and whatever elſe was in a ſhort Time to be their own. Tho', as *Ingulph* aſſures us, there was yet no Expectation of his ſucceeding in the Kingdom, or at leaſt no Mention made of it between the King and the Duke. About the ſame Year, we are told that Queen *Emma* was accus'd both of conſenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and alſo of preparing Poiſon for *Edward*, and laſtly of Incontinence with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and all this by *Robert* the *Norman*, whom the King had made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Upon which Accuſation, being cloſely confin'd to *Warewell*, ſhe wrote to all the Biſhops of *England*, who were her Friends, profeſſing, *That ſhe was more afflicted at the Scandal rais'd againſt the good Biſhop, than at her own Infamy; and that ſhe was ready to clear her Innocency by undergoing the ſevere Trial by* Ordeale, *and paſſing over red hot Irons.* Upon which the Biſhops met, and had eaſily prevail'd upon the King to remit and forget all, but *Robert* violently oppos'd them, demanding of them, *How they durſt defend a Woman guilty of ſo many Crimes?* concluding, *That if ſhe would paſs barefoot and blindfold over nine red-hot Plow-ſhares, four ſteddy Paces for her ſelf, and five for the Biſhop, ſhe might paſs for Innocent.* Whereupon the Day of Trial was appointed, and before the King and all his Biſhops, except *Robert*, ſhe paſs'd unhurt over all the Plow-ſhares; uſing theſe Words to her Leaders, as not knowing ſhe was paſt Danger, *O Lord, when ſhall I come to the Place of my Purgation?* But having her Eyes uncover'd, and ſeeing her ſelf at Liberty, ſhe fell upon her Knees, and with Tears gave Thanks to her Deliverer; whereby ſhe recover'd both the Love, and her former Eſtate of the King, with the Eſteem and Applauſe of the People. In Memory of which ſhe gave nine Mannors, according to the Number of the Plow-ſhares, to the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*, and beautify'd it with many rich Ornaments; as likewiſe the

Malmſb. &c.

Queen Emma *undergoes the fiery Trial.*

the King, repenting the Injury done to her, beſtow'd on the ſame Church the Iſle of *Portland* and other Poſſeſſions. The Subſtance of this remarkable Story is deliver'd both by *Bromton* and *Knighton*, and *Harpsfield* has enlarg'd it with ſome Circumſtances. But the ancient Authors, as *Malmesbury* and others, are wholly ſilent in this Matter; ſo that the Story is juſtly ſuſpected, tho' not yet fully confuted. Of more Certainty we find that this famous Queen dy'd the Year after this ſuppos'd fiery Trial, and was bury'd in the Cathedral of *Winchester*. *Her Death.*

Sax. An. Malmsb. In the ſame Year *Griffin* the *Welſh* King made an Inroad into *Herefordſhire*, and ravag'd a great Part of the Country; againſt whom the Inhabitants aroſe, and the *Normans* that held the Caſtle of *Hereford* ſally'd out and engaging him were defeated, ſo that he return'd home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of Earl *Godwin*, returning out of *Ireland*, paſs'd with many Veſſels up the *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, they plunder'd many Villages; and tho' great Numbers march'd againſt them, they put them to the rout, and having ſlain thirty principal Officers, beſides many of the ordinary Sort, they return'd with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* allarm'd with the News, and expecting Earl *Godwin* as well as his Sons, order'd forty well-furniſh'd Ships into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his Landing; but notwithſtanding this Care, he found Means to come aſhore undiſcover'd in *Kent*, where he ſent Meſſengers round about, and firſt ingag'd the Inhabitants of *Canterbury* who own'd him as a Sufferer for their Sakes, then thoſe of *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, *Surry*, and all the Sea-men of *Haſtings*, and others of thoſe Maritime Parts, who promis'd to live and dye with him. The Fleet having Notice of his Landing, ſome were ſent to purſue him; but he concealing himſelf, they return'd firſt to *Sandwich*, and then came up to *London*. *Godwin* paſs'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, and coaſted about 'till he was join'd by his Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin*. Yet ſtill they forbore all Hoſtilities, but on the Coaſts and elſewhere they drew over as many Men as they could, eſpecially Sea-Men, and ſo made for *Sandwich* Road, from whence the News flew to *London*, and ſo ſtartled the Court, that immediately Command was iſſu'd out from the King to all his Loving Subjects, to haſten and aſſiſt him in a Time of ſo great Neceſſity. Yet they delay'd ſo long, that *Godwin* had Opportunity to paſs up the *Thames* as far as *Southwark*, where waiting for a Tide, he ſpent the Time in conferring with the *Londoners*, whom he procur'd to act according to his Deſigns. At high Water he advanc'd further, and no Oppoſition being made upon the Bridge, he row'd up by the Southern Bank 'till he met with his Land Army, which he drew up in Battalia formidable to the Spectators on the other Side; and now he directed his Navy towards the King's Gallies, ſhipping off his Men, and making all Things ready to follow. *Edward* by this Time on the other Side had gather'd together a competent Force, and all Perſons expected an Ingagement; but the Soldiers on both Sides agreed in this, that they were not willing to fight *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*, which gave the wiſer Sort an Opportunity of mediating a Peace, by means of which the two Armies were ſpeedily disbanded. The Effect of it was that *Godwin*, his Wife and Sons were reſtor'd to their former Honours and Eſtates, all except *Swane*, who as a Penance for Murdering his Coſen *Beorn* had undertaken a Pilgrimage bare-foot from *Flanders* to *Jeruſalem*, and in his Return dy'd of a Cold he had got in *Lycia*. The King receiv'd his Wife *Egitha* the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Juſtice was now promis'd to all Men, and ſuch *Normans* as had abus'd his Authority and given him ill Counſel, were baniſh'd the Land. Some few, as *Robert* the Deacon, *Richard* his Son-in-Law, *Alverede* the King's Groom, *Axfrid* ſirnam'd *Cooksfoot*, and ſome others whom the King much favour'd, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to ſtay. But *Robert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, and *Ulf* Biſhop of *Lincoln* with their Followers with much Diffi-

A. D. 1052.

Godwin *and his Sons return with great Power.*

They are reſtored.

Several of the Normans *baniſh'd.*

Difficulty eſcap'd, and got over Sea: Yet afterwards *William* upon the Account of his good Temper was permitted to return. *Osbirne* and his Companion *Hugh* ſurrender'd their Caſtles, and by Leave of Earl *Leofric*, paſs'd through his Government into *Scotland*, where they were entertain'd by King *Macbeth*. In this ſame Year on St. *Thomas*'s Night happen'd ſo violent a Tempeſt, that it overturn'd many Churches and Houſes, and broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable Quantity of Trees.

A. D. 1053. In the following Year, *Res* the Brother of *Griffin* King of *South-Wales* being taken Priſoner, as a publick Enemy, for the many Inſolencies he had committed, was by Command of King *Edward* put to Death at a Place call'd *Bulendum*, and his Head ſent to him at *Gloceſter*. This afforded ſufficient Matter for Diſcourſe, but as little Reports are ſuppreſs'd by greater, this was ſoon quaſh'd by the Rumour and Talk about the Death of Earl *Godwin*, which happen'd the ſame Year at *Eaſter*. King *Edward* celebrating this Feaſt at *Wincheſter*, and *Godwin*, as his Cuſtom was, ſitting at the Table with him, was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with ſo violent a Diſtemper as ſtruck him ſpeechleſs, and threw him down from the Seat where he ſat. His three Sons, *Harold*, *Toſti* and *Gyrth* being preſent, remov'd him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a Fit that would not laſt long; but he lay in that languiſhing Condition four Days, and dy'd on the fifth, and was bury'd in the old Monaſtery. This is the uſual Account of his Death; to which the *Norman* Monks, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add other Circumſtances, which much ſhew his Guilt, or their Malice. They relate, that Mention being made at the King's Table of *Alfred* his late Brother, he thereupon look'd very angrily at *Godwin*; and he to vindicate himſelf, readily reply'd, *That he perceiv'd that upon every Mention made of that Prince, he caſt a frowning Countenance upon him: But*, added he, *let not God ſuffer me to ſwallow this Morſel, if I am guilty of any Thing done, either towards the taking away his Life, or againſt your Intereſt.* After which Words, he was choak'd with the Bit he had juſt put into his Mouth, immediately ſunk down, and never recover'd. But whatever was the Manner of his Death, he was a Man of an active and a turbulent Spirit, not nicely conſcientious either in gaining or keeping, and not to be vindicated in his forcing his Soveraign to what he pleas'd. But had he not been ſo great a Lover of his Country, and an Enemy to Strangers, thoſe who wrot in the *Norman* Times, and who durſt not but write what would pleaſe their Maſters, would have diſmiſs'd him without this Story, and with a fairer Character. His firſt Wife was the Siſter of King *Canute*, who was kill'd by *Thunder*, a Judgment which was believ'd fell upon her for her Cruelty, for ſhe made Merchandiſe of ſelling handſom Boys and Girls into *Denmark*. By his ſecond Wife he had ſix Sons, *Harold*, *Swane*, *Wined*, *Toſti*, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*; his Earldom of *Weſt-Sex* was given to his Son *Harold*, and the Earldom of *Eſſex*, which *Harold* had before, was conferr'd on *Algar* the Son of *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*.

Sim. Dun. M. Weſt. &c.

Earl Godwin *dies.*

His Character.

A. D. 1054. In the next Year, *Syward* the valiant Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent with a powerful Body of Horſe and a ſtrong Fleet into *Scotland*, where he fought a Battel with *Macbeth* King of that Country, whom he defeated, with the Deaths of many of his *Scots*, and ſuch *Normans* as had before gone over to him; and quite expelling him, he made *Malcolm* King in his ſtead, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from King *Edward*. But this Victory was purchas'd with the Lives of many of the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, beſides *Syward*'s own Son, of whoſe Death when he heard, he demanded *Whether he had receiv'd his Wound before or behind?* and when he was anſwer'd *Before*, he declar'd himſelf *Glad, otherwiſe he ſhould not have thought him worthy of Burial.* King *Edward* having ſent this Earl into the North to fight, about the ſame Time he ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* with great Preſents, to treat with the Emperor of *Germany* about his Coſen *Edward*, the Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, and of ſending him out of *Hungary* into *England*; for having no Iſſue of his own to ſucceed

Sim. Dun. &c.

Earl Syward *makes* Malcolm *King of* Scotland.

Prince Edward *ſent for out of* Hungary.

ſucceed him, and the Sons of *Godwin* being very powerful, he took Care for his neareſt Kinſman, to whom the Crown of Right ſhould belong. But *Syward* Earl of *Northumberland* did not long ſurvive his Victory, and his Son's Death, dying the following Year at *York*, where he was bury'd in the Monaſtery of St. *Mary*'s without the Walls, built by himſelf, according to *Ingulph*, tho' *Simeon* ſpeaks of his being interr'd at a Monaſtery call'd *Galmanho* of his own Erection. *Huntington*, who gives him the Epithete of *Conſul Rigidiſſimus*, tells us his Diſeaſe was a Dyſentery, and that he was highly afflicted that he ſhould end his Days in ſuch a Manner. Therefore perceiving his Death to approach, he cry'd out, *How aſham'd am I, that I could not dye glorioufly in one of the many Battels I have fought, but be thus reſerv'd to the ignominious Death of Beaſts: Arm me with my impenetrable Corſlet, gird me with my faithful Sword, and ſet my Helmet upon my Head; give me in my left Hand my large Buckler, and in my right my gilded Scimiter, that being a valiant Soldier, like a Soldier I may die.* Thus couragiouſly he ſpoke, and as he ſpoke, he dy'd ſtanding in that honourable Poſture he deſir'd. His Son *Walteof* being very young, his Government was beſtow'd on *Toſti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*. *Syward's Death.*

About the ſame Time King *Edward* in an Aſſembly held at *London*, baniſh'd Earl *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, without any Cauſe ſays *Simeon*, but *Huntington* writes, that he was publickly convicted of Treaſon. Whether guilty or not, he thought himſelf ſo aggriev'd, that he went over into *Ireland*, and there procuring a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Veſſels, he with them ſail'd to *Griffin* King of the *Welſh*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt his Soveraign King *Edward*. *Griffin* ready to ſerve him in this Particular, ſoon rais'd a conſiderable Force, and joining with *Algar* invaded *Herefordſhire*, againſt whom the King's Nephew *Rodulph* made Head, one of ſmall Courage, who meeting them two Miles from *Hereford*, hors'd all the *Engliſh* contrary to their accuſtom'd Way of Fighting; which only ſerv'd them for the greater Conveniency of flying; for when the Battel was ſcarce begun, *Rodulph* with his *French* and *Normans* firſt began to run, which ſoon occaſion'd the reſt to follow, who in their Flight loſt about five hundred Men, beſides what were wounded. *Griffin* and *Algar* ſwell'd with this Succeſs enter'd *Hereford*, where they ſlew ſeveral Canons who in their Habits would have maintain'd the great Door of the principal Church againſt them; which done they burnt the Monaſtery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, kill'd ſeveral of the Citizens, took more Priſoners, plunder'd and burnt the City, and departed with great Spoils. The King highly allarm'd at theſe Actions, commanded Forces to be rais'd throughout *England*, which rendezvouſing at *Gloceſter*, he committed the Conduct of them to Earl *Harold*, who marching ſpeedily into *Wales*, encamp'd beyond *Straddale*, where *Griffin* and *Algar* durſt not face him, but knowing him to be a Man both of Skill and Vigour, they retir'd into *South-Wales*. *Harold* finding the March difficult, left the greateſt Part of his Forces to obſerve their Motions, and with the reſt return'd to *Hereford*, which he ſtrongly fortify'd. During this Employment, the two Commanders thinking it beſt to obtain Peace, ſent to deſire a Meeting at a Place call'd *Byligeſleage*, where a firm Peace and Amity was concluded; in Purſuance of which *Algar* ſent away his Ships, and went himſelf to the King, by whom he was reſtor'd to his former Command. But *Griffin* the next Year broke the Peace on his part, by ſetting upon *Leofgar* Biſhop of *Hereford*, whom he ſlew together with his Clerks, and *Agelwoth* Vice-Earl of the County, and many others. *Earl* Algar *rebels.* *He is reſtored.*

Sim. Dun. In the following Year, *Edward* the Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, at the Deſire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being by him deſign'd for his Succeſſor; but not long after he dy'd at *London*, and was bury'd at St. *Paul*'s Church, leaving behind him one Son nam'd *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*. Not long after he was follow'd to a better Life by Earl *Leofric*, who dy'd in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and was A. D. 1057. *Prince* Edward *comes into* England *and dies.* *Earl* Leofric *dies.*

was bury'd in a Monaſtery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a pious charitable Man, and the *Neſtor* of his Age, one to whoſe Counſels ſeveral Kings, and the whole Nation had often been oblig'd. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Algar* in his Earldom, which ſoon miſs'd him, he being baniſh'd a ſecond Time in leſs than a Year after his Father's Death, yet by the Aſſiſtance of *Griffin*, the *Welſh* King, who would not deſert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by Chance came into his Aid, he ſhortly after by Force recover'd his Government: So ſucceſsful was Treaſon in theſe vicious Times. The following Year 1060, *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* came and gave a Viſit to King *Edward*, and contracted ſo great a Friendſhip with his Neighbour *Toſti*, who brought him on his Way, that they became ſworn Brethren, tho' to what Effect, the Event ſhew'd within two Years; for *Toſti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, his ſworn Brother *Malcolm* took the Advantage of his Abſence, and cruelly waſted the Places under his Government, and broke the Peace of St. *Cuthbert* in the *Holy Iſland*, as *Simeon* complains. While *Malcolm* thus diſtreſs'd the Northern Parts, *Griffin* King of the *Welſh*, both by Sea and Land ſeverely harraſs'd the Weſt, which occaſion'd King *Edward* from *Gloceſter* to diſpatch *Harold* with a Party of Horſe, ſoon after *Chriſtmaſs*, to ſurprize him, if poſſible. Yet *Griffin* got Notice of his coming, and with Difficulty eſcap'd; but abandoning moſt of his Ships, *Harold* commanded them to be burnt, and ſo return'd. About Rogation Week with a conſiderable Fleet *Harold* ſet Sail from *Briſtol*, and compaſſing the greateſt Part of *Wales*, he join'd himſelf to the Horſe, with which his Brother *Toſti* by the King's Order met him, and did ſuch Damage to the Country, that the *Britains* yielded themſelves to him, deliver'd up Hoſtages, conſented to pay Tribute, and entirely renounc'd *Griffin* their King. At preſent *Griffin* eſcap'd, but in the following Year he was taken by *Griffin* King of *North-Wales*; and being for his perfidious Dealings puniſh'd with Death, his Head, together with the Head of his Ship, were ſent as a Preſent to *Harold*. He ſent them to King *Edward*, who was ſo generous as to beſtow the Dominions of *Griffin* upon his two Brothers, *Blechgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in the Preſence of *Harold* ſwore Allegiance to him, to obey him both by Sea and Land, and ingag'd to pay whatever had been paid out of the Country to the former Kings of *England*. *Griffin* left behind him a Son nam'd *Caradoc*, who was highly diſſatisfy'd to find his Inheritance thus made over to his Uncles; therefore when *Harold*, as a Curb to the Country and his own Conveniency of Hunting, had erected a ſtately Houſe upon the *Severn*, furniſh'd with the choiceſt Proviſions, *Caradoc* out of Diſdain and Revenge, ſuddenly came down with a Party, kill'd all the Artificers, demoliſh'd the Houſe, and took away all the Proviſions.

The Scots inveſt the North of England:

And the Welſh *the Weſt.*

which ended with the Death of their King.

Thus was *Harold* diſappointed in thoſe Parts; but ſoon after his Brother *Toſti* was in greater Danger, from a Conſpiracy rais'd againſt him in his own Government of *Northumberland*; occaſion'd by an Officer nam'd *Goſpatrick*, with whom having a Conteſt, his Siſter Queen *Egitha* caus'd him to be ſlain at Court. This Quarrel being eſpous'd by the Friends of *Goſpatrick*, two of them, nam'd *Ganiel* and *Ulf*, were treacherouſly drawn in, and murder'd in *Toſti*'s Chamber. Theſe Actions, with the intollerable Exactions upon the Country, ſo incens'd the Inhabitants, that three or four of the principal Men, viz. *Ganiolbarn*, *Demſtan* and *Gloineorn*, with four hundred others in Arms, enter'd *York*, and firſt ſlew two of *Toſti*'s Houſhold Servants, who were flying from the City, and the Day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North Side of the River *Humber*. Then breaking open his Treaſury, they rifled all they could find, and departed. Upon which *Toſti* made great Complaints to the King, and at his Deſire, his Brother *Harold* was appointed to accommodate this troubleſome Affair. But as they were going into the North for that purpoſe, the whole Country in a manner met them

Sim. Dun. &c.

The Misbehaviour of Toſti *one of Earl* Godwin's *Sons*

them at *Northampton*, and afterwards at *Oxford* vehemently oppos'd the Deſigns of *Toſti*, declaring, *That they were free Men born, and as freely educated; That they would not indure the Inſolence of an Earl; for they had learnt from their Anceſtors to chuſe either Death or Liberty.* They continu'd ſo unanimous and reſolute, that in a ſhort Time they procur'd *Toſti* and his Miniſters to be all baniſh'd. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-Law, and *Morchar*, the Son of *Algar*, according to the Country's Requeſt, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room. This was the moſt probable Occaſion of *Toſti*'s Baniſhment; tho' *Huntington*, who had heard many Stories of hated Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, gives us a different Account; namely, That *Toſti* being jealous of the King's Favour towards his Brother *Harold*, openly aſſaulted him in his Preſence at Dinner; and afterwards when *Harold* had prepar'd an extraordinary Entertainment for the King at *Hereford*, *Toſti* ſlew ſeveral of his Servants, and put their mangled Limbs into the Butts of Wine and other Liquors, making a barbarous Jeſt, *That they ſhould not want pickled Meats.* The ſame Author ſays, that the King foretold, *That the Deſtruction of their Family was nigh, and that the Wrath of God would not much longer be deferr'd:* For, adds he, they were arriv'd to that Degree of Barbariſm and Cruelty, that if they lik'd the Houſe or Poſſeſſion of any Man, they would by Night procure the Owner to be murder'd, with all his Children, to get his Eſtate: And theſe were at that Time the chief Juſticiaries of the Kingdom.

He and his Agents are baniſh'd.

But if the King upon this or ſome other Occaſion predicted the Ruin of the Sons of *Godwin* to be juſt approaching, it ſo far prov'd true, that their ill Stars began to operate about this Time; for *Toſti* was not only baniſh'd the Land, but *Harold* was driven from it by the very Winds and Seas. Being at his Houſe at *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*, a Place unjuſtly obtain'd by his Father, *Harold* for his Recreation with ſome of his Retinue, took a Fiſher-Boat on the Sea; but ſailing a little further than they deſign'd, a Tempeſt aroſe, and drove them croſs the *Engliſh* Channel to the Coaſts of *Normandy*, where they were oblig'd to land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*. The Inhabitants of that Country, according to a barbarous Practice uſual in moſt Sea-Coaſts, immediately ſeiz'd upon the Earl and his Followers, took them Priſoners, and put Fetters upon them. *Harold* upon this hired a Meſſenger to go to *William* Duke of the Country and acquaint him, *That he was ſent over by the King of* England, *by his Word and Preſence to confirm what other leſſer Envoys had only whiſper'd; but that he was detain'd Priſoner, and hinder'd from the Diſcharge of his Meſſage by* Gwido *Earl of* Ponthieu. Upon which *Harold* by the Command of Duke *William* was immediately ſet at Liberty, and by *Gwido* conducted to his Court; where being honourably entertain'd, he was alſo invited to an Expedition into *Little Britain*, where at that Time the *Norman* Duke made War. By his Wit and Valour he ſo well recommended himſelf to the Duke, that he was highly eſteem'd by him; to whom, that he might alſo the more endear himſelf, he promis'd by a ſolemn Oath, That when King *Edward* dy'd, he would deliver up the Caſtle of *Dover* to him, which was then under his Command, and procure him to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*. Upon which Promiſe the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was contracted to him; and he was ſent home with very rich Preſents. This is the Account that *Malmesbury* and ſome others give of this important Accident. But *Ingulph* tells us, That King *Edward* now grown old, perceiving his Brother *Edgar Etheling* both in Body and Mind unfit to govern, and on the other Side Duke *William* his Kinſman by the Mother of great Merit and Renown, ſent Arch-Biſhop *Robert*, to acquaint the Duke with his Purpoſe of making him his Succeſſor, not long before *Harold* came thither. But if the Subſtance of this be true, it muſt be by ſome other Meſſenger, for Arch-Biſhop *Robert* was dead long before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, That *Harold* went into *Normandy* by the

A. D. 1065.

His Brother Harold *driven into* Normandy

He promiſes William *the Crown of* England.

the King's Permiſſion, or Connivance, to free his Brother *Wulnod*, and his Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had taken Hoſtages of *Godwin*, and ſent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold* that his Voyage thither would be to the Detriment of all *England*, and his own Reproach; and that Duke *William* then inform'd *Harold*, That *Edward* before his coming to the Crown had promis'd him that he ſhould ſucceed him, if ever he obtain'd it himſelf. Laſtly *Matthew Paris* believes him driven to *Normandy* by a Tempeſt, where to gain his Liberty he made a Promiſe contrary to his Intentions, and enter'd into that ſecret Confederacy out of Neceſſity.

Whatever the Occaſion of his Promiſe and Ingagement was, the Time drew near, that he ſhould be put to the Trial. For now approach'd that Year, that dreadful Year to him, and his *Engliſh-Saxon* Nation, ſignaliz'd by a famous Comet, which according to *Ingulph* portended that great Change of Government, that ſlaughter of the People, and that great Calamity which ſhortly fell upon the Land. King *Edward* declining in Years and Stength daily grew weaker, yet kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Weſtminſter*, and aſſiſted at the Dedication of St. *Peter*'s Church there, which he had founded, or at leaſt re-edify'd it with great Magnificence, and by a Charter granted it many Immunities and Privileges, to which was annex'd the firſt great Seal us'd in *England*. But on the fifth Day of *January*, having receiv'd the Bleſſed Euchariſt, he recommended his Soul to God, and quietly departed this Life; to the exceeding Grief of the miſerable People. According to his Commands he was bury'd in his late Dedicated Church with great Solemnity; having reign'd from the Death of *Harde-canute* twenty three Years, ſix Months, and twenty ſeven Days. This Prince is noted for his great Innocence and Simplicity, being much inclinable to Devotion and Religious Exerciſes; and we are told that he was the firſt King of *England* that by Touching cur'd that Diſtemper call'd the *King's Evil*. He is ſaid to have been ſo chaſte, that never as a Husband enjoy'd his own Wife, tho' a very beautiful Lady; for which, as well as his other Virtues, and particularly his Charity to the Poor, he is commonly ſtil'd St. *Edward the Confeſſor*. But he was indeed but a weak and eaſie Prince, and too liable to be miſs-led by the Suggeſtions of thoſe about him, as may be obſerv'd in his ſevere Proceedings againſt his Mother and Wife: Tho' that very eaſineſs of Nature is in him reckon'd for a Virtue, as appears from this Story related by Abbot *Ailred*: This King being in an Afternoon laid down upon his Bed to repoſe himſelf, with the Curtains cloſe about him, and no Perſon in the Chamber, a Boy employ'd in the meaner Offices of the Houſe came in, who ſeeing none in the Room, and finding the Cheſt open where *Hugolin* the Chamberlain kept the Mony for the King's ordinary Expences, he run haſtily to it, and filling his Pockets with Mony departed: All which was thorough the Curtains ſeen by the King, who without Diſturbance let him paſs. The Boy finding his Succeſs, reſolv'd to make a ſecond Attempt; and coming to get more, the King call'd out to him, *Sirrah, you had beſt be content with what you got, for if* Hugolin *comes, he'll not only whip you ſeverely, but take away all you have ſtolen.* Upon this the Boy fled, and when *Hugolin* came in, and expreſs'd much Paſſion for the Mony that he miſs'd, the King calmly bad him reſt contented, *For, the poor Rogue that has it, wants it more than we.* So that in ſhort, we may rely upon *Malmesbury*'s Character of this Prince, That if we conſider his Simplicity, he ſeem'd very unfit for Government; yet by reaſon of his Virtue and Piety towards God, he was ſo directed by him, that the moſt Politick and Couragious Kings have ſcarce ruled more happily: For during his Reign the Kingdom was never invaded by Foreign Enemies, nor diſturb'd by Civil Conteſts, but what were eaſily ſuppreſs'd.

Yet it was the Misfortune of the Nation, as well as himſelf, that he was formerly driven into Baniſhment, and living in another Country, was moulded into the Humour, Faſhions and Cuſtoms of it, and out of good Nature conſtrain'd to be grateful to ſuch as had well deſerv'd of him in his Neceſſities, more than

Sim. Dun. &c.

King Edward *founds St.* Peter's *Church in* Weſtminſter.

He dies.

His Character.

than the Temper, if not the Intereſt of his own Subjects could bear. Yet moſt of the People in Compliance and Conformity with him did ſo transform themſelves into Foreign Shapes, as foretold their Subjection in a ſhort Time to thoſe the Manners and Uſages of whom they had already aſſum'd; ſo that the Conquerors had nothing to do but to Maſter their Bodies, ſince their Minds and Affections were theirs already. *Ingulph*, an Eye-Witneſs, informs us, That *Edward* being bred up in *Normandy*, through his long Continuance in that Country was almoſt chang'd into a *Frenchman*, and brought great Numbers over with him, whom he promoted to various Dignities, and higheſt Places of Truſt. Thus introduc'd, all the Nation began to leave off their *Engliſh* Cuſtoms, and to imitate the Manners of the *French*: All the Nobility in their Houſes ſpoke the *French* Tongue, as an Inſtance of Gallantry, made their Writings and Letters after the *French* Faſhion, and became aſham'd of their own Uſages, both in theſe and other Matters: And this Humour, together with the Vices of the Nation, more and more encreas'd, 'till at length to thoſe they admir'd they became Slaves and Vaſſals: So much was that Saying verify'd, 'That where a Foreign 'Tongue prevails, it is reckon'd half a Conqueſt. The Laws of this Prince have bore a great Reputation, being collected from thoſe of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons* and *Northumbrians*, as well as from thoſe of *Alfred*, *Edward* the Elder and *Edgar*, reduc'd into one Body, and writ in *Latin*, of which we have ſtill ſome Remains. But when the Reader hears the Laws of St. *Edward*, ſo much applauded, and ſo much conteſted after the Conqueſt, he is to remember that the *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws are there meant, which were in a great Degree the Fountain of thoſe which to this Day we term the *Common Law*, tho' the Forms of Pleading and Proceſs were afterwards brought in by the *Normans*. But they receiv'd their Denomination from King *Edward*, as being in Effect the laſt King of the *Saxon* Race, and one whoſe Memory the People reverenc'd, for the high Reputation he had gain'd for his great Sanctity, and Clemency to his Subjects. In this Prince the Royal Regnant Line of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, which from *Cerdic* the firſt of them had Dominion in *Britain* five hundred and forty ſeven Years, receiv'd its Period.

His Laws.

20. 17. *HAROLD.*

Hoveden. Malmſb. &c.

II. Tho' the Glory and Happineſs of the *Weſt-Saxon* Family was now at a Period, yet this did not put an End to the *Engliſh* Empire, and in its own Fall involve the Fate of the Nation: This was reſerv'd to be the Work of an inferior Houſe, out of which a Stranger ſhould ariſe to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himſelf in its laſt Ruins. King *Edward* being dead, three laid Claim to the Crown; firſt *Edgar Etheling*, the undoubted Heir, as being Grand-Son to King *Edmund Ironſide*, who was Elder Brother to the King laſt in Poſſeſſion. The next was *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the Kinſman of the late King by his Mother *Emma*, being her Brother's Grandſon, one who in Blood could find no Pretext, but upon the Kindneſs and Promiſe of his deceas'd Kinſman. The laſt was *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*, who could produce no ſhew of Right by Deſcent, but poſitively alledg'd the late King's Deſignment, and thought he could plead more Merit than both the other. *Edgar* was too much a Stranger, and had neither Time nor Ability in Eſtate or Mind to make any more Intereſt than what mere Conſcience had wrought in the Minds of the People, which is uſually very feeble and infirm upon ſuch Occaſions. *William* was a glorious Prince, and as ſuch acknowledg'd, but between him and *England* was a Ditch ſo deep and ſpacious, that the Danger was too far diſtant to be much regarded. *Harold* was a noble and popular Man, the greateſt Miniſter of the deceas'd King, one of great Valour and dextrous Conduct, civil and obliging, and of ſuch Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and what was more advantagious,

A. D. 1066.

A Diſpute about the Succeſſion.

vantagious, he had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom he had either oblig'd by his Kindneſs, or won by his Authority. He therefore took the immediate Advantage of his Power, and being declar'd Succeſſor by the late King, on the ſame Day that he was bury'd, he aſſum'd the Title, and was crown'd King, being choſen, as *Simeon* aſſures us, by the Princes of all *England*. Only a Manuſcript Chronicle in the *Cottonian* Library relates, That when King *Edward* laid upon his Death Bed, Earl *Harold* came to him, and deſir'd him to nominate him for his Succeſſor, to whom the King reply'd, *That he had already made Duke* William *his Heir*. But the Earl and his Friends ſtill perſiſting in their Requeſt, the King turning his Head to the Wall, reply'd, *When I am dead, let the* Engliſh *make either the Duke or the Earl their King:* Which if true, ſhews that it was but a Conſent in part, which was alſo extorted from him.

Harold is elected King.

Harold being made King immediately proceeded to the Performance of many laudable Actions: He repeal'd many hard and antiquated Laws, and made others that were better; he became a Patron to Churches and Monaſteries, and ſeem'd not only to reſpect, but to reverence the Biſhops, Abbots, Monks and all the Clergy; to all good Men he ſhew'd himſelf humble and obliging, to the Vicious he declar'd an Averſion, commanding all his Officers to detect and puniſh all Thieves, Robbers and Diſturbers of the publick Peace; and in concluſion, he made it his Buſineſs to defend his Country both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate, and that of the Nation was too urgent to permit him long to continue theſe Methods. On the 24th of *April* a dreadful and unuſual Comet appear'd with great Luſtre for ſeven Days; ſeen, as was reported, throughout the World. The firſt Miſchief believ'd to have been portended by it, was from *Harold*'s own Brother *Toſti*, who having been baniſh'd chiefly by his Procurement, and unable to bear his Brother's high Preferment, was excited by ſo much Envy and Indignation, as to endeavour his certain Ruin. For which purpoſe he ſail'd out of *Flanders* with ſome Ships to the Iſle of *Wight*, from whence having forc'd Mony from the Inhabitants, he practis'd Piracy upon all the Coaſts 'till he came to *Sandwich* Haven. *Harold* being then at *London*, immediately got ready both a ſtrong Fleet, and a conſiderable Party of Horſe, reſolving like a good Warrior to go in Perſon to *Sandwich*; which being made known to *Toſti*, he took all the Seamen with him he could find, and ſail'd to the Coaſts of *Lincolnſhire*, where he burnt many Villages, and kill'd many Men: But *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Morchar* Earl of *Northumberland*, haſten'd into thoſe Parts with an Army, and ſoon conſtrain'd him to abandon the Country. From whence he ſail'd into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm*, where he continu'd the whole Summer. In the mean Time King *Harold* ſail'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, and ply'd all Summer 'till the middle of *September* about thoſe Coaſts, having alſo a Land Army plac'd to the beſt advantage on the Sea Side. For he expected a more formidable Invader than his Brother *Toſti*, namely the great *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who before had ſent Meſſengers to him *to remind him of his Promiſe and Oath, and to require a Performance of what had been agreed between them.* *Harold* thought it very unreaſonable to require ſuch a Performance of one actually in Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, and who was come to it by the unanimous Conſent of the Nobility and People. Therefore he made Anſwer, *That what he then promis'd was in Captivity, when he wanted his Liberty, which could not be called his own Act, ſince it was extorted by Neceſſity. But ſuppoſing what he had done had been voluntary, it could not have been valid, ſince as King of* England, *he could not marry a Foreigner, without the Aſſent of the States of the Nation, much leſs alter the Succeſſion and Right to the Crown, without their Knowledge, Conſent and Allowance.* He inſiſted further, *That ſince the Duke's Daughter was dead, the marrying of whom was the Foundation of the Alliance, all Obligations were diſſolv'd.* To theſe Reaſons *Harold*, thinking himſelf ſufficiently powerful, added Contempt, according

Sim. Dun. Ingulph. Malmſb.

He begins laudably.

His Brother Toſti *diſturbs his Government.*

Duke William *reminds him of his Promiſe.*

according to *Matth. Paris*, and ſent away *William*'s Ambaſſadors on lame and maimed Horſes.

Sim. Dun. M. Paris, &c.

This Uſage was highly provoking to Duke *William*, who thereupon made the utmoſt Preparations for an Invaſion. In the mean Time King *Harold*, having expected him all the Summer, and now concluding that he had deferr'd his Voyage 'till the next Spring, remov'd all his Forces from the Southern Coaſts, and march'd towards the North, where he was call'd by a new Storm that threaten'd him from thoſe Parts. This was rais'd by his Brother *Toſti*, who applying himſelf to *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, join'd Fleets with him, and ſail'd up into the River *Humber*, and next into the *Owſe*; where landing at a Place call'd *Rickale*, they march'd to *York*, and took it by Storm. Before *Harold* could arrive in theſe Parts, the two Brother Earls, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, with conſiderable Forces march'd againſt them, and upon the twentieth Day of *September*, at *Fulford* on the *Owſe*, ingag'd them with great Bravery, and with good Succeſs in the Beginning: But after a long Fight, the *Engliſh* unable to ſuſtain the Violence and Numbers of the *Norwegians*, retired with the Loſs of many of their Men, both in the Field of Battel, and in the adjoining River. Upon this, the *Norwegians* receiv'd from the Inhabitants of *York* five hundred Hoſtages, and leaving there a hundred and fifty of their own, return'd towards their Ships. Five Days after the Battel, King *Harold* arriv'd at *York*; from whence marching to a Place upon this Occaſion ſince call'd *Battel-Bridge*, he ingag'd their whole Forces, and after a terrible Reſiſtance both *Harold Harvager* and *Toſti* were ſlain, and the Victory remain'd to the *Engliſh*. But we ought to remember what *Malmesbury* tells us of one *Norwegian*, who with incredible Valour keeping the Bridge a full Hour againſt the whole *Engliſh* Army, with his ſingle Reſiſtance retarded their Victory; and ſcorning to accept of Quarter, 'till no Man daring to grapple with him, as too ſtrong and deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an Arrow; and by his Fall open'd the Paſſage of Purſuit to a compleat Victory. But *Olave* the King of *Norway*'s Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, who had been left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, upon ſurrendring themſelves, and giving Hoſtages and Oaths never to return to *England* as Enemies, were permitted freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the ſmall Remainder of their Army. The Body of *Toſti* being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carry'd to *York*, and there bury'd. In the Plunder of the Field, if we may believe *Adam Bremenſis*, ſo great a Quantity of Gold was found, that twelve luſty young Men were ſcarcely able to bear it on their Backs. Whatever the Quantity was it prov'd of dangerous Conſequence to King *Harold*, who being fluſh'd with Succeſs, and excited by Covetouſneſs, impolitickly took that and all the Plunder to his own Uſe; which ſo diſoblig'd his Soldiers, in defrauding them of the Price of their Blood, that they began to renounce his Intereſt, and repented of their former Services; which was ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe he was ſo much weaken'd by the two laſt Battels, loſing moſt of his beſt Men, and Flower of his Army. This Error was no ſooner committed, but as he ſat feaſting in a triumphant Manner at *York*, he receiv'd the uncomfortable News, that the *Norman* Duke was landed with very numerous and diſciplin'd Forces, from which Time we may date the Fall and Ruin of this Prince.

Toſti *joins with the King of* Norway.

They are both defeated and ſlain by Harold.

Harold *is impolitick.*

Pillav. Malmsb. &c.

Here it will not be improper to look a little back, and give ſome ſhort View and Account of this famous and fortunate *William* Duke of *Normandy*. This Prince was Natural Son to *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlotta*, the beautiful Daughter of a Skinner in *Falaiſe*, with whom he fell in love, as ſhe ſtood gazing at a Door, while he paſs'd through the Town; from whoſe Name, according as ſome conjecture, was deriv'd the Word *Harlot*. But notwithſtanding his diſhonourable Birth, when he was about nine or ten Years of Age, his Father declar'd him his Succeſſor, and caus'd his Nobles and chief *Norman* Subjects to ſwear Fealty to him, and afterwards carry'd him to do Homage

An Account of William *Duke of* Normandy.

Homage to *Henry* the Firſt, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Cuſtom of the former Dukes. Then delivering him to the Guardianſhip of that King, and to the Care of the Duke of *Bretaign*, he made a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in which Journey he dy'd; leaving the Young Prince to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than the Heir of his Father's; which he found expos'd to all the Difficulties ariſing from the Tenderneſs of his Age, the Reproach of his Birth, a ſuſpected Guardian, a diſputed Title, and a diſtracted State. For upon the firſt News of Duke *Robert*'s Death, the Nobles of *Normandy*, who were intruſted with the Government during the Son's Minority, found themſelves involv'd in great Difficulties, by the open Factions of ſome Noblemen, who envy'd their Greatneſs, and by the private Practices of others, who being deſcended from ſome of the former Dukes, reſolv'd to ſet up themſelves, but at firſt conceal'd their Deſigns, and join'd with the common Murmurers againſt the preſent Adminiſtration. The Governors were ſtill faithful to their Truſt, and judg'd the Preſence of the young Prince neceſſary to ſupport their Authority and his Title; they thereupon prevail'd with the King of *France* to ſend him into *Normandy*, which he did with great Honour to himſelf, and Kindneſs to his Pupil, as well as Satisfaction to all his Loyal Subjects; but to the great Diſappointment of thoſe who pretended their Diſcontents were only againſt the Governors, and not the Succeſſion.

No Prince ever came ſo early into the Cares and Burdens of a Crown, nor felt them longer; engag'd in Toils and Difficulties, in Hardſhips and Dangers; his Perſon expos'd to the Arms of Enemies, and the Plots of Aſſaſſins; his Reign embroil'd by the Revolts of his Subjects, and the Invaſions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life ſpent in the neceſſary Defence of his own Title and Dominions, or in the ambitious Deſigns of acquiring greater. Yet none ever ſurmounted all with more Conſtancy of Spirit, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune: For he had a ſtrong and active Body, and a brave and vigorous Mind; and ſeem'd to have been born more for a Heroe, than a happy Man. His firſt Conteſts aroſe from the Pretenders to the Succeſſion, who favour'd by the Defects of his Birth, found ſo many Followers at home, and ſuch Aſſiſtance from Neighbours abroad, that they rais'd great Forces, and conſtrain'd the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Councils, but of his Armies too, before he was eighteen Years of Age. Theſe Civil Wars continu'd long, with many various Succeſſes, bloody Encounters, defeating of Troops, ſurprizing, beſieging and relieving of Towns, and waſting of Countries; 'till at length *William* by his Vigilance, Bravery and Induſtry totally ſubdu'd, not only the Forces, but the Courages of all his Competitors and Enemies at home, and conſtrain'd them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and to ſeek new Fortunes in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, as *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily*. Ibid.

His Troubles and Bravery.

When Duke *William* had ſubdu'd all his Domeſtick Foes, another appear'd from abroad more formidable than any of the former: This was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, who was not only a Prince of great Power, but was alſo ſtrengthen'd by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France* himſelf, who jealous of the *Norman* Greatneſs was very ready to join in the Reducing of an aſpiring Prince. To which End he encourag'd, if not ſet on foot the Earl of *Anjou*'s Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him his Aſſiſtance to juſtifie his Claim and purſue it by Arms, and by Degrees engag'd in an open and declar'd War againſt the Duke. This he proſecuted with much Paſſion and Violence, appear'd himſelf in the Field with his Nobility, and threaten'd, ***That nothing but the Ocean ſhould ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms.*** On the other ſide Duke *William* proceeded with invincible Bravery, and with ſuch a Preſumption of Succeſs, that he ſcorn'd to ſet upon his Enemies by Surprize, but ſent them Notice of the very Day he would give them Battel; a ſort of Courage unknown to this preſent Age. After many Succeſſes, he at length brought the Conteſt to the Deciſion Ibid.

Deciſion of two fierce Battels. The firſt ended in an intire Victory on the Duke's Side, with the Slaughter of three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above thirty thouſand Men. This Loſs rather enrag'd than diſcourag'd the King of *France*, who gave neither himſelf nor his Enemies any Quiet 'till he had engag'd the *Normans* in a ſecond Battel, with greater Forces and Fury on both Sides, but the ſame or worſe Succeſs than the former. For in this the King of *France* loſt the Flower of his Army, the greateſt Part of his Nobles, and with great Difficulty eſcap'd himſelf in Perſon. Yet that but little avail'd this unfortunate Prince, who was ſo ſenſible of his Loſs, and Diſhonour, as he conceiv'd, gain'd by ſo unequal a Match, that he had not the Courage to ſurvive it long, but dy'd with Grief of it, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable Reign. This gave him Opportunity in a ſhort Time to enlarge his Dominions, firſt by the Earldon of *Mans*, and next by Part of the Dukedom of *Bretaign:* After which he liv'd in Peace for a conſiderable Space, 'till he diſturb'd his own and his Neighbours Quiet by new and greater Adventures.

His great Succeſſes.

Malmsb. Camden. &c. This happen'd not long after by Means of the Death of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, from whom he had receiv'd, or pretended a Promiſe of being his Succeſſor to the Crown of *England*, and likewiſe the Aſſiſtance of *Harold* the preſent Poſſeſſor. But when *Harold*, as we before related, refus'd to make any Compliance, this valiant Prince, not doubting his uſual Train of Proſperity, reſolv'd to obtain that by Force of Arms, which he could not gain by Arguments. But knowing he was to grapple with a ſtout and reſolute Prince, and a powerful Nation, he us'd more than common Diligence and Application. And firſt aſſembling the Eſtates of *Normandy*, he repreſented to them his Claim to the Crown of *England*, the Wrong done him by *Harold*, and his Reſolutions of righting himſelf; the Glory as well as Juſtice of the Enterprize, the Proſpect of Succeſs from his own Right, and the Hatred of the Uſurper in *England*, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom; the Greatneſs of the Riches and Poſſeſſions by the Conqueſt of his Enemies, and the Share he deſign'd for his Friends and Followers, according to their Zeal and Contribution towards the Support of this Cauſe. At firſt he met with great Oppoſition and Backwardneſs, and many Difficulties were ſtarted; but the Vigour and Bravery of this Prince, together with the Hopes of Fame and Riches, ſoon diſſipated all Doubts and Obſtructions; ſo that his Subjects became very unanimous in joining in this extraordinary Deſign. He kept all his Soldiers in pay the whole Year, and tho' at great Charges he hired others from adjacent Parts. He us'd great Caution and Wiſdom in the Choice of his Men, liſting ſuch as were tall and of a hardy Conſtitution. His Captains and Officers were excellently ſkill'd in warlike Affairs, and of a mature Age both to govern themſelves and others; not heady raſh young Men, who by their Heat and Indiſcretion often ruin an Army. And indeed he was admirably well ſerv'd at that Time, his Prelates ſtriving who ſhould excel each other in Acts of Religion and Piety, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Generoſity; ſo that *Malmesbury* admires how they ſhould ſo much degenerate in his Time, within the Term of ſixty Years; not conſidering the luxurious Effects of Wealth and Proſperity, of great Poſſeſſions, and Affluence of all Things in a new conquer'd Country. As to the Pretences us'd by Duke *William* againſt *Harold*, *Brompton* with great Probability reduces them to theſe three Heads. Firſt to revenge the Death of Prince *Alfred* his Coſen, who had been formerly murder'd by the Means of Earl *Godwin*. Secondly to reſtore Arch-Biſhop *Robert*, Earl *Odo*, and the reſt of the *Normans*, unjuſtly baniſh'd in the late Reign. And Thirdly *Harold* had contrary to his Oath poſſeſs'd himſelf of *England*, which as well by the Right of Conſanguinity, as by that of a double Promiſe, ought to be his.

He prepares to invade England.

His Pretenſions.

Malmsb. &c. The Duke, aſſiſted to his Expectation by his own Subjects, began to work upon the Hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours; and being fam'd in all Parts

for his Wiſdom, Conduct and Bravery, he found a Concurrence in his Deſign from many Princes his Friends, and ſome who had been his greateſt Enemies. He was aſſiſted with Mony or Soldiers by the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Earls of *Flanders* and *Bologne*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou*; by many Princes of *France*, the moſt conſider'd in that Court, as the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poictou* and *Maine*, excited by the Glory or Advantage of the Enterprize, at the Time when the Infamy of their King gave them no Hopes of Action at home, and left that Crown unconcern'd at what paſs'd abroad. The Emperor ſent ſome choice Troops, and experienc'd Commanders, to ſerve in this Expedition; and Pope *Alexander* induc'd by the Fame of the Duke's Piety and Virtues, and poſſeſs'd with the Juſtice of his Cauſe, ſent him a conſecrated Banner with ſeveral Reliques; which in thoſe Times was thought ſufficient both to juſtifie his Title, and to ſanctifie his Arms. Having receiv'd the Banner as a good Omen, he aſſembled his Nobility and Officers at *Lillibone*, where laying open the whole Cauſe to them, they promis'd to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which Reſolution he cheriſh'd by Promiſes of great Rewards, according to the Merit of their Actions. His whole Fleet is ſaid to have conſiſted of nine hundred Sail, but others increaſe the Number to above a Thouſand; being all ſmall flat-bottom'd Veſſels, fit for tranſporting Men and Horſes. Of which an Anonymous Writer, about the Reign of his Son *Henry*, has given us the Particulars; *William* his Sewer the Son of *Oſbern* ſupply'd him with ſixty Veſſels: *Hugh* his Nephew, afterwards Earl of *Cheſter*, with as many; *Hugh de Mumfort* with fifty Ships, and ſixty Soldiers; *Romus* the Elemoſynary of *Teſcan*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with one Ship and twenty Men. *Nicolas* the Abbot of St. *Audoen* ſupply'd him with fifteen Ships and a hundred Men: *Robert* Earl of *Angus* with ſixty Ships: *Gerold* the *Sewer* with as many: *William* Count of *Deurons* with eighty Ships: *Roger* of *Montgumeri* with ſixty: *Roger de Baumont* with ſixty: *Odo* Biſhop of *Baieux* with a hundred: *Robert de Mortimer* with a hundred and twenty: And *Water Giſfard* with thirty Veſſels and a hundred Men. Beſides theſe, from others of his Dependants he had many other Ships, from every one according to his Abilities. His Wife *Matilda* for the Honour of the Expedition caus'd a Ship to be made nam'd *Mora* in which he himſelf croſs'd the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the right Hand pointing to *England*, and with the left holding an Ivory Whiſtle in his Mouth; for which the Duke her Husband afterwards aſſign'd her the County of *Kent*.

Many Princes join with him.

The Pope favours him.

His Forces.

With all theſe Advantages the valiant Duke began and finiſh'd his mighty Preparations, by a generous Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of moſt of the bold adventurous Spirits in the neigbouring Provinces, led on by the Deſire of Glory or of Gain. In the Month of *September* they all rendezvous'd at St. *Valerie* a Port Town, where they ſtaid many Days for a Wind, which Stay caus'd the common Soldiers to murmur, condemning their Leader for attempting to gain another Man's Country, and alledging, *That his Father had miſcarry'd in the like Deſign, and that it was fatal to the Family to be obſtructed by Heaven in their Endeavours after Things too high for them.* The Duke was ſenſible of the Danger of ſuch ſuperſtitious Suggeſtions, therefore by the Advice of his Council, he caus'd the Reliques of St. *Valerie* to be brought forth and expos'd for the obtaining a fair Wind; and immediately after their Expectations were fully anſwer'd. The Soldiers then very chearfully call'd to each other to put out to Sea, and the Duke himſelf being the firſt that went on Shipboard, by his Example haſten'd the reſt. Following cloſe to the Admiral Gally, they had a fair and quick Paſſage; and after they had refreſh'd themſelves, they landed at or near *Haſtings* on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*. At the Duke's firſt touching upon Land, his Foot ſlipt by Accident, and threw him down upon the Ground; which a Soldier obſerving he immediately turn'd it to a good Omen, and cry'd out aloud, *That he had already*

Malmſ. &c.

He puts to Sea,

and lands near Haſtings.

already taken Poſſeſſion of England. As ſoon as his Army had landed, he ſtrictly charg'd them not to plunder or commit any Outrages, declaring, *That they ought to ſpare thoſe Things which would ſhortly be their own.* For fifteen Days he continu'd with his Army in a quiet and peaceable manner, either to expect the Event of his Claim and to conſider how to proceed, or to build a Fort to have recourſe to in Caſe of Extremity; for he had order'd his Ships to be burnt, according to *Camden*'s Account, that his Men might think of nothing but Death or Conqueſt. *where he builds a Fort.*

Malmſb. Pillav. &c. *William*'s Arrival was accompany'd with ſome of thoſe fortunate Hits, Circumſtances or Accidents which uſually attend upon Conqueſts. *Harold*, who had expected him all the Summer, was now abſent and in the North; where he not only weaken'd his Forces by two bloody Encounters, but after that highly diſguſted his Soldiers by defrauding them of their Share of the *Norwegian* Spoils. So that he was juſt ripen'd for Ruin, when in the midſt of his Jollity at *York* he receiv'd the fatal News of the Duke's Landing in *Suſſex*; and being now to loſe all, his Fate hurry'd him to Reſolutions and Actions quite contrary to thoſe of him who was to raiſe himſelf out of his Misfortunes. His Adverſary proceeded with the utmoſt Caution and Judgement, and he with a continu'd Precipitation, neither allowing Time for gathering together his Troops, nor for Conſultation upon ſo weighty an Affair; but all bloody as he was, and with a ſlender Force haſten'd towards the Place where the *Normans* lay, as if the Fortune of *Cæſar* had been devolv'd upon him, becauſe of his late Northern Succeſs. Coming to *London* all in a Flame, he would not tarry for ſuch Supplies as were on the Way to join him, but hurry'd into *Suſſex*, with a Reſolution to engage the Enemy, before a third Part of his Army could well be put in order. Yet he ſent ſome Spies to ſurvey the Number and Strength of of the *Normans*, who being diſcover'd, Duke *William* with uncommon Courteſie caus'd them to be ſhown through all the Camp, and to be ſent back with Rewards. At their Return they much applauded the Magnificence and Confidence of the Duke, and declar'd to *Harold that all the Army ſeem'd to be Prieſts, becauſe they had their Faces and Lips cloſe ſhaven*; contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Engliſh* who then wore large Muſtachoes. The King ſmiling at their Simplicity, reply'd, *That he well knew thoſe they had ſeen to be no Prieſts, but valiant Soldiers.* His Brother *Gyrth*, a Youth of Courage and Knowledge above his Years, upon this took occaſion to adviſe him *Not to fight in Perſon, ſince he could not deny but either by Choice or Compulſion he had given* William his *Oath: Therefore he ought to withdraw himſelf, and permit him and the reſt to try their Fortune, who were never oblig'd by any Oath, and might juſtly fight in Defence of their Country. If he fought, it was to be fear'd that Death or Flight would be his Fortune; but if the ſame befel them, he might either ſuccour them flying, or revenge their Deaths.* *Harold* would by no means harken to this Advice, thinking it tended to his Diſhonour, and that a King's declining to meet Death at the Head of his Army, would be ſuch a Mark of Cowardice as would blemiſh the Actions of all his Life. And being puſh'd on by his unlucky Fate, he haſtily ſent away the Monk who brought him theſe Propoſals, 'That either he ſhould reſign his Kingdom; Or hold it 'of him; Or elſe try the Juſtice of his Cauſe by their two ſingle Swords in 'the ſight of both Armies: Or in caſe *Harold* ſhould refuſe all theſe, he was 'ready to ſubmit to the Apoſtolick See. His Anſwer was, *God, and the Swords of the Nation, ſhould decide the Controverſie.* No Hopes of Accommodation appearing, both Parties prepar'd to fight the next Morning: The *Engliſh* are ſaid to have ſpent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, and the *Normans* in much Devotion, and receiving the Sacrament.

Harold's Raſhneſs. *He marches against Duke* William. *He rejects* William's *Propoſals.* *He prepares for Battel.*

Ibid. The memorable Day being come, which was to decide the Fate of the Nation, the *Engliſh* were drawn up into a cloſe Body arm'd with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard ſtood the King on Foot with his Brothers, that

the Danger being common, none might think of flying. The Front of the *Normans* conſiſted of Foot, moſt of them Archers, flank'd on each Hand with a Wing of Horſe, in which conſiſted the great Strength of their Army. The Duke himſelf chearfully and audibly declar'd, *That his Cauſe was juſt, and that God would reſpect it accordingly*, and call'd for his Armor, which being brought to him in a hurry, his Corſlet was put on the wrong Way, which Error he corrected by this pleaſant Conceit, *He now perceiv'd that his Dukedom was chang'd into a Kingdom.* At the Head of his Army he put the Soldiers in mind 'of the Valour and Renown of their Anceſtors, and of the Succeſs 'and good Fortune of his own Arms, and concluded with Confidence of Victory 'from the Guilt and Perjury of the preſent Uſurper of the *Engliſh* Crown. The *Normans* upon this began with the famous Song of *Rowland*, by the Martial Example of that Heroe to rouſe and excite themſelves to Imitation; and imploring the Divine Aſſiſtance advanc'd againſt the *Engliſh*, who were as ready to meet them, tho' the Ground they ſtood on was ſtrait and inconvenient. The Fight began with great Fury, Order and equal Bravery on both ſides; in which the *Engliſh* were ſeverely gaul'd by the thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman* Long-Bows, before the Battel join'd; which was a Weapon then unus'd in *England*, and thereby the more ſurpriſing, the Wounds coming from Enemies ſo far diſtant, and not ſuddenly to be reveng'd. But when they came to a cloſe Fight, the *Normans* were hew'd down by the *Engliſh* Bills after a deplorable manner; and their Points were ſo ſtrong and ſo cloſe together, that no Charges of the *Norman* Horſe could break the *Engliſh* Ranks, tho' the Duke aſſaulted them ſo often, and with ſo great Bravery, that he had three Horſes kill'd under him in the Attempt. But finding them to continue firm, he at length by a Signal caus'd his Men to feign a ſudden Flight; upon which the *Engliſh*, eaſily deceiv'd by their Courage as well as Hopes, began ſuch an eager Purſuit, as caus'd them to diſſolve their Ranks, which otherwiſe had been impenetrable. The Sight of this gave Occaſion to the *Normans* to return, and fall with freſh Fury into the diſorder'd Body of the *Engliſh*, ſo that they ſoon broke them, and drove them to a riſing Ground. Yet in their Flight they often rally'd, and ſold their Lives at very dear Rates; and part of them having gain'd a Hill, when the *Normans* climb'd up after them, by caſting down Stones quite overpower'd them. In another Place, by their Knowledge of the Country, being more dextrous in paſſing a Ditch, they made an exceeding Slaughter of their Enemies, and fill'd it up with their dead Carkaſſes. Thus the Succeſs remain'd doubtful, and the Battel vaſtly bloody, from nine a Clock in the Morning 'till it grew dark, when *Harold*, after he had diſcharg'd all the Parts of a skilful Commander and valiant Soldier, was ſhot into the Head with an Arrow and dy'd. His Death turn'd the Scale, and caus'd the *Engliſh* to betake themſelves to flight. With *Harold* fell his two Brothers *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, with the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Nobility; ſo that *William* remain'd a compleat Victor, who by his noble Courage, Diligence and Conduct well deſerv'd the Succeſs. He ſhew'd himſelf generous to his dead Enemy, and without Ranſom gave his Body to his Mother, tho' ſhe had offer'd large Sums for it; and when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Soldier by way of Contempt gave it a Wound in the Thigh, he immediately caſhier'd him for ſo mean and cowardly an Action. *Harold* dy'd on the 14th Day of *October*, after a ſhort but vigorous Reign of nine Months, one Week and two Days; and was by his Mother's Care bury'd at *Waltham* in a Church of Canons founded and endow'd by himſelf.

Both Armies engage.

Harold ſlain, and the Engliſh *defeated.*

Thus ended the Empire of the *Engliſh-Saxons* in this Nation, who from their firſt Entrance under *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, had kept Poſſeſſion and with ſome Interruptions held Dominion for about ſix hundred and ſeventeen Years. And here it may juſtly be ſaid, that notwithſtanding the Valour and Conduct of the *Normans*, the *Engliſh* were the chief Forgers of their own Fortune; and they behav'd themſelves as if they deſir'd to be inſlav'd by thoſe whom they admir'd, and

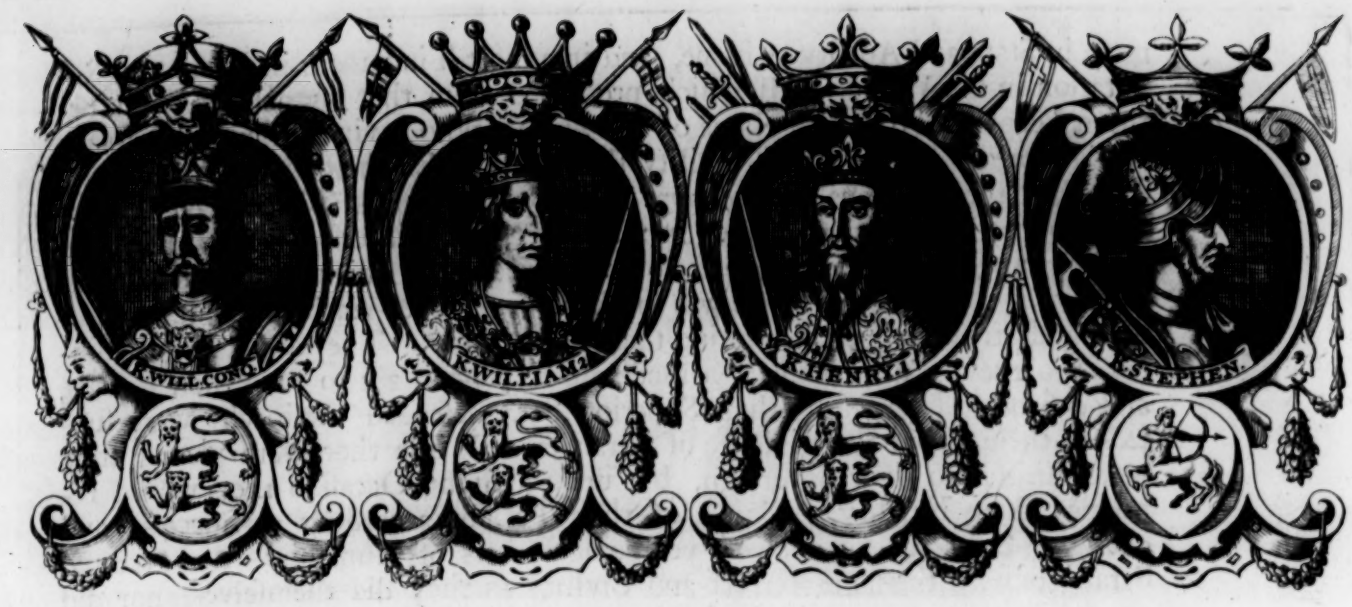
Cauſes of the Conqueſt.

and imitated only in the worſt of their Qualities. For beſides the late Miſmanagements of *Harold*, in other Reſpects a wiſe Prince, the Nation and Nobility were divided into Factions, and could not agree upon the Perſon to ſucceed him; and *Edwin* and *Morchar* retir'd with Diſcontent into *Northumberland*, not regarding the Safety of their Country, becauſe their ambitious Purpoſes were not gratify'd. A firm Union, and a wiſe Management muſt ſtill have put a ſtop to *William*'s Arms; but inſtead of Preparation for expelling the common Enemy, the Nobility became Enemies to one another, and ſtrove for that Crown which the Duke had already got, on the Point of his Sword, tho' not on his Head. Theſe were prodigious Miſcarriages, not incident to any who had their Reaſon, but abſolute Effects of ſuch vicious Tempers as infatuate Mens Minds, enervate the Power of their Souls, and render them abject, and ripe for Servitude. Such were the *Engliſh* at this Time, as we are aſſur'd from *Malmesbury*, who being of *Engliſh* as well as *Norman* Deſcent, profeſſes that he had no Prejudice to either Nation, and declares, That for ſome Years before the Arrival of the *Normans*, Piety and all good Literature became ſo unfaſhionable even among the Clergy, that contenting themſelves with a very ſmall Share of Devotion, as well as Learning, they could ſcarce read Divine Service; and to underſtand Grammar was next to a Miracle. The Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and obſerv'd not the Rules of their Orders. The Nobles were given up to Gluttony and a diſſolute Life, neglected the Service of the Church, made a Prey of the common People, debauch'd their Daughters whom they had in their Service, and then turn'd them off to the Stews. While the meaner Sort ſpent Night and Day and their whole Subſtances in Rioting and Drunkenneſs, and thoſe other Vices which effeminate Mens Reaſons. From hence it came to paſs, that being carry'd away with Temerity and Fury, rather than true Valour, they engag'd with Duke *William*, and brought ſuch Calamities upon themſelves and their Country. In Sum, the *Engliſh* then wore their Cloaths ſhort, cut their Hair, loaded their Arms with golden Bracelets, mark'd their Skins with divers Images, would eat 'till they ſurfeited, and drink 'till they vomitted; which laſt Vices they communicated to the Conquerors, in all Things elſe following and admiring their Modes. But our Author would not have this underſtood of all, but of the *Engliſh* in general; for to his Knowledge, there were many good Men both among the Clergy and Laity. 'But, 'adds he, as the Mercy of God often permits the Bad as well as Good to en-'joy the like Proſperity; ſo his Juſtice does not always exempt good Men from 'partaking in the common Calamites of their Country. Since Diviſions and Factions, Immorality and Impiety occaſion'd ſuch great Miſeries to our Anceſtors, we ought carefully to remember this one Maxim, That the ſame Cauſes ordinarily produce the ſame Effects.

The Diviſions and Corruptions of the Engliſh.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE



History of England.

BOOK II.

From the first Entrance of William *commonly call'd the Conqueror, to the Death of King* Richard *the Third, and the Union of the two Families by King* Henry *the Seventh.*

Containing the Space of about 419 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

The Norman *Line; From the first Entrance of Duke* William, *to the Death of King* Stephen, *and the Restoration of the* Saxon *Line by King* Henry *the Second.*

Containing the Space of about 88 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of King WILLIAM *the First.*

Containing 20 *Years,* 10 *Months, and* 26 *Days.*

I. HAVING got through the Reigns of our *Saxon* Monarchs, we begin to remove from Twilight to Day-light, and a clearer Prospect of Affairs; being now arriv'd at that memorable Period when the State of *England* receiv'd great Alterations in Laws, Language, Customs, Fashions, Fortifications, Buildings, and in most Things besides Religion. So that from these extraordinary Mutations, we are to begin with a new Account of *England*, now larger in Extent and Dominion abroad, more

A. D. 1066. Reg. 1.

more in State and Ability at home, and in a ſhort Time more in Fame and Reputation in the World. All which proceeded from that Branch of the Northern People call'd by the Name of *Normans*; who having for many Years receiv'd more of the Sun and Civility than the *Engliſh* themſelves, are thus deſcrib'd by the judicious *Malmesbury*. They were at this Time a People very curious in their Cloathes, choice in their Diet, but without Exceſs; train'd up to War, and ſcarce knowing how to live without it; quick in attacking their Enemy, and when open Force was too hazardous, over-reaching them by Cunning and Stratagem, or corrupting them with Mony. They built large Edifices, tho' they liv'd in them at a moderate Expence; apt to envy their Equals, and deſirous of ſurpaſſing their Superiors, yet defended thoſe who were ſubject to them, from the Violence of Strangers. While they were pleas'd they were faithful to their Soveraign, but upon a ſlight Occaſion they would renounce their Fidelity, judging of their Perfidy according to Succeſs, and changing Sides for Advantage; yet being Lovers of Humanity, they treated Strangers with the ſame Reſpect and Civility as they did themſelves, nor did they diſdain to marry with thoſe who were ſubject to them. And this muſt be own'd for their Honour, that by their coming hither they reviv'd the Diſcipline of the Chriſtian Religion, then almoſt extinct in *England:* Whence, as our Author obſerves, might be ſeen Churches new built in the Towns and Cities, and Monaſteries erected after a nobler Way of Architecture, inſomuch that the whole Country began to flouriſh after an extraordinary Manner. Theſe Advantages the Nation in general obtain'd by this Change, tho' it prov'd fatal to many noble Families in particular; to which Advantages we may add, That the *Engliſh* Nation for above five Hundred Years before had been but little known for any Atchievements abroad, 'till King *Canute* made uſe of their Aſſiſtance in his Wars againſt the *Swedes:* But after this, we ſhall find that this Nation under the Conduct of their Princes of the *Norman* Race made a nobler Figure abroad, and in a ſhort Time conquer'd that Country by which they had been before ſubdu'd.

A deſcription of the Normans.

The firſt of theſe Princes that govern'd this Nation was the renowned *William*, who was about forty two Years of Age when he gain'd that famous and deciſive Battel at *Haſtings*. There like a wiſe General, who deſign'd to make the beſt Advantage of his Succeſs, he reſolv'd to leave no ſtrong Place behind him; ſo having left a ſufficient Garriſon in his late built Fort at *Haſtings*, he march'd from thence to *Romney* in *Kent*, and reveng'd himſelf upon the inhoſpitable Inhabitants of that Place, for the Slaughter of ſome of his Men, who by Miſtake had landed there. He continu'd his March along the Coaſt to *Dover*, to which Caſtle great Multitudes had fled for Refuge, as to a Place then thought impregnable; yet all theſe at the firſt Approach of the Conqueror, without Reſiſtance yielded to his Mercy. After which, continuing about eight Days in the further Fortification of the Caſtle, and leaving there his ſick Men, he march'd from *Dover* towards *London*, when in a ſhort Time the Body of the *Kentiſh* Men came in to him voluntarily, ſwearing Fealty, and giving Hoſtages for Security; whereupon the City of *Canterbury* preſented him with her Submiſſion by certain Deputies ſent for that Purpoſe. This Relation being made by *Pictavienſes*, who was himſelf an Eye-Witneſs to theſe Tranſactions, may ſerve ſufficiently to confute that vulgar and plauſible Story of the *Kentiſh* Men meeting this Conqueror with green Boughs, and their procuring from him a Confirmation of all their Privileges.

Pictav.

Duke William *marches into* Kent.

Kent *ſubmits.*

The Duke, having reduc'd all *Kent* to his Subjection, receiv'd Intelligence that *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, together with the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, being ſupported by the City of *London* and its Mariners, intended to ſet up *Edgar Etheling*, the true Heir, for their King; upon which this valiant General reſolv'd to prevent all ſuch Attempts, and therefore marching towards *London*, he encamp'd not far from the City. From thence certain Companies

Pictav. &c.

William *marches towards* London.

panies ſally'd out againſt him, but with five hundred Horſe he eaſily repuls'd them, killing great Numbers as they paſs'd the Bridge; and here began the Miſeries of *England*. The Duke ſeem'd reſolv'd before this to uſe all gentle Methods, and to reduce the *Engliſh* by kind Uſage; but finding they made head againſt him, and put him to further Trouble and Danger, he chang'd his Purpoſe, and proceeded with greater Severity. For upon this unfortunate Sally, he commanded or permitted all the Buildings South of the *Thames*, now call'd *Southwark*, to be deſtroy'd by Fire. But not being able as yet to enter the City, he reſolv'd firſt to ſubdue the Countries lying South-Weſt on the other Side of the *Thames*, and thereupon march'd towards *Wallingford* in *Barkſhire*, where he permitted his Soldiers to ravage ſeveral Parts of the Country. In the mean Time *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, *Wulſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with *Edgar Etheling* himſelf, and other Noblemen, confounded in their Deſigns, and tranſported with Fears, quitted *London*, and repaired to the Duke at *Berkhamſted* in *Hertfordſhire*, where ſubmitting themſelves, they ſwore Fealty to him, and upon their giving Hoſtages, he made a firm League or Contract with them; nevertheleſs he ſtill permitted his Men to burn and plunder all the Way they march'd, which is reaſonable to underſtand of ſuch Places as had not yet ſubmitted to him.

The Nobility ſubmit.

Pictav. Malmsb. &c. The Feaſt of *Chriſtmaſs* approaching, the Duke with all his Army march'd up towards *London*, and was met by all the chief Men of the City; at which Time all the Biſhops and Lay Nobility requeſted him That he would accept the Crown, declaring, *That they had been always accuſtom'd to obey Kings, therefore they were ready to acknowledge him for their Soveraign.* Upon which he immediately conſulted with his greateſt Intimates, and ſhew'd much Averſion to his Acceptance of that Honour at preſent; but all perſuaded him to a Compliance, *as being to their Knowledge the unanimous Deſire of his whole Army.* He weighing all Things, could not but yield to the Importunity of ſo many Petitioners; therefore ſtaying near *London*, he ſent ſome of his Men before to erect a Fortreſs and Place of Security in the City, and to prepare all Things fit for ſuch a royal and magnificent Solemnity. The Day deſign'd for his Coronation was *Chriſtmaſs*-Day, and *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being under ſome Cenſures from the Pope, the Ceremony was perform'd by *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York*; who firſt in a neat ſhort Speech demanded of all the *Engliſh* there preſent, *Whether they did conſent to have the Duke crown'd King?* who all chearfully and unanimouſly gave their Aſſents. At the ſame Time the like Queſtion was put to the *Normans* by the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, and the ſame Approbation given. Duke *William* being thus elected King, as *Pictavienſes* expreſſes it, *Aldred* in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter* ſet the Crown upon his Head, and plac'd him on the Throne in the Preſence of all the Biſhops, Abbots and Lay Nobility: And the old Book of *Ely*, as alſo *Florence* of *Worceſter*, gives us the Form of the Coronation Oath which he took before the Clergy and Laity at the High-Altar, being the ſame in Effect with that of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings; Namely, '*That he would protect the Holy* '*Church and its Governors; That he would govern all the People ſubject to him* '*prudently and juſtly; That he would ordain and keep juſt Laws, and wholly forbid all Rapines and unjuſt Judgments*; to which *Malmesbury* alſo adds, '*That he would behave himſelf mercifully towards his Subjects, and would* '*govern both the* Engliſh *and* Normans *by the ſame equal Law.* After this he never claim'd any Power by pure Conqueſt, but as a regular Prince ſubmitted himſelf to the Orders of the Kingdom; being deſirous to have his Teſtamentary Title, weak as it was, to make good his Succeſſion, rather than his Sword.

They offer William *the Crown*

William *crowned King.*

The Coronation Oath.

Pictav. *William* being thus eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, immediately began to perform all Things worthy of his Dignity; ſo that he ſeem'd inflam'd with a new Zeal for the attempting great and noble Actions, uſing his utmoſt Endeavours both in Divine and Secular Affairs. In the firſt place he diſtributed great Quanti-

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ties of Treaſure found in *Harold*'s Exchequer among his faithful Friends and Followers; as alſo many rich Gratuities which he beſtow'd on the Monaſteries, and large Alms to the Poor. He likewiſe preſented the Pope with a great Sum both in Gold and Silver, beſides the Standard of King *Harold*; in the doing of all which he was much aſſiſted by the Benevolence of all the Cities, and of ſeveral great and wealthy Men, to obtain the Favour of their new Lord. While he ſtaid in *London* he order'd all Things juſtly, wiſely and mercifully, ſome of which tended to the particular Honour and Advantage of that City, while others prov'd highly beneficial to the whole Nation; and in all other Matters he chiefly conſulted the Good of the Church and Kingdom. He enjoin'd all his great Men *to obſerve Equity in all their Actions, and ever to regard that Eternal Monarch by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had been victorious; and tho' they were Conquerors, they ought not to oppreſs the Vanquiſh'd, who were Chriſtians as well as themſelves, leſt by Injuries they ſhould provoke thoſe to riſe up againſt them whom they had already ſubdu'd.* Next he reſtrain'd the Common Soldiers by ſevere Edicts from violating the Chaſtity of Women, or ſo much as frequenting Taverns and infamous Houſes; he alſo ſtrictly prohibited all Murders, Robberies and Tumults. Thus as he bridled the People by Arms, ſo thoſe very Arms were reſtrain'd by juſt Laws, appointing Judges to inflict ſevere Puniſhments upon thoſe common Soldiers who ſhould dare to tranſgreſs his Orders; and for a Time he was no more partial to the *Normans*, than to any other Nation then in his Service.

His laudable Government.

Theſe were the happy Beginnings of this King's Reign; but he not ſtaying long in *London*, retired to a Place not far off call'd *Berking*, 'till the Fortreſs he had begun at *London* was finiſh'd; for he found it abſolutely neceſſary to curb the tickle Humours of that great and ſtubborn People. For his greater Security he plac'd *Norman* Garriſons in *Wincheſter*, *Dover*, and many other Places; and in Memory of the great Battel he obtain'd over King *Harold*, he gave Orders for the Building of that noble Monaſtery near *Haſtings* call'd *Battel-Abby*, which he endow'd with great Privileges and Immunities. During his Stay at *Berking*, the powerful Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, came and ſubmitted themſelves to the King's Mercy and Clemency; in which they were follow'd by many other Noblemen of great Note, to whom he generouſly reſtor'd their Eſtates which had been forfeited, and having taken their voluntary Oaths of Fidelity, he receiv'd them into his Favour. As for *Edgar Etheling*, who was ſometimes call'd *England's Darling*, to alleviate the Regret he might receive by the miſſing of a Crown, he not only ſhew'd him great Favours, but alſo conferr'd upon him very large Poſſeſſions. After this he made a Progreſs into divers Parts of the Kingdom, in all Places ordering ſuch Things as were not only advantagious to himſelf, but alſo to his People in general. And now wherever he travell'd he found none to oppoſe him, nor the Roads any ways obſtructed, all Men willingly ſubmitting themſelves to him; whilſt he look'd upon the Common People with a benign Aſpect, commiſerating their Condition, and ordering his Men to treat them with Mercy, eſpecially when he obſerv'd the poor Widows with their little Children upon their Knees imploring his Clemency. And this is the Account that King *William*'s Chaplain *Pictavienſes* has given us of the two or three firſt Months of his Reign.

Ibid.

All ſubmit to him.

II. King *William* having eſtabliſh'd all Things for the Nation's Security and his own Subjection, reſolv'd to make a Journey into his own Country of *Normandy*, and accordingly committed the Government of this Nation to his Brother *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and his Coſen *William Fitz-Osbern*. The Removing ſo ſoon from a new gain'd Country, looks like a Strain of his uſual Courage and fearleſs Temper; but yet like a politick Prince he took extraordinary Pledges along with him, ſuch of the Nobility as were moſt potent, particularly Arch-Biſhop *Stigand*, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earl *Waltheof*, with

Pictav.

He viſits Normandy.

with ſeveral of the chief Nobility, and alſo *Edgar Etheling* himſelf. With this noble Train he arriv'd at *Normandy*, and celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter* at the Abby of *Feſcamp*, where he was met by *Rodolph* the potent Father-in-Law to the King of *France*, with great Numbers of the *French* Nobility, the handſomeſt of whoſe Youth envy'd the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of the young *Engliſh* Gentlemen; while others were raviſh'd with the Richneſs and Magnificence of the King's Habit, as well as thoſe of his Attendants, as alſo the Quantity of his Silver and Gold Plate, which, ſays our Author, would be incredible to relate. So that when theſe Noblemen return'd home, they were fill'd with Praiſes of the Magnificence, and eſpecially the Generoſity of King *William*, who paſs'd all that Summer, and the Beginning of the following Winter in this Country.

Vitales. Florent. Malmsb. While *Normandy* was thus happy, the *Engliſh* were ſeverely oppreſs'd, according to *Vitales*, by *Odo* and *Fitz-Osbern* in their Governments, eſpecially thoſe in *Kent*, who being highly exaſperated, took Occaſion from the Abſence of *Odo* and *Hugh Montfort* with a conſiderable Force, to ſend to *Euſtachius* Earl of *Bulloign*, then the King's Enemy, inviting him to join with them in the Surprizal of *Dover* Caſtle. He agreed with them in the Deſign, and paſs'd over in the Night with a Fleet fill'd with choſen Soldiers, and joining with them attack'd the Caſtle; but finding the Defendents more reſolute and numerous than they expected, he drew off with his Men to his Ships, and return'd home; after which he was reconcil'd to the King, and was honour'd as one of the greateſt Perſonages about him. About the ſame Time *Edrick*, ſirnam'd the *Foreſter*, in the County of *Hereford*, call'd in the Aſſiſtance of two Kings of *Wales*, and ravag'd ſeveral Parts of that Country. Theſe Tranſactions were ſufficient to haſten the Return of the King, who leaving the Government of *Normandy* to his Wife *Matilda* and his Son *Robert*, croſs'd the Sea into *England* in *December*; where he was now to ſatisfie three Sorts of Men, Firſt ſuch Adventurers, with whom he had not yet clear'd; Next thoſe of his own People, who juſtly expected a Recompence, but being very numerous, ſome were to live upon Promiſes; Laſtly the People of this Kingdom, by whom he was now chiefly to ſubſiſt. Being arriv'd at *London*, he treated the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility with much Subtlety and Officiouſneſs, granting them what they ask'd, and freely hearing them what they offer'd; but at the ſame Time began to have a ſtricter Hand and Eye over them than before, and exacted a ſevere Tax upon the *Engliſh* Nation, which was that of *Danegueld*, which had been remitted by *Edward* the Confeſſor. Upon which Occaſion *Malmesbury* informs us that *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York* lov'd *William* as his Son, and honour'd him as a King, while he carry'd himſelf with Temper and Juſtice towards the *Engliſh*, but when he levy'd this unreaſonable Tax, he ſent Meſſengers to him concerning it; but they being roughly treated, he took the Liberty to denounce a Curſe againſt *William* and all his Progeny. Which had ſuch an Effect upon the King, that he immediately ſent Friends to appeaſe the Arch-Biſhop, but before they got to him, he dy'd with Grief. But ſome Time before he dy'd, he had the Honour to crown the King's Wife *Matilda* with great Solemnity, who in the ſame Year was deliver'd of a Son, nam'd *Henry*, afterwards King of *England*.

Diſturbances in England.

The King returns.

A. D. 1068. Reg. 2/3.

Matilda *crown'd.*

Henry I. *born.*

Florent. Hunting. &c. The Taxes and Impoſitions ſeem to have been the Occaſion of a freſh Rebellion this Year in the Weſt; for the City of *Exeter* refus'd to ſwear Fealty to the King, or admit of a Garriſon there, tho' they offer'd to pay Contributions: But not being ſatisfy'd with that, he ſent this Meſſage to them, *That he was never us'd to ſuch Subjects*; therefore tho' it was Winter, he march'd in Perſon with an Army againſt it, always placing the *Engliſh* in the Front. Approaching near the City, the chief of the Citizens came out to meet him, begging Peace, promiſing Obedience, and depoſing ſuch Hoſtages as the King demanded; but in the mean Time the ordinary Townſmen refus'd to deliver up the City, where-

Exeter *rebels.*

whereupon he commanded his Army to make their Approaches to it. Then bringing one of the Hoſtages before the Gates, he there put out his Eyes, and beginning to batter and undermine the Walls, the Inhabitants implor'd his Mercy, which he readily granted, by the Mediation of thoſe who firſt came over to him, with the Clergy, who all begg'd Pardon for the Folly and Obſtinacy of the Common People. So all Things were forgiven them, and they had their Goods ſecur'd from the Violence of the Soldiers, by placing Guards at the Gates to keep them out. But *Githa*, Mother to King *Harold*, with many Citizens eſcap'd and fled with great Riches into *Flanders*. Here within the Walls the King choſe out a Place for the Building of a Caſtle, and left *Baldwin* the Son of Earl *Gilbert* to ſee it compleated, and with many ſtout Soldiers to remain there in Garriſon. Not long after this Expedition the King thought fit to divide the Lands among his *Norman* Commanders, as well as thoſe of other Nations; which is to be underſtood, only of the Lands of thoſe who had been in Arms againſt him in the Battel of *Haſtings*, and of thoſe who were ingag'd in the late Inſurrections; all which he look'd upon as forfeited Eſtates. And this appears plainer from the Controverſie between *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* the *Engliſhman*, whoſe Lands tho' the King had given them to *Warren*, yet when *Sherburn* alledg'd in Court, *That he never bore Arms againſt the King, that he was his Subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by the Law eſtabliſh'd among all his Subjects*, the King himſelf gave Judgement againſt *Warren*, and commanded that *Sherburn* ſhould hold his Land without Moleſtation.

It is reduc'd.

The King divides the Lands among the Normans.

One Inſurrection was no ſooner quell'd, but another more dangerous began, by means of Earl *Edwin*, who after Promiſe of one of the King's Daughter's in Marriage, was unjuſtly diſappointed. This and ſome other Affronts provok'd him and his Brother *Morchar* to take up Arms; and being both very powerful and popular, many in the Northern Parts, where their Governments lay, came in to their Aſſiſtance, as alſo their Nephew *Blethyn*, Prince of *North-Wales*, with a great Number of *Welſhmen*. Upon this, the King as a vigilant Commander inquir'd into all Places of Strength that might be ſerviceable to their Retreat; and to prevent their ſeizing of them, he fortify'd ſuch as were moſt advantagious, as the Caſtle of *Warwick*, which he now built, and committed to the Cuſtody of *Henry de Beaumont*, afterwards made firſt Earl of *Warwick*. At the ſame Time he built *Nottingham* Caſtle, and gave the Cuſtody of it to *William Pendel* a *Norman*; which vigorous Proceedings ſo diſcourag'd the two Earls, that doubting of Succeſs, they ſoon begg'd the King's Mercy, and were generouſly receiv'd into Favour. Upon which the Inhabitants of *York* deliver'd up the Keys of their City to the King, who was now ready to beſiege it; but ſtill doubting of their Fidelity, he immediately rais'd a Fortreſs in the City, and mann'd it with a ſtrong Garriſon. In his Return, he built Caſtles or ſtrong Forts at *Lincoln*, *Huntington* and *Cambridge*, and plac'd in each of them valiant Commanders. Upon which *Archil* a potent Nobleman of *Northumberland* made his Peace with the King, and deliver'd his Son to him as an Hoſtage; likewiſe *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham* was now receiv'd into Favour, and by his Mediation, a Peace was concluded with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* who had been a Favourer of this Inſurrection. But this continu'd not long, for about Autumn following, Earl *Goſpatrick*, with ſeveral of the *Northumbrian* Nobility, fearing to be impriſon'd as many others at that time were, drew over Prince *Edgar Etheling* to their Party, and with him, his Mother *Agatha*, and his Siſters *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*, paſs'd by Sea out of *England* into *Scotland*, where being kindly receiv'd by King *Malcolm*, they remain'd all that Winter in Peace. And *Malcolm* was ſo affected with the Beauty and Virtues of the Lady *Margaret*, that about two Years after he marry'd her himſelf; by whom the Blood of our ancient Kings was preſerv'd, and conjoin'd with the *Normans* in King *Henry* the Second, and by that means became *Engliſh* again.

Vitalis. Sax. An. Sim. Dun. &c.

Edwin *and* Morchar *rebel.*

They are receiv'd into Favour.

Edgar Etheling *goes into* Scotland, *and marries his Siſter to that King.*

In

M. Weſt. Vitales, &c. In the mean Time King *William* us'd all Methods poſſible for his own Security, and the bridling and diſarming the *Engliſh*; particularly he commanded every Houſe-Keeper to put out both Fire and Candle at eight of the Clock at Night, at which Hour, in every City, Town and Village, he caus'd a Bell to be rung, by the *French* call'd *Conorefew*; which is partly yet in uſe, and in Name very near it, commonly call'd *Corfew*. But notwithſtanding theſe Precautions, *Godwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, Sons of the late King *Harold*, coming out of *Ireland*, landed in *Somerſetſhire*, ingag'd with *Eadnoth*, formerly their Father's Maſter of the Horſe, ſlew him with many others, and taking large Booties both in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, return'd again to *Ireland*. Theſe were unſetled Times, often accompany'd with Troubles and Diſturbances; when ſeveral *Norman* Gentlemen and Perſons of Quality, uneaſie in the Nation, took their leaves of the King, and return'd into *Normandy*. Beſides Commanders and Officers, great Numbers of the common Soldiers, tired with the perpetual Deſolation of the Country, where they ſaw nothing but Rapines and daily Slaughters committed, not only by themſelves, but by the Natives iſſuing out of the Woods and other Retreats, killing what *Normans* they could, deſir'd now to be disbanded, that they might return and live in Peace in their own Country; which Requeſt was readily granted by the King, who kindly diſmiſs'd them, having firſt well paid and rewarded them for all their Services.

The King's Care.

Divers Norman *Gentlemen return home.*

Sim. Dun. &c. The next Year was remarkable for new and greater Troubles in the North, which began to break out upon the Arrival of *Robert Cumin*, the new Governor at *Durham*; who, not being ſo cautious as valiant, lying ſecurely as he thought in the City, was ſurpriz'd in the Night by the *Northumbrians*, and he and all the *Normans* except one, to the Number of ſeven hundred were maſſacred. And while this Inſurrection was on foot, the fugitive *Engliſh* in *Denmark* ſo far prevail'd with King *Swane*, that they procur'd his Aſſiſtance to recover their Rights, and his Kingdom, as was pretended; and accordingly he ſent a Fleet of two hundred and Forty Sail well mann'd, under the Conduct of his Brother *Osbern*, and his Sons *Harold* and *Canute*. Theſe arriving in the *Humber*, landed their Men in order to march to *York*, and ravag'd the Country through which they paſs'd; and being ſhortly after join'd by *Edgar Etheling* and all his Aſſociates from *Scotland*, they became very ſtrong and formidable. Upon their nearer Approach to the City, the *Normans* who kept the Caſtle, fearing leſt the Houſes near them being pull'd down might ſerve the *Danes* to fill up the Ditches, ſet them all on fire, which ſo violently rag'd by reaſon of a high Wind, that it ſoon burnt all or moſt of that noble City, together with the Cathedral Church, the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*'s, and a famous Library. But the Divine Vengeance ſeverely puniſh'd this Barbarity, for before the City had done burning, the *Daniſh* Fleet arriv'd, and both the *Danes* and *Northumbrians*, beſieging the Caſtles, quickly became Maſters of them, with a terrible Slaughter of their Governor and three thouſand *Normans*, very few eſcaping. After which the *Daniſh* Fleet, together with the *Northumbrians*, well loaded with Plunder, retir'd to their former Quarters.

A D. 1069. Reg. 3/4.

New Troubles in the North.

The Danes *land.*

York *burnt.*

Weſtmin. Hoveden. Sim. Dun. &c. The King upon receiving this ill News immediately ſent his Queen into *Normandy* for her greater Security, and threaten'd not only to chaſtiſe the Rebels, but to extirpate the *Northumbrians*. But before he march'd, wiſely conſidering that theſe Diſcontents aroſe in a great Meaſure from his own Management and Partiality to the *Normans*, he began to ſhow a greater Regard to the ancient *Saxon* Laws, and to curb the Inſolence of his Countrymen, and withal recall'd many of the *Engliſh* Noblemen from Baniſhment, and made a firm League with them. Arriving in *Yorkſhire*, which was then Part of the Earldom of *Northumberland*, he put moſt of the People to the Sword, and laid the whole Country waſte, to prevent the *Danes* harbouring themſelves there, who now with their *Engliſh* Confederates lay incamp'd at *York*. Here the King came to an Ingagement with them, and routing the *Daniſh* Army, the *Engliſh* were ſo diſcourag'd

The Danes *routed.*

courag'd in the City, that they ſoon ſurrender'd it to the Conqueror. Yet *Malmesbury* repreſents this Victory as not ſo eaſily obtain'd, and informs us that the valiant Earl *Waltheof* in this Fight at *York*, cut off the Heads of a great many *Normans* one after another, as they would have forc'd a Gate which he took upon him to defend. After this Victory, the King ſoon became Maſter of the whole Country, and recover'd it from the *Danes* as much by Mony and Promiſes as by Force. *Edgar Etheling* retir'd into *Scotland*, and ſeveral of the Nobility were generouſly reſtor'd to Favour, particularly *Goſpatrick* and *Waltheof*, the latter of whom the King ſo admir'd for his Strength and Valour, that in a ſhort time after he gave him his Neice *Judith* in Marriage, together with the Earldoms of *Northampton* and *Huntington*. But the Country ſuffer'd miſerably in this War, all the Northern Parts being ſo depopulated by the *Danes* and *Normans*, that between *York* and *Durham* there remain'd no Town inhabited, but the Land lay waſte and untill'd for above nine Years. This was alſo attended by ſo dreadful a Famine in all thoſe Parts, that in this Year, as well as the next, the miſerable Remains of the People were forc'd to feed upon Horſes and Dogs, and even Man's Fleſh, to ſave themſelves from periſhing.

The North laid waſte.

A. D. 1070. Reg. 4 5.

III. King *William* having quell'd the Inſurrections in the North, and in other Parts, from this Time began to ſhow a greater Averſion to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Unconſtancy he daily dreaded; therefore by hard Uſage, Impriſonments and Baniſhments he conſtrain'd them to ſubmit. He gave moſt of the Earldoms and Boronies, Biſhopricks and Prelacies of the whole Nation to his *Normans*, and ſcarce permitted the *Engliſh* to enjoy any Place of Honour, Dominion or Power. To *William Fitz-Osbern*, Sewer of *Normandy*, he gave the Iſle of *Wight* and Earldom of *Hereford*. He gave the Town and County of *Cheſter*, firſt to *Gherbod* a *Flemming*, then to *Hugh* of *Almonches*. To *Roger Montgomery* he firſt gave *Arundel*, and then *Chiceſter*, and afterwards the County of *Salop*. To *Walter Giffard* the County of *Buckingham*; to *William Warren* the County of *Surrey*; and to *Ralph Guader* the Earldom of the *Eaſt-Angles*. And to many other noble Perſons, he diſtributed many Cities and Towns, with great Power and Honours; and to many Strangers and others of mean Quality, he gave many Titles and Honours, inſomuch that they had here in *England* Clients and Dependents far richer and more powerful than their Fathers were in *Normandy*. But to his two half Brother's *Odo* and *Robert* he was profuſe in his Gifts and Honours. The former was Earl of *Kent*, a Count Palatine who gave Laws like a King, and Juſticiary of *England*, the chief Man for adminiſtring Juſtice under the King; and after the Death of *Fitz-Osbern*, he made him Vice-Roy of the whole Kingdom. He had beſides for his Share one hundred eighty four Lordſhips or Mannors in *Kent*, and two hundred fifty five more in other Counties. *Robert* had the Earldom of *Cornwall* given him, in which he had two hundred eighty four Lordſhips, beſides five hundred fifty eight more in other Counties.

Vitales, &c.

The King diſpoſes of all Preferments to the Normans.

Nor did the King think himſelf ſecure only by having all Perſons in Secular Authority his Dependents, and at his Command; but he alſo brought the Clergy, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and all Degrees of that Function under his Subjection. For the Biſhopricks and Abbies which held Baronies, hitherto free from all Secular Service, were now put under Military Service; and according to his Will and Pleaſure he appointed how many Knights and Soldiers they ſhould find in Time of War, and drove many Eccleſiaſticks out of the Kingdom, who refus'd to ſubmit to this hard Conſtitution. He did not only charge their Lands with the Tenure of Knights Service, but alſo quarter'd Soldiers which he had hired in *France*, *Germany* and *Spain*, in all Monaſteries of *England*; who were not only a Charge to their Purſes, but alſo Spies upon their Actions. Nor did he think this enough to reſtrain the Power of the Clergy, who then bore the chief Sway in the Government; but by the malicious Advice of *Fitz-Osbern*,

M. Paris. Eadmer. &c.

He reduces the Clergy to Subjection.

Osbern, and others of his Council, he ſearch'd all the Monaſteries, and took away the Mony which the richer Sort of *Engliſh* out of Fear of his Severity had ſecured there, and commanded it to be carry'd into his Exchequer. *Mat. Paris* ſays he robb'd all the Monaſteries of their Gold and Silver, not ſparing their Shrines and Chalices: And yet he did not think himſelf ſecure from the Power of the Clergy in that Age, 'till he had brought into *England* moſt of the Laws and Uſages generally obſerv'd in *Normandy*, and had made ſuch Biſhops, Abbots and Governors, who would in all Things ſubmit to his Ordinances; and therefore all Divine and Human Matters were chiefly according to his Will and Pleaſure. To this purpoſe a great Council was held at *Wincheſter*, eight Days after *Eaſter*, at the Command of the King, and the Conſent of the Pope; in which *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was depriv'd, together with *Agelmar* Biſhop of *Elmham*, *Agelrick* Biſhop of *Selſey*, and ſeveral Abbots; the King promoting this Work, that he might put into their Places Men of his own Nation, for the Security of his new acquired Kingdom. He alſo kept ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots in Priſon during Life, without any evident Cauſe, and without Condemnation by Synods or Secular Laws, purely out of Jealouſie that they endeavour'd for a new Revolution. Yet in his new Promotions he generally acted with Wiſdom and Honour, and for the moſt part advanc'd Men of Piety and real Worth. Particularly he gave the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* to *Lanfranc*, an *Italian* of great Learning and Abilities, then Abbot of *Caen* in *Normandy*: The Archbiſhoprick of *York* was given to *Thomas Chanon* of *Bayeux*, and the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter*, *Elmham* and *Selſey*, to his three Chaplains, *Walkelin*, *Arfaſt* and *Stigaud*. And notwithſtanding many Acts of Severity and Injuſtice, which were often the Effects of Danger and Neceſſity, this Prince generally endeavour'd to promote Peace and Piety in the Nation.

Several depriv'd.

M. Paris. But the *Engliſh* Nation was now ſo far diſguſted, that they reſolv'd to endeavour to throw off the *Norman* Yoak; and accordingly they aſſembled a numerous Army, and once more ſet up *Edgar Etheling* for their King; *Fretheric* Abbot of St. *Albans*, a rich and powerful Man, being the chief Promoter of this Deſign. Upon which the King became very uneaſie, fearing at laſt to loſe that Kingdom which he had acquir'd with ſo much Blood. Wherefore by the wiſe Advice of Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he began to deal more gently with the *Engliſh* Nobility, and propoſing to them Terms of Peace, he invited them to a ſubdolous Treaty; who ſuſpecting no unfair Deſign, under the Conduct of Abbot *Fretheric* met the King at *Berkhamſtead*, where after many Debates, he in the Preſence of the Arch-Biſhop ſolemnly ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts, and the Relicks of the Church of St. *Albans*, '*That he would obſerve the good, approv'd, and ancient Laws of the Kingdom, which the holy and pious Kings, his Predeceſſors, and chiefly King* Edward *had ordained:* By which the *Engliſh* being ſatisfy'd, all return'd to their Habitations. But the King, who had conceal'd his Intentions, within a few Days after privately and ſuddenly endeavour'd to ruin thoſe ſeparately, whom united he could not overcome; which he perform'd by killing ſome, diſpoſſeſſing others, and outlawing many more, to the Breach of his Oaths, and the great Affliction of the *Engliſh*. Upon this Prince *Edgar* fled again into *Scotland*, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility into *Denmark*, and ſome into *Norway*, purſuing any Methods to avoid the *Norman* Yoak. Abbot *Fretheric* fled into the Iſle of *Ely*, where he ſhortly after ended his Days; upon whoſe Death the King kept the Abby of St. *Albans* vacant in his Hands, and very much oppreſs'd it by cutting down the Woods, and impoveriſhing the Tenants; and unleſs he had been reſtrain'd by the Reproofs of Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he had irreparably deſtroy'd that noble Foundation.

The King ſwears to the Laws of King Edward.

But to no purpoſe.

Edgar *flies into* Scotland.

Sax. An. Ingulph. Hoveden. About the ſame Time the great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, ſuſpecting the Succeſs of their Affairs, privately retired from Court, deſigning a new Rebellion; the former in his Paſſage towards *Scotland* was betray'd by his own Followers,

A. D. 1071. Reg. 6.

Morchar *and others rebell in the Iſle of* Ely.

lowers, and ſlain; *Morchar* betook himſelf to the Iſle of *Ely*, where he met with *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Siward* ſurnam'd *Barne*, *Walter* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and many other great Men of the *Engliſh*. Theſe daily increaſing, ſent for *Hereward*, a Perſon renowned in many Places for his extraordinary Valour, to be their chief Commander; particularly urging him on the Behalf of *Thurſtan*, then Abbot of the Place, and his Monks, who were Owners of the Iſle; and upon their Account the ſame was fortify'd againſt the King. Not long after, the King, who never gave Time to Inſurrections, march'd down againſt theſe Male-Contents, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Marriners, ſtopp'd up all the Paſſages on the Eaſt Side of the Iſland, and built a Caſtle at *Wesbich*; and on the Weſt Side he made a Bridge from the Continent to the Iſle, two Miles in length. Yet ſtill he met with great Difficulties and Reſiſtance, 'till after the Loſs of many Men, he was adviſ'd to ſeize all the Lands and Goods belonging to the Monaſtery, that were out of the Iſle, and divide them among his Soldiers, in order to oblige them to greater Care and Vigilance. This being effected, and the King's Power increaſing, the Monks after a Conſultation with their Abbot reſolv'd not only to ſubmit to the King, upon Condition he would honourably reſtore all their Lands, but alſo to give him a thouſand Marks, and accordingly ſent their Propoſals; which were readily and graciouſly accepted,

[r] *They are reduc'd.*

and the Iſland peaceably deliver'd into his Hands. The Noblemen were all conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the King's Mercy, only the valiant *Hereward* with a few Followers with great Difficulty eſcap'd over the Fens, and got into *Scotland*. Then the King, having cut off the Hands and put out the Eyes of many of the common Soldiers, let them go; but for Earl *Morchar*, with the Noblemen and Gentlemen taken with him, he ſent them to ſeveral Priſons; and Biſhop *Egelwin*, being ſent to *Abingdon*, there ſtarv'd himſelf to Death. The better to ſecure the Iſland to his Obedience, the King quarter'd forty *Norman* Knights in the Monaſtery, obliging the Monks not only to find them Subſiſtance, but alſo their uſual Wages.

A. D. 1072. Reg. 6/7.

The King having happily finiſh'd this Adventure, found that the Root of all his Dangers was in *Scotland*, which Country had always been a Sanctuary for his Enemies and the Male-Contents of his Kingdom, and now the Receptacle of his Competitor Prince *Edgar*. Therefore to put an End to all future Diſputes, and alſo to revenge ſome late Devaſtations made in *England* by the King of *Scotland*, he reſolv'd to invade that Kingdom in Perſon, and accordingly with a powerful Army enter'd *Galloway*, where the Soldiers were more harraſs'd in paſſing over the barren Mountains and Marſhes than purſuit of the Enemy; wherefore he was oblig'd to turn another Way, and march directly towards King *Malcolm*'s Army in *Lothian*, with a Reſolution to finiſh the War with one Battel. But *Malcolm* wiſely conſidering the Danger to which he was expos'd, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *William* with Terms of Agreement; and the other conſidering the Hazards of a Battel in a difficult and unknown Country, accepted of his Terms, on Condition that he ſhould take an Oath of Fealty to him, and all Offenders on both Sides be pardon'd. And hereupon King *Malcolm* did his Homage to King *William*; but whether for all *Scotland*, or the *Low-Lands*, or for *Cumberland*, Authors are not well agreed. In the Memory of this Treaty there was a Stone Croſs erected in the Middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Richmondſhire*, which was call'd the *Royal Croſs*, having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the ſeveral Sides of it, which was for the future to ſerve as a Boundary between the two Kingdoms, the Remainder of which was to be ſeen in *Camden*'s Time. And here with the univerſal Change brought about in *England*, the Kingdom of *Scotland* is likewiſe obſerv'd to have had no ſmall Share: The former great Recourſe of the *Engliſh* into *Scotland*, both to attend the Queen and her Brother *Edgar*, as well as for their own Safety, not only introduc'd the *Engliſh* Language, into the Court and Country, but alſo the Faſhions, Vanity of Apparel, Riot, Luxury and Exceſs

Sax. An. Ingulph. Pol. Virg. &c.

The King marches into Scotland.

[r] *Both Kings come to a Treaty.*

of

of the *Engliſh*, much to the Damage and effeminating that hardy and warlike Nation. And many of the *Engliſh*, forſaking the Place of their Birth and Habitation, were receiv'd into the Favour of that King; who being by his Liberality there ſetled, have ſince that Time propagated, and brought forth Branches of many noble Families, whoſe Poſterity continue to this Day. And we are inform'd that about this Time were the Degrees and Titles of Honour firſt known in that Country, as Duke, Earl, Baron and Knight; and the nobler Sort of the *Scots*, in Imitation of the *French* and *Engliſh*, began to be call'd by the honourable Titles, from the Names of their Families, or the beſt of their Poſſeſſions.

Ingulph. In this Year, a Conteſt of another Nature was alſo decided, which was between the two Arch-Biſhops of this Kingdom, *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*, who being lately return'd from *Rome*, by the Pope's Order a great Synod was held concerning the ancient Diſpute of the Juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* over the other at *York*; where the Matter being fully debated on both Sides, at length the Synod gave Sentence in favour of the See of *Canterbury*, in the Preſence of the King, the Pope's Legate, the Biſhops and Abbots of ſeveral Orders; and the Decree was ſubſcrib'd by the King, Queen, and chief of the Nation.

A Conteſt between the Sees of Canterbury *and* York.

Sax. An. &c. IV. For about ſeven Years, King *William* had met with Diſturbances only in his new acquir'd Kingdom; but now having ſurmounted theſe Difficulties, he was diſquieted with new Troubles from the King of *France*, who this Year renew'd the ancient Conteſt, and invaded his Dominions about *Normandy*. Upon which the King without Delay tranſported a powerful Army into *Normandy*, as well *Engliſh* as *Normans*; and in a ſhort Time, chiefly by the Valour and Bravery of the *Engliſh*, he retook the City of *Mans*, and the Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted; but not without great Spoil in deſtroying of Vineyards, and burning of Cities and Towns. Here *Edgar Etheling* came to him out of *Scotland*, who was graciouſly receiv'd with all his Followers, and he himſelf honourably maintain'd in the King's Court, where he was generouſly allow'd a Pound Weight of Silver for every Days Expence: A rare Example of a prevailing Conqueror, ſhew'd upon a Man ſo unconſtant, who had twice broken his Oath of Fidelity, and dangerous ſo near his Perſon, as being the only Competitor of his Crown. But this Prince dealt more roughly with *Eadmer.* the new Pope *Gregory*, who about this Time by Letters demanded an Oath of Fealty from him for the Crown of *England*, to be held of the *Roman* See; alledging, 'That the Royal Power next under God was to be ſubject to the Care 'and Government of the Apoſtolick Juriſdiction. To whom King *William* return'd a free Anſwer, in which he utterly deny'd any ſuch Authority, and he was ſo far from paying him any ſuch mean Submiſſion, that *Eadmer* aſſures us, He would not permit any Subject in his Dominions to acknowledge any Man for Pope, but whom he had firſt allow'd of, nor ſo much as to receive his Letters, unleſs they had been firſt ſhewn to himſelf.

A. D. 1073. Reg. 7/8.

The King's Wars againſt France.

Prince Edgar *receiv'd into Favour.*

Sax. An. Florent. Malmsb. While the King continu'd in *Normandy*, a dangerous Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him in *England*, not only by ſome of the *Engliſh*, but alſo *Norman* Nobility; which was occaſion'd by *Ralph de Waher*, Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who having marry'd *Emma* the Daughter of *Roger* Earl of *Hereford*, Coſen to the King, without his Conſent, was ſo tranſported with the Greatneſs of the Alliance, and the Power of Wine, that on the Wedding Day he perſuaded his Gueſts into a Rebellion. With whom the Bride's Father readily join'd, together with *Waltheof*, lately made Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſeveral other Barons, Abbots and Biſhops. But Earl *Waltheof* repented the next Morning, alledging that he was deluded and overcome with Wine, and immediately went to *Lanfranc* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, confeſs'd the whole Deſign, and receiv'd Abſolution from him; by whoſe Advice he alſo went into *Normandy*,

A. D. 1074. Reg. 8/9.

A dangerous Conſpiracy.

diſcover'd all to the King, and threw himſelf upon his Mercy. But the reſt returning to their ſeveral Caſtles, began the Rebellion with all their united Forces, and confederating with the *Welſhmen*, they burnt and plunder'd many of the King's Towns: But the Governors of his Caſtles, together with the People of thoſe Countries, ſoon fruſtrated their Deſigns; for *Wulſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with a great Number of Men, and *Egelwin*, Abbot of *Eveſham*, with his Tenants, being ſent for to his Aſſiſtance with *Urſe*, Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, and *Walter de Lacy* and his Men, all marching together prevented the Earl of *Hereford* from paſſing the *Severn*, and joining with Earl *Ralph* at the appointed Place. At the ſame Time *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *Godfrey* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, being incamp'd near *Cambridge*, hinder'd Earl *Ralph* from marching any further; who ſeeing his Deſigns thus diſappointed, retired to *Norwich*, where committing the Caſtle and the Garriſon to the Cuſtody of his Wife, he took Ship, and ſail'd over into *Bretaign*, and from thence into *Denmark*. But his Oppoſers took as many of his Followers as they could find, and either kill'd or diſabled them; and the King's Lieutenants laid cloſe Siege to the Caſtle of *Norwich*, which at length ſurrender'd, and the Counteſs, with thoſe of her Party, by the King's Permiſſion left *England*, and went over to her Husband in *Denmark*. Not long after, Earl *Ralph* with *Canute*, Son to *Swane* King of *Denmark*, and a certain Earl call'd *Hacun*, return'd to *England* with two hundred Sail of Ships; but finding no great Proſpect of Succeſs, they withdrew into *Flanders*.

Which is quell'd

King *William* now return'd from *Normandy*, and ſome Relicks of the Rebellion remaining in the Weſt, he haſten'd thither, where he ſoon put an End to all Tumults, and us'd the Conſpirators with great Severity, cut off the Hands of ſome, put out the Eyes of others, hang'd ſome upon Gibbits, and thoſe who eſcap'd beſt, ſuffer'd Baniſhment. Nor could Earl *Waltheof* himſelf eſcape Puniſhment, notwithſtanding he had reveal'd the Conſpiracy; for after the King had tax'd him with Ingratitude, he caus'd him to be beheaded at *Wincheſter*, tho', as it is ſaid, he had before promis'd him his Pardon, his great Poſſeſſions being his greateſt Enemies; for he was Earl of *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Huntington*, which Dignities were by the King thought more fit for his *Norman* Subjects; and the Deſire of a new Marriage excited his Wife *Judith* not a little to promote his Death. His Body being bury'd at the Abby of *Croyland*, his Tomb ſoon became ſo famous for pretended Miracles, and the King thereby ſo far diſoblig'd, that he depriv'd the Abbot of the Place, and put in *Ingulphus*, one of our moſt conſiderable Hiſtorians. By reaſon of this Conſpiracy *Malmesbury* excuſes the King's future Severity to the *Engliſh*, and ſays he ſcarce found any of them faithful, which ſo exaſperated his Temper towards them, that he depriv'd the more Powerful of them firſt of their Mony, then of their Lands, and afterwards many of them of their Lives. So that from about this Time we may date that remarkable *Epocha*, which the ſame Author mentions in another Place, and which had continu'd to his own Time, namely, That *England* was then become the Habitation of Strangers: So that it is certain when he wrot, that tho' many *Engliſh* Men enjoy'd Eſtates, yet there was no Native original *Engliſh* Man, who was Earl, Biſhop, or Abbot; but, adds he, Foreigners devour the Riches of *England*, and eat out its very Bowels.

Malmsb. Ingulph. &c.

The King's Severity.

A. D. 1075. Reg. 9/10.

Waltheof beheaded.

The Engliſh *oppreſs'd.*

The King having with his uſual Succeſs ſuppreſs'd all Diſturbances, and committed the Earldom of *Northumberland* to the Care of *Walcher* Biſhop of *Durham*, went a third Time into *Normandy*, enter'd *Bretaign* with an Army, and there beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Dole*, which belong'd to the rebellious Earl *Ralph*; but the Garriſon ſo long defended it, that *Philip* King of *France* found Time to relieve it, and raiſe the Siege; ſo that the King was oblig'd to return into *England*, and to paſs this and the next Year in Peace. During which Time, according to *Brompton*, a great Synod was held in St. *Paul*'s Church

Hunting. Hoveden. &c.

The King goes into France.

in

in *London*, under Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, the uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Synods being 'till then almoſt obſolete in *England*. In this the Precedency of Biſhops in Synods and Councils was determin'd, and the chief Thing ordain'd was, That ſeveral of the Biſhops Sees ſhould be remov'd from ſmaller Towns to Cities: By Virtue of which, the See of *Selſey* was tranſlated to *Chicheſter*; that of *Wells* to *Bath*; that of *Shirbune* to *Salisbury*; that of *Dorcheſter* to *Lincoln*; and that of *Litchfield* to *Cheſter*, which was afterwards remov'd firſt to *Coventry*, and then to *Litchfield* again. About the ſame Time alſo the See of *Elmham* was remov'd to *Thetford*, and not long after to *Norwich*.

A. D. 1076. Reg. 10/11.

The Removal of ſeveral Biſhops Sees.

Florent. Hoveden. After King *William* had, as he imagin'd, finiſh'd all Wars and Conteſts both at home and abroad, a leſs ſuſpected and more unnatural War broke out in *Normandy*, which with ſome Intermiſſions laſted two or three Years. This was occaſion'd by his eldeſt Son *Robert* whom he had left in *Normandy*, a Gentleman of an aſpiring and prodigal Temper, who being openly aſſiſted by *Philip* King of *France*, and privately incourag'd by his own Mother *Matilda*, boldly laid Claim to the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, alledging his Father's Promiſe made to him when he firſt gain'd *England*. Accordingly being aſſiſted by the *French* King, he vigorouſly invaded the Country, burnt ſeveral Towns, and made great Devaſtations. The King, tho' at firſt diſcompos'd at the News of his Son's Inſolence, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what would ſoon wither or be cut off by his Preſence, gather'd immediately what Forces he could raiſe, and with an Army of his *Engliſh* Subjects ſail'd over now to invade *Normandy*, as he had done formerly to invade *England* with the *Normans*. In the firſt Year, after no very great Struggles on either Side, a Truce and a Peace was made; but in a ſhort Time Duke *Robert*, reſtleſs in his Ambition, broke through all Obligations, enter'd into new Acts of Hoſtility, and at length preſs'd very hard upon his Father near the Caſtle of *Gerboret*. At which Place they came to a general Battel, which was very obſtinate on both Sides, in which Duke *Robert* furiouſly encounter'd his Father unknown to him, and not only wounded him in the Arm with his Lance, but diſmounted him. King *William* thus fallen, immediately call'd for a Horſe, ſtorming to ſee his Blood ſplit in his own Land, which had never been drawn by the Weapons of Foreigners, and in a great Rage threaten'd Revenge. *Robert* knowing his Father's Voice haſtily alighted, and in his Arms took him from the Ground, humbly deſiring his Pardon for this unknown Fact, and Forgiveneſs of his raſh Attempt; then mounting him upon his own Horſe, he brought him in Safety out of the Throng, who now ſeeing himſelf too weak to withſtand the Enemy, left the Honour of the Field to *Robert*, with the Loſs of great Numbers of his Men, and the Wounding of his Son *William Rufus*. This uncommon Accident in a ſhort Time after brought both Parties to an Accommodation; and Peace being made, *Robert* return'd into *England* with his Father, but could never wholly regain his Favour. This was the only conſiderable Defeat the King receiv'd in his whole Life; in all the reſt of which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that even Foreign Nations dreaded his very Name.

A. D. 1077. Reg. 11/12.

The King's Son Robert *rebels in* Normandy.

The King worſted.

A Peace made.

During the Time of theſe Wars, the better to ſecure the City of *London*, the King laid the Foundation of a ſtrong Caſtle or Citadel, ſurrounded with a large deep Ditch, lying on the Eaſt Side of the City, now call'd the *Tower of London*; the chief Surveyor of which Work was *Gundulph*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Therefore thoſe who would have it founded by *Julius Cæſar* are much miſtaken, unleſs they can prove that the King only built it upon ſome old Foundation laid by him; which yet is not probable, ſince no Author relates that ever *Julius Cæſar* came to *London*. About a Year after, Duke *Robert* marching into the North againſt King *Malcolm*, founded another remarkable Caſtle upon the River *Tine*, at a Ford or Paſſage where before ſtood a ſmall Village call'd *Monkceſter*, from certain Monks who liv'd there in great Auſterity and Retirement: But after the Building of this Fortreſs, it was from thence call'd *New-Caſtle upon Tine*, which Name it ſtill retains.

A. D. 1078. Reg. 12/13.

The Tower of London *built.*

Sim. Dun.

New-Caſtle *built.*

A. D. 1080. Reg. 14/15.

V. King *William* had now ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd his Affairs both at home and abroad, that for the laſt ſeven Years of his Reign he met with no very conſiderable Diſturbances; ſo that he had leiſure to apply himſelf to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of the State, in which he was no leſs skilful and vigorous than in thoſe of War. In ſome Things he proceeded laudably and honourably, in others ſeverely and arbitrarily, and in all Things conſiderately and politickly. One of his great Deſigns was to make a general and compleat Survey of the whole Nation, which he began this Year, and did not finiſh it 'till ſix Years after. This great Work was manag'd and carry'd on by particular Commiſſioners, who were ſome of the greateſt Earls and Biſhops of the Nation; who by the Verdict or Preſentment of Juries, or certain Perſons ſworn in every County, Hundred or Wapentach, enquired and noted down what Arable Land, Paſture, Meadow and Wood every Man had, and what was the Extent and Value of them in the Time of King *Edward* the Confeſſor. And alſo at the ſame Time, the Survey was made by Counties, Hundreds, Towns or Mannors, Hides, half Hides, Virgates and Acres of Arable Land, Meadow, Paſture and Wood. Alſo they noted what Mills and Fiſhings, and in ſome Counties, what and how many Free-Men, Sock-Men, Villains, Borders, Servants, young Cattle, Sheep, Swine, working Horſes, Hives of Bees, *&c.* belong'd to every Town and Mannor, and whoſe they were; always in every County putting down the King's Name firſt, and after him all the great Men in Order, that held of him in Chief, with Numbers plac'd before them, for the eaſier finding them in the Book, as may be ſeen in the Catalogue of Tenants in Chief, or the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Lands at the Time of the Survey. All *England*, with Part of *Wales*, was deſcrib'd, except the three Counties of *Weſtmorland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*; and the Deſcription or Survey written was in two Books, now call'd the great and little *Domeſday*-Book, remaining in the Cuſtody of the Vice-Chamberlains of the Exchequer. The little Book contains only the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*. The Reaſon given for the Name of *Domeſday* is, That it was no more lawful to depart, or appeal from what was in it, than from the Day of *Dome*, or laſt Judgment. And being the higheſt Record in the Kingdom, it was then, and ſtill continues to be a deciſive Evidence in any Trial where there is Occaſion to refer to it.

A general Survey made of the Nation.

Domeſday-Book.

Brady.

This great Survey did not only increaſe, but alſo much more aſcertain the Revenues of the Crown, which then conſiſted of ſeveral Branches: As firſt the Crown Lands, which conſiſted of one thouſand four hundred and twenty two Mannors or Lordſhips in ſeveral Counties, beſides ſeveral Farms and Lands in *Middleſex*, *Shropſhire* and *Rutlandſhire*. Theſe with the Eſcheats forfeited to the King for Felony or Treaſon, or reverted to the Crown for want of Heirs, together with the Rents reſerv'd of the Baronies and Lands he gave to his Followers, rais'd a vaſt Revenue in Mony. Another Branch was a Land-Tax call'd *Hidage*, which this King found here before his Arrival in the Time of *Edward* the Confeſſor, as appears every where in *Domeſday*-Book. A third Branch was Tolls and Cuſtoms for many Caſes, Wardſhips, Knights Fees, Forfeitures, Fines and pecuniary Puniſhments for Murder, Manſlaughter, Batteries, Fightings, Treſpaſſes, Miſdemeanor, *&c.* which were all redeem'd and ſatisfy'd by Penalties and Fines, as well now as in the *Saxons* Times. Not to proceed to every Particular, in ſhort this King's Revenue in general was ſo very great, that *Vitales* aſſures us that it was computed at above one thouſand and ſixty Pound of Sterling Mony every Day of the Year, beſides his Gifts, Preſents and pecuniary Puniſhments; which was an immenſe Sum in thoſe Days, amounting to near four hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and which now by a moderate Computation may be valu'd at five Millions of our Mony. Beſides this vaſt Revenue, he had a mighty ſtanding Army, eſpecially of Horſe, with which he made good his Acquiſitions without any Expence or Charge out of his Exchequer: For the ſame

The King's Revenues,

Ibid.

and Forces.

ſame Author affirms, that he ſo diſtributed the Lands of *England* to his Followers and Soldiers, that he had ſixty thouſand Knights or Horſemen conſtantly at his Command, to be imploy'd in any Expedition where Occaſion requir'd.

Vitales, &c. As this King was careful as to his Revenues and Power, ſo was he no leſs diligent as to Laws and Government; and upon pretence of Juſtice and Piety, or elſe of Neceſſity and Safety, he aboliſh'd ſeveral ancient *Saxon* Inſtitutions, and made ſeveral new, beſides great Changes in others. He alſo caus'd the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward* the Confeſſor publiſh'd in *Latin*, now to be tranſlated into *Norman*. He order'd all Pleas in the ſeveral Courts to be made in the ſame Language, as likewiſe all Petitions preſented to the King, and all Orders of Court and Council. This introduc'd new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Proceſs, new Names of Offices and of Courts; and with them all the Cuſtoms and Subtelties of the *Norman* Pleas and Conveyances, inſtead of the old *Saxon* Simplicity. Among the *Saxons* it was uſual to grant Lands and Houſes by bare Words, and with the Delivery of ſome trivial Gift, as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, or a Helmet; yet the Honeſty of thoſe Times left them little ſubject to any Diſputes or Contentions. But this Prince reduc'd all Grants to Writing, to Signature, and to Witneſſes, which in Time introduc'd more Cavils and Actions, than former Methods. He appointed Juſtices to preſerve the Peace, and to adminiſter Juſtice in every County, purſuant to what was us'd in the former Reigns. For the Pleas of the Crown, and thoſe of greater Moment between Subjects, he created learned and noble Judges, and ordain'd four Terms each Year, conſiſting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Juſtice ſhould be duly adminiſter'd, and all Suits heard in ſuch Places as the King ſhould appoint, and find moſt convenient. Beſides theſe Orders he inſtituted the Courts of Chancery and the Exchequer; the firſt for tempering the Rigor of Laws, according to the Dictates of Conſcience and Equity; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and puniſhing unjuſt Officers who levy'd or receiv'd them, as well as backward Paymaſters. By theſe Changes he alſo abrogated the Judiciary Power exercis'd by the Biſhops in each County where Juſtice was adminiſter'd; where the Biſhop with the Alderman, or Earl of each Shire, ſat as Judge in thoſe Courts, which had not only increas'd their Authority but alſo their Revenue, by a Share they had in the King's Fines they levy'd. *His Laws and Inſtitutions.*

But whatever Innovations and Changes were made in all other Things, the Government of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom ſeems to have been continu'd as before; and particularly he retain'd the Uſe of that famous Law, not yet wholly diſus'd, call'd *the Borough Law*, by which every free Man of the Commons of *England* ſtood as Surety for each others good Behaviour, every Borough or Tything being oblig'd to produce their Criminals to Juſtice; by which means Innocence became every Man's Intereſt, as well as Duty, ſince they were otherwiſe to ſhare in the Penalty. In the Beginning of his Reign the Kingdom had been much infeſted with Outlaws and Robbers, and many *Normans* were ſecretly murder'd by the *Engliſh*, as they paſs'd alone upon the High-Ways or the Fields, eſpecially in the Night. To remedy which Miſchief, he impos'd a heavy Fine upon the Hundred where the Body of any *Norman* ſhould be ſlain, whether the Authors of the Fact were diſcover'd or not. All Adulteries by his Laws were made equal with Manſlaughters and Murders; and for all Rapes and Robberies, he caus'd them to be puniſh'd ſo ſeverely by cruel Mutilations of Members, and Hardſhips of Labour, as left them miſerable Spectacles, or Warnings of their Crimes, during the reſt of their Lives. By the Rigor of theſe Courſes, and ſuppreſſing of Idleneſs and Luxury, the chief Cauſes of ſuch Offences, he in Time reduc'd the whole Realm to ſuch Security, that it is recorded that in his Time a fair Virgin with a Purſe of Gold in her Hand, might have travell'd through the Nation, without any Danger to her Honour, or her Mony. *His Regulations.*

Not-

Notwithſtanding many excellent Laws and Regulations, which greatly diſplay'd the Wiſdom and Abilities of this Prince, ſeveral of his Actions were miſinterpreted and diſlik'd, and others were too apparently blameable to admit of any Vindication, as ſavouring too much of the Tyrant and Oppreſſor. Particularly after an arbitrary manner he diſpeopled the South-Weſtern Parts of *Hampſhire*, deſtroy'd all the Towns and Villages, with thirty ſix Mother Churches, turn'd out the poor Inhabitants, for above thirty Miles together, and made a Foreſt for wild Beaſts, which the *Engliſh* then call'd *Ytene*, and at this Time *The new Foreſt:* Of which *W. Mapes*, who liv'd in the next Age, ſeverely obſerves, That the Conqueror took away great Quantities of Land from God and Men, and converted it to the Uſe of wild Beaſts, and the Sport of his Dogs. This he did either to make a more eaſie Acceſs for his *Normans* into *England*, in caſe of Inſurrections; or to indulge himſelf in his Hunting, or elſe to raiſe Mony by Methods, tho' never ſo unjuſt. For he, more merciful to Beaſts than to Mankind, appointed moſt grievous pecuniary Fines, and other more ſevere Penalties, to be inflicted on thoſe who ſhould preſume to treſpaſs upon his Game and Retirement. But the Divine Vengeance ſeem'd to have purſu'd him not long after in the untimely Deaths of ſeveral of his Poſterity: For his ſecond Son *Richard*, was in this Foreſt goared by a Deer, or poiſon'd by a peſtilential Blaſt; his third Son *William* was afterwards caſually ſlain by an Arrow in the ſame Place; and his Grandſon *Henry*, by his Son *Robert*, while he hotly purſu'd his Chace, was caught up by a Bough, like *Abſolon*, and left hanging 'till he dy'd. Beſides ſeveral Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, this King in a particular Manner diſoblig'd the *Engliſh* by his apparent Partiality to his Countrymen the *Normans:* For he did not only give them the greateſt Preferments, introduce their Cuſtoms, and publiſh his Laws in their Language, but alſo endeavour to make their Language to be general in the Nation. To which End, he caus'd many Schools to be erected for teaching that Tongue, which was a Baſtard *French*, not well underſtood by the *French* themſelves, and ſcarce at all by the *Engliſh*. But his Endeavours were in a great Meaſure fruſtrated by the Over-Ballance of the Numbers of the Nation, in Proportion to the Strangers, and by a general Averſion in the *Engliſh* to change their Language, which they thought would occaſion the final Overthrow of their Liberties. So that in this very Reign, inſtead of the *Engliſh* ſpeaking of the *Norman*, the *Normans* by means of Intermarriages, ordinary Commerce and Converſation, began generally to uſe the *Engliſh* Tongue, which has ever ſince compos'd the main Body of our Language, tho' chang'd like others by Mixture of many new Words and Phraſes, not only introduc'd by this great Revolution, but by the Uſes and Accidents of each ſucceeding Age.

He makes the New Foreſt *in* Hampſhire.

His Partiality to the Normans.

In the midſt of his Partiality to the *Normans*, this Prince ſhew'd ſo much Juſtice, that he would ſpare none who were guilty of great and known Crimes. Nor would he paſs by his Brother *Odo*, whom he had made Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, and on whom he heap'd ſuch great Honours and Favours. This Prelate, aſpiring to the Papal Chair, had purchas'd a magnificent Palace at *Rome*, whither he was going with a noble Retinue, and a vaſt Treaſure, when the King came ſuddenly upon him in the Iſle of *Wight*, where he was ready to ſet Sail, and ſeiz'd him with his own Hand, when he could not perſuade thoſe about him to do it, ſince he alledg'd *he was a Clergy-Man, and not to be ſentenc'd without the Judgment of the Pope*; but the King reply'd, *he ſeiz'd on him not as a Clergy-Man, but as Earl of* Kent; whereupon all his mighty Riches were taken from him, and his Eſtate confiſcated: The Crimes the King laid to his Charge were the grievous Oppreſſions of the People during his Government, and the Seduction of his Subjects to forſake the Realm without his Leave; for he had ingag'd *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, with many Knights and other Perſons of Quality, to attend him in his Journey to *Rome*. This happen'd in the Year 1082, after which, for four or five Years, 'till the laſt of this

Vitalis &c.

He ſeizes upon his Brother Odo.

this Reign, we find but little of Moment; only in the Year 1084 the King laid a heavy Tax of no leſs than ſix Shillings upon every Hide of Land throughout *England*; being threaten'd with an Invaſion from the *Danes*, againſt whom in the next Year he rais'd a vaſt Army, but found no great Service for his Soldiers. In the ſame Year his Queen *Matilda* dy'd in *Normandy*, to her Husband's great Affliction. In the next, *Edgar Etheling* having obtain'd the King's leave, went into *Italy* with two hundred Knights, from whence he paſs'd into the Holy Land with *Robert* the Son of *Godwin* to fight againſt the *Saracens*; but his Siſter *Chriſtina* had ſome time before vow'd her ſelf a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*.

Matilda *dies.*

Malmſb. The laſt Year of this Reign, which was 1087, prov'd very calamitous to *England* by reaſon of the malignant Feavers and Famines that deſtroy'd vaſt Numbers; alſo ſudden Fires conſum'd ſeveral of the principal Cities in the Nation; and St. *Paul*'s Church, with the greater and better Part of the City of *London*, were burnt to the Ground. In which Year King *William* having ſetled his Affairs in *England*, and taken new Oaths of Fidelity from the Nobility, paſs'd over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army, to revenge himſelf upon the King of *France* for former Injuries; but not long after a Truce was made between them for a conſiderable Time. This was well obſerv'd on King *William*'s Part, 'till the King of *France* indiſcreetly took an Occaſion to jeſt upon his great Corpulency, for which he was then in a Courſe of Phyſick, declaring, *That his Brother of* England *was gone only to lay his great Belly at* Roven, *and he doubted he muſt be at the Charge to ſet up Lights at his Up-riſing*. This Scoff from a young King ſo rous'd and exaſperated the old Warrior, that he ſwore a deſperate Oath, *That as ſoon as he was Church'd, he would ſave him the Charge of ſetting up of Lights, and come himſelf, and light a thouſand Fires in the Bowels of* France. Accordingly in *Auguſt* following, the King to make good his Oath, enter'd *France* with a mighty Army, deſtroy'd all the Corn and Fruits, committed great Ravages, and burnt many Towns and Villages; after which he beſieg'd the City of *Mante*, took it ſoon after, and burnt it, commanding the Fire to be continu'd 'till all the Buildings and Churches were burnt to the Ground. But the King being too eager in his Revenge, his Body was ſoon inflam'd by the Warmth of the Seaſon, as well as the Heat of the Fires; and then in his Retreat, upon leaping over a Ditch on Horſe-back, he ſo bruis'd the Rimm of his Belly againſt the Pummel of the Saddel, that he was ſoon thrown into a dangerous Diſtemper that ended his Days.

The King goes into France.

He is provok'd by the King.

He receives a Hurt.

Eadmer. Vitales. The King finding his Death approaching, began to be apprehenſive of his future Happineſs, and to think upon Acts of Mercy and Charity, and order'd great Sums to pious Uſes, particularly for the re-edifying thoſe Churches he had burnt in *Mante*. He likewiſe gave Order for the ſetting at Liberty the Earls *Morchar*, *Roger* and *Syward*, as alſo *Wulnoth*, Brother to King *Harold*, whom he had kept Priſoner from his Childhood, together with all others who were in Cuſtody, either in *England* or *Normandy*; not excepting his Brother *Odo*, who not without much Interceſſion was releas'd. *Vitales* tells us that a little before his Death, he made a ſolemn Speech to his Sons and Friends about him, 'wherein he recounted many charitable Deeds and munificent Gifts of 'his own, but withall he acknowledg'd with infinite Sorrow, that he had been 'brought up in Wars, and polluted with Blood, and that he had been guilty 'of many Cruelties and Oppreſſions in relation to the *Engliſh*. Here he be-'queath'd to his three Sons his whole Eſtate; to his eldeſt Son *Robert* the 'Dukedom of *Normandy*; but for the Kingdom of *England*, having obtain'd 'it by ſo many Crimes, he durſt leave it to none but God; tho' his Deſire was, 'that *William*, his moſt obedient Son, might enjoy it after his Deceaſe. But 'to *Henry*, his third Son then living, he left five thouſand Marks in Mony, 'without any Territories. His Son *Henry* complaining of this, and asking, *What*

His laſt Speech.

What he ſhould do with the Mony, unleſs he had ſome Place to ſecure it; he in a prophetical Manner is ſaid to make Anſwer, *That in Time he ſhould enjoy all the Honour that he himſelf had, and that he ſhould exceed both his Brothers in Glory and Riches.* Then to prevent any Diſturbances in *England*, he wrot a Letter to Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc* in favour of his Son *William*, who having receiv'd it with his Father's laſt Benediction, immediately haſten'd towards his new Kingdom. The King having ſetled his Affairs concerning this Life, the better to prepare for the next, caus'd himſelf to be remov'd to the Village of *Hermuntrade*, near *Roven*, to avoid the Noiſe of that City, where

His Death. ſhortly after, with all the Marks of Devotion, he departed this Life, upon *Thurſday* the ninth Day of *September*, *A. D.* 1087, in the ſixty firſt Year of his Age, and the fifty ſecond of his Dukedom, after a tumultuous and glorious Reign of twenty Years, ten Months, and twenty ſix Days, reckoning from the Battel of *Haſtings*. His Body was ungratefully abandon'd by all his Servants, and with the utmoſt Privacy convey'd to his own Church at *Caen*, where the very Soil was challeng'd by a Country Gentleman, and a Sum of Mony laid down, before it was permitted to be bury'd; ſo that he who was Lord of ſo many Territories, now wanted Ground enough for a ſingle Grave.

This was the End of this great Monarch *William* the Firſt, commonly call'd the *Conqueror*, who tho' he had that Name given him in all Ages, yet he obtain'd and enjoy'd the Crown of *England* by ſuch a Concurrency of various Circumſtances, that it may in a great meaſure be ſaid of him as was ſaid of *Auguſtus*, that he came to the Empire neither by Conqueſt, nor Uſurpation, nor Inheritance, nor Election, but by a ſtrange Mixture of all theſe together. To determine the Matter nicely is very difficult, and not ſo material as ſome would have it; but which way ſoever we admit of his Acceſſion to the Throne, we find, that being once poſſeſs'd of it, he acted as all wiſe Princes ever have done, that is labour'd by all Methods to continue himſelf in it. In which he illuſtriouſly diſplay'd both his Wiſdom and his Valour; having to encounter not only the Troubles rais'd by a diſcontented Kingdom and a rebellious Dukedom, but alſo the whole Power of *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland* and *Wales*; all which he bravely ſurmounted with an uninterrupted Courſe of Proſperity; ſo that ſcarce

His Character. any Prince ever made a greater Figure in Hiſtory. As to his bodily Perfections, *Malmſ. &c.* he was well proportion'd of a vigorous and healthful Conſtitution, of a noble Preſence, ſitting or ſtanding; of a maſculine Beauty, in which there was a Mixture of Majeſty and Severity; and had ſo great a Strength, that few of his Court could draw his Bow. As to thoſe of his Mind, he was both wiſe and active, penetrating in his Deſigns, daring in his Enterprizes, and ſteady in the Proſecution of them. All agree that he was chaſte and temperate, pious, valiant and great in all his Actions, eſpecially in ſuch as expreſt his Royal State and Dignity. His Paſtimes were chiefly Hunting and Feaſting, in the latter of which he always diſplay'd his Grandeur, annually keeping the Feaſts of *Chriſtmaſs* at *Gloceſter*, that of *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, and that of *Whitſuntide* at *Weſtminſter*; to which Places he ſummon'd all the great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, that Foreign Ambaſſadors might be Witneſſes of his extraordinary Magnificence; at which Times he was more eaſie of Acceſs, and ſhew'd great Inſtances of Bounty and Indulgence to all Men. Yet among his many Virtues, he is much accus'd of being of a covetous, rapacious and cruel Diſpoſition, which produc'd innumerable Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; which others think were rather the Effects of his Policy, the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Inconſtancy and frequent Rebellions of thoſe Subjects who had ſworn Allegiance to him. But in the Proſecuting of ſuch he oftentimes ſhew'd uncommon Generoſity, pardoning the ſame Offenders two or three Times over; Earl *Waltheof* being the only Nobleman that was put to Death in his Reign. He was of ſo brave and fearleſs a Temper, that contrary to the Policy of other Kings, he promoted his only Rival *Edgar Etheling*, after he had been twice

twice in Arms againſt him, and gave him a Revenue ſuitable to his Quality. The reſt of the *Engliſh* no doubt might have been happy under the Government of this Prince, who was really a Promoter of Piety, Learning, and all that was Great; but being degenerated in their Morality and Virtue, divided in their Intereſts, and impolitick in ſtrugling for that Liberty they had actually given up, great Numbers of them brought themſelves under the moſt extream Miſeries and Oppreſſions. But *England* in general gain'd great Honour and Advantages by this Conqueſt, as will appear more plainly in the ſucceeding Hiſtory.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King WILLIAM *the Second.*

Containing 12 *Years,* 10 *Months, and* 22 *Days.*

Sax. An. Vitales. Eadmer. &c.

I. KING *William* left three Sons behind him, *Robert*, *William* and *Henry*, of whom the two youngeſt obtain'd and poſſeſs'd the Crown of *England*. Before his Breath was departed, young *William* knowing his Father's Intentions, poſted for *England* with *Bloet* the Houſhold Chaplain, together with Earl *Morchar* and *Wulnoth*, who for a while he kept as Priſoners, 'till he had ſeiz'd all his Father's Treaſure at *Wincheſter*, which amounted to ſixty thouſand Pounds in Mony, beſides Gold, Jewels and Plate, an immenſe Sum in thoſe Days. In obtaining of which he is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted by his Father's Steward *Eudo*, who before his Arrival had ſecur'd not only *Wincheſter*, but alſo *Dover*, *Pevenſey*, *Haſtings*, and other Caſtles on the Coaſts. After which, ſtill fearing his elder Brother's Intereſt, he apply'd himſelf with his Letters to Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, by whom he had been both educated and knighted; and to remove all Obſtructions, he ſolemnly ſwore, '*To preſerve Juſtice, Equity and Mercy throughout his Kingdom, and alſo to defend the Peace and Liberty of the Church, and in all 'Things to obſerve the Arch-Biſhop's Directions.* Upon which, and other Proniſes made to the Nobility, he ſoon procur'd ſo great an Intereſt, that upon *Sunday* the twenty ſeventh Day of *September*, he was crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, by the two Arch-Biſhops of the Nation, in the Preſence of moſt of the other Biſhops, and many of the Nobility.

A. D. 1087. Reg. 1.

William Rufus *comes over into* England.

He is crown'd King.

Vitales. Malmsb. Sax. An. &c.

This Prince, who from his ruddy Complexion, or red Hair obtain'd the common Name of *Rufus*, was now about thirty one Years of Age, and in the Vigour of his Youth; being bred up to the Sword, he was naturally warm, rough and haughty, more couragious than pious, and more gallant than good. Yet in the former Part of his Reign, being in a great Meaſure govern'd by the wiſe Councils of *Lanfranc*, he acted in many Things worthily and honourably; and was very careful in the Diſtribution of his Father's Treaſure to thoſe pious Uſes mention'd in his Will. But his Natural Temper, and his Want of Primogeniture, ſoon rais'd a great Faction in the Nation againſt him, who favouring the Pretenſions, and liking the Perſon of his elder Brother *Robert*, occaſion'd great Troubles and Diſturbances. The chief of this Party was his Uncle *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, who tho' he had been lately reſtor'd to all his Honours and Dignities, yet envying the Power and Intereſt of Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he made no better uſe of them, than to endeavour to ruin both him and his Soveraign. And drawing into this Conſpiracy his Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Hereford*, with many others of the *Engliſh* Nobility, he wrote Letters to his Nephew in *Normandy*, urging him to haſten into *England*, and recover his Right,

A Faction raiſed againſt him.

A. D. 1088. Reg. 2.

which he did not doubt but by his Means would be effectual. The Buſineſs thus forwarded, and the *Engliſh* daily reſorting into *Normandy*, aſſur'd Duke *Robert* of a happy Succeſs; but having before liv'd above his Fortunes, his greateſt Obſtruction was Want of Mony. Therefore applying himſelf to his youngeſt Brother *Henry*, who had much Gold and no Land, he furniſh'd himſelf by Mortgaging to him the County of *Conſtantine*, a Province in *Normandy*; and then ſent to *Odo*, that he ſhould expect his Landing in the Weſt of *England* by a Day prefix'd. Upon this the Biſhop aſſum'd more Courage, and ſhew'd himſelf firſt in the Action; and fortifying *Rocheſter*, began to diſturb the County of *Kent*, urging his Accomplices to follow his Example, which was accordingly perform'd: For in the Weſt *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, aſſiſted by *Geffrey* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, ſeiz'd upon *Bath* and *Berkley*, with a great Part of *Wiltſhire*, and ſtrongly fortify'd the Caſtle of *Briſtow* againſt King *William:* In *Norfolk*, *Roger Bigot*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, *Hugh Grentemeiſnil* did extreamly waſte thoſe Counties: *Roger Montgomery*, with his *Welſh* Men, aſſiſted by *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Barnard* of *Newmerch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer*, all *Normans*, with Fire and Sword paſs'd the Country of *Worceſter*. And theſe Inſurrections were ſo dangerous, and Duke *Robert* ſo favour'd, that in the Judgment of *Gemeticenſes*, had he haſten'd his Arrival, and purſu'd the Opportunity, he might with no great Difficulty have obtain'd the Crown of *England*.

His Brother Robert *the chief.*

Great Diſturbances.

King *William* obſerving the Poſture of his Affairs, vigorouſly proceeded to the ſuppreſſing theſe Inſurrections; and to that end he aſſembled many Biſhops, Earls, and natural *Engliſh*, with *Lanfranc* at the Head of them; and declaring his Intentions, with the Addition of many ſpecious Promiſes, they all aſſur'd him of their Aſſiſtance. Then ordering his Fleet to guard the Seas againſt his Brother *Robert*'s intended Deſcent, he march'd in Perſon againſt his Uncle *Odo*, and in *May* beſieg'd him in *Rocheſter*, together with *Euſtathius* Earl of *Bulloign*, *Robert de Beleſme*, and many other Noblemen, and Perſons of inferior Rank, who in vain expected the Aſſiſtance of Duke *Robert*, who was detain'd only by Eaſe and Sloath from his promis'd Expedition. Theſe were at length forc'd out of the Town into the Caſtle, where many periſh'd by a raging Sickneſs, and being preſs'd with many other Neceſſities, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, *That upon Condition they might enjoy their Lands and Eſtates, they would deliver up the Caſtle, and for the future ſerve him faithfully as their natural Lord.* But the King, provok'd by their Behaviour and theſe Propoſals, ſolemnly ſwore, *That he would take the perfidious Rebels by Force, and deſtroy them with all Kinds of Deaths;* and when his Nobility, who had many Friends and Relations in the Caſtle, perſuaded him to Moderation, he return'd them this remarkable Anſwer, *That whoſoever ſpar'd Perjur'd Men, Robbers, Plunderers and Traitors, depriv'd all good Men of their Peace and Quietneſs, and laid a Foundation of innumerable Miſchiefs to the Virtuous and Innocent.* But at length, overcome by the Interceſſion of his faithful Friends the Biſhops, with the *Engliſh* Noblemen, and other loyal ancient Barons, he granted the Beſieg'd their Lives, pardon'd the Loſs of their Limbs, and gave them leave to paſs out of the Caſtle with their Horſes and Arms, but without Hopes of ever enjoying their Lands and Eſtates during his Reign. Whereupon they were all forc'd to quit the Kingdom, as was alſo Biſhop *Odo*, who now irrecoverably loſt all his Honours, and vaſt Eſtate in *England*.

King William's *Proviſions.*

Vitalis. Sax. An. &c.

He beſieges the Rebels in Rocheſter.

He reduces them.

After this King *William* beſtow'd the Eſtates of theſe baniſh'd Noblemen upon others, who had ſerv'd him faithfully during this War; which tho' it was now happily and unexpectedly finiſh'd, it was chiefly the Effect of ſome politick Methods which the King took at the Beginning of theſe Commotions. For it was not by open Force that he quell'd this great Defection of the *Normans*, but by publiſhing, That he would eaſe all his Subjects, and eſpecially the Native *Engliſh* of their great Taxes, promiſing them better Laws, with the free Liberty of

Malmſb.

The Methods he us'd.

of Hunting in his Foreſt; as alſo by deluding ſome of the chief *Norman* Noblemen with large Promiſes, and ſpecious Pretences. Thus he inſinuated himſelf to *Roger Montgomery*, a Principal in the Inſurrection, to whom he promis'd, *That he would willingly quit the Government, if he and thoſe his Father had deſign'd his Curators ſhould think fit:* Yet adding, *He could not conceive why they ſhould be ſo violent againſt him: For if they expected Mony, or an Augmentation of their Lands, they ſhould not be diſappointed, provided they did not queſtion his Father's Will and Judgment, which by deſpiſing would hazard their own Safety; for the ſame Man who made him King, made them Earls and Noblemen.* With theſe and the like Inſinuations the Earl was brought off from the Confederacy, which was then immediately broken, and the Nation reduc'd to quiet; all Parties concern'd either ſubmitting or leaving the Kingdom.

Eadmer. Malmsb. But no ſooner was the King freed from his Fears, and well eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, but forgetting all Oaths and Promiſes, he took quite contrary Meaſures, and us'd many Extortions and Oppreſſions. And being mildly admoniſh'd of his Breach of Faith by Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he in a Paſſion reply'd, *Who can perform all that he has promis'd?* and would never after afford him a kind Look. Yet ſtill the Preſence of this worthy Man was ſome Awe and Reſtraint upon his Actions; but that was remov'd in a ſhort Time after: For upon the 24th Day of *May* the Arch-Biſhop dy'd, to the unexpreſſible Grief of all good Men, as being the moſt eminent Inſtance of Learning and Wiſdom, as well as Piety and Charity, that this Age had produc'd. After which the King more openly ſhew'd his rapacious Inclinations; always covetous, yet never frugal, and ſtill graſping and gathering, yet never filling his Coffers. And now diſcovering what before lay conceal'd, he immediately ſeiz'd the whole Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick into his own Exchequer, allowing only neceſſary Maintenance to the Monks, and kept that See vacant for almoſt four Years. He did the ſame by the See of *Lincoln*, and all other Churches and Abbies, as ſoon as they became void, which were never beſtow'd and fill'd up ſo long as he could ſqueeze any thing conſiderable out of them; and when he could get nothing more, as *Eadmer* tells us, he would then ſell an Abby ſo pillag'd to ſome Monk who would bid moſt for it. In ſhort he was the firſt King of *England* who ſhew'd his Succeſſors the dangerous Precedent of keeping the Biſhopricks and their Livings vacant, and receiving the Profits himſelf. Which Grievances were complain'd of to Pope *Urban*; but he being imploy'd in new and uncommon Deſigns, had not leiſure to endeavour a Redreſs of them.

A. D. 1089. Reg. 2/3.

The King degenerates.

Lanfranc *dies.*

Malmsb. Vitales. **II.** King *William* having ſufficiently ſecur'd his own Dominions at home, now caſt his Eyes upon thoſe of his Brother *Robert*, and ſuddenly made a Deſcent into *Normandy*, as *Scipio* did into *Africk*, reſolving to revenge all former Injuries. And firſt he ſurpriz'd the Caſtles of St. *Valery* and *Albermarle*, with others upon the Sea-Coaſt; then preſſing forwards committed great Devaſtations in the Country. *Robert*, finding himſelf unprovided, and knowing the inſtable Fidelity of his Subjects, apply'd himſelf to *Philip* the *French* King, imploring his Aſſiſtance againſt his hoſtile Brother. *Philip* joining with him, was ſoon ſtopp'd in his Progreſs by a large Sum of Mony from King *William*; and ſo he return'd into his Country, with more Riches, and leſs Honour than he had before. Upon which King *William* became more and more ſucceſsful, and not only the *Norman* Nobility began to favour him, but alſo the Citizens of *Roven* the Metropolis, being brib'd by his Gifts and Promiſes, treated with him to betray the City, together with their ſloathful Duke, into his Hands. One *Conon* a rich Citizen was the chief Conſpirator, and had bargain'd with King *William* to receive his Forces into the City; but the whole Deſign being diſcover'd to the Duke, he immediately join'd with his younger Brother *Henry*, who upon the Account of ill Uſage from him, was now ſetting up an independent Intereſt,

A. D. 1090. Reg. 3/4.

The King goes into Normandy *againſt his Brother.*

tereſt, and fortifying thoſe Towns that had been mortgag'd to him. *Henry* and his Followers threw themſelves into the City time enough to ſecure it; tho' with great Slaughter of the reſiſting Citizens; *Conon* the chief Traitor was taken, and for his Puniſhment by *Henry*'s Order was carry'd up into a high Tower, and from thence by his own Hands thrown out of a Window.

A. D. 1091. Reg. 4/5.

A Peace made between them.

Florent. Vitalis. Malmſb.

This Conjunction put a ſtop to King *William*'s Arms, but in the next Year he reſolv'd upon a ſecond Attempt, which being begun, was ſoon ended by a Reconciliation and a Peace between the two Brothers, upon theſe Conditions: 'That the Duke ſhould yield to the King the County of *Eu*, and the Towns of *Feſ-* 'camp and *Cherburgh*, with all thoſe Caſtles which had revolted from him; in 'Conſideration of which the King ſhould reduce the Country of *Maine* to the 'Duke's Obedience, with other Caſtles in *Normandy* then in Rebellion: That 'the King ſhould reſtore to the *Norman* Noblemen all thoſe Lands they had 'loſt for their Adherance to the Duke, and to the Duke himſelf ſo much Land 'in *England* as was then agreed between them. Laſtly, if the Duke ſhould 'die without lawful Iſſue, the King ſhould be his Heir, as he alſo the King's, 'upon the ſame Terms. For the Performance of theſe Articles twelve Barons on both Sides took their Oaths in the Behalf of their reſpective Princes; and King *William* in this Affair ſhew'd many Marks of Bounty and Magnificence towards the *Normans* and Strangers that reſorted to him. But by this Treaty Prince *Henry* was quite left out and deſerted, who finding thoſe Towns abandon him, which in Juſtice ought to have aſſerted his Cauſe, betook himſelf to St. *Michael*'s *Mount* as his laſt Retreat, from whence with his Soldiers he ravag'd the adjacent Country. To put a ſtop to him, his two Elder Brothers, now Confederates, join'd their Forces, and beſieg'd that ſtrong Fortreſs all the *Lent*, and loſt many Men with little Succeſs. During this remarkable Siege, the King riding alone ſome Diſtance from his Camp, ſaw ſeveral of the Enemy's Soldiers coming up to him; and truſting to his own Strength and Valour, boldly ingag'd them, but in the firſt Encounter his Horſe was ſlain under him, and himſelf thrown upon the Ground, with his Foot intangled in the Stirrup. Upon which Danger, and finding the Enemy ready to ſtrike, he cry'd out, *Hold, Knave, I am the King of* England! which ſo ſurpriz'd the Soldiers, that they immediately took him up with great Reſpect, and brought him another Horſe. The King ſpringing into the Saddle, briskly demanded *Who was the Man that diſmounted him?* and upon the Man's boldly ſhowing himſelf, he ſwore his uſual Oath, *That hereafter he ſhould be his Knight, and he ſhould receive the juſt Reward of his Valour.* In the mean Time Prince *Henry* was much diſtreſs'd for want of Water, and knowing Duke *Robert* to be of the milder Diſpoſition, ſent a Meſſenger to him deſiring *That he might not be deny'd Water, but that he would ſubdue him by Force of Arms, and not by Thirſt.* Upon which the Duke gave him liberty to ſupply himſelf; and being blam'd by his Brother *William* as impolitick, he reply'd, *What ſhall I ſuffer my Brother to die with Thirſt; where ſhall we have another when he is gone?* But the King deriding the Duke's eaſie Nature, quitted the Siege, and return'd into *England*. However the Fortreſs was at laſt ſurrender'd to the Duke, and *Henry* permitted to go where he thought fit, who for ſome Years wander'd from Place to Place with one Knight, a Chaplain, and three Servants or Eſquires. About the ſame Time *Robert* baniſh'd *Edgar Etheling* out of his Country, and the King depriv'd him of all the Lands that had been given him, who thereupon went into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm* his Brother-in-Law.

Henry *left to himſelf.*

He is beſieg'd.

The King in Danger.

His Generoſity.

Henry *reduc'd.*

Sax. An. Sim. Dun. Vitales.

Not long after, King *William* by Promiſes ſo far prevail'd with Duke *Robert*, that he brought him over into *England*, and had his Company in a new Expedition made againſt *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who taking Advantage of the King's Abſence had invaded *Northumberland*. King *William* prepar'd both a great Fleet and a numerous Army, tho' much to the Loſs of either; for his Fleet was much ſhatter'd by Tempeſts, and many Men and Horſes periſh'd by Cold

The King marches againſt the Scots.

Cold and Hunger in the barren Mountains. At length both Kings came to an Enterview, where by the means of *Edgar Etheling* a Peace was concluded upon theſe Conditions: 'Firſt, That *Malcolm* ſhould yield the King the ſame Obe- 'dience, as he had done to his Father King *William:* Secondly, That the King 'ſhould reſtore to *Malcolm* twelve Mannors, which he formerly held under his 'Father, and ſhould alſo pay him annually twelve Marks of Gold. In Conſideration of this good Office, the King was again reconcil'd to Prince *Edgar*; and thereupon both the Kings return'd home in Peace. But as theſe two Princes were made Friends, ſo much about the ſame Time the two Brothers again became Enemies: For Duke *Robert*, well perceiving the Subtlety of his Brother, and that he delay'd to perform the Covenants of the Treaty between them, went aboard his Veſſels two Days before *Chriſtmaſs*, and taking *Edgar Etheling* along with him, in great Diſpleaſure paſs'd over into *Normandy*.

A Peace concluded.

Chron. W. During the King's Abſence in the North there happen'd the total Conqueſt of all the Country of *Glamorgan* and *Morgannie* in *South-Wales*, upon this Occaſion. One *Eneon*, a popular Man, raiſing a Rebellion againſt *Rees* the Prince of *South-Wales*, drew over to his Side *Jeſtyn* Lord of *Glamorgan* and the neighbouring Parts, promiſing him to marry his Daughter. *Jeſtyn* finding their Faction too weak without foreign Aſſiſtance, ſent *Eneon* into *England*, where he had ſo much Intereſt as to procure Aid againſt Prince *Rees*; and conferring with *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, a valiant Knight of the King's Bed-Chamber, he ſo far wrought upon his Martial Temper, that for a fix'd Salary he undertook the Service; and with twelve Knights, and a competent Number of Soldiers march'd into *Wales*, where joining with *Jeſtyn*, he in Battel kill'd Prince *Rees*, with *Conon* his Son. *Robert* having perform'd his Service, and deſigning to return, demanded his Pay, according to Covenants, which *Jeſtyn* in ſome part deny'd, alledging that *Eneon* had exceeded the Bounds of his Commiſſion. Upon which ſuch Diſcord aroſe between theſe Friends, that it occaſion'd a total Breach, and *Eneon* thus touch'd in his Reputation, join'd with the *Engliſh* againſt his own Countrymen, and coming to a Battel, *Jeſtyn*, and moſt of his *Welſh* Followers were ſlain. *Robert* finding ſo great an Advantage, ſoon conquer'd and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the whole County of *Glamorgan* with its Appendages; of which he gave certain Caſtles and Mannors to the twelve Knights that aſſiſted him in this Expedition, as a Reward of their Service; ſome of whoſe Poſterity enjoy part of thoſe Lands to this Day. And this ſhews that the Ruin of the Princes of *Wales* proceeded more from their unnatural Diviſions, than from the Power of their Invaders.

A great Part of South-Wales *conquer'd.*

Vitalis. Florent. In the following Year Prince *Henry*, who in a manner had been abandoned, began to recover himſelf, and gather Strength in *Normandy*, where he had the ſtrong Sea-Port Town of *Damfront* privately deliver'd into his Hands; and this he made a Place of Refuge 'till ſuch Time as he was reconcil'd to his Brother *William*, and ſent for into *England*. About the ſame Time King *William* march'd with an Army into the North, where he re-edify'd the ancient City and Caſtle of *Carliſle*, which had been deſtroy'd by the *Danes*, and lain in Ruins above two hundred Years; and alſo granted large Privileges to the Place, which it enjoys to this Day. In the ſame Year *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, having in the laſt Reign remov'd his See to *Lincoln*, and there built a magnificent Church, that City with the Country about it was challeng'd by *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, as lying within his Dioceſe; which Claim the King privately incourag'd, 'till at length upon Payment of a large Sum of Mony to the King, *Remigius* obtain'd of him to declare in his Favour, and to oblige all the Biſhops in *England* to repair to the Conſecration of the New Church. Alſo the ſame Year, *John* Biſhop of *Wells*, for a Sum of Mony paid to the King, had his Licenſe to tranſlate the Biſhop's See from *Wells* to *Bath*, ever ſince which this Biſhoprick has been known by both theſe Titles.

A. D. 1092. Reg. 5/6.

The King rebuilds Carliſle.

In

A. D. 1093. Reg. 6/7.

In the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year, the King fell dangerouſly ſick in *Gloceſterſhire*, ſo that moſt Perſons expected his Death; upon which all the Biſhops, Barons and Abbots, who came to wait on him, and take their laſt leaves, perſuaded him to Repentance, *and not to let the vacant Biſhopricks out to Farm, as before, but to beſtow them upon Men of Worth.* To which he readily yielded, and further made a Vow to God, *That if he recover'd, he would abrogate all unjuſt Laws, and ordain better in their ſtead.* In performance of which, he beſtow'd the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet* his Counſellor, and the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anſelm* a *Norman* Abbot of great Worth and Piety. But *Anſelm* well knowing the Difference between the King's Diſpoſition and his own, was extreamly unwilling to accept of ſo great a Charge, 'till at length he was conſtrain'd by the Intreaties of the King, who ſeem'd very penitent, and the Perſuaſions of the Biſhops and Noblemen, who had a high Opinion of his Sanctity. Before his Conſecration he demanded ſeveral Things of the King, particularly to reſtore all the Lands belonging to the Church, which his Predeceſſor *Lanfranc* poſſeſs'd without Suit or Controverſie. But as the King grew better in Health, he was more unwilling to reſtore all Lands, but would have reſerv'd ſuch of the Church Lands, as after the Death of *Lanfranc* he had given to his Courtiers, and expected *Anſelm*'s Conſent to their holding of them by Hereditary Right. But this Arch-Biſhop would by no means conſent, that the Church ſhould be in the leaſt endamag'd in its Lands and Rights; from whence aroſe the firſt Difference between the King and him, about his Dignity, Biſhoprick and Prelatſhip, which remain'd undetermin'd during this King's Life. And now the King being recover'd of his Sickneſs, relaps'd to his former Miſcarriages, and wholly alter'd and demoliſh'd whatever Good he had already done: For he commanded the Priſoners not yet releas'd to be kept more cloſely than before, and thoſe already diſcharg'd to be taken up: And all Things were reduc'd to the ſame or worſe State than before, and brought under the Management of thoſe who rather endeavour'd to ſubvert, than defend Juſtice, and who took more care to get Mony, than to correct Offences. None were ſo rich as Treaſurers and Collectors, none were ſo in favour as unconſcionable Lawyers, and none ſo rewarded as ſcandalous Promoters; ſo that many were oblig'd to quit the Nation, and ſeek their Fortunes in Foreign Countries.

Eadmer.

Anſelm *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

The King relapſes.

In theſe troubleſom Times, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* came to King *William* at *Gloceſter*, as before was appointed, for eſtabliſhing a firm Friendſhip between them; but *William* refus'd to admit him into his Preſence, unleſs he would do Homage to him in his own Court; which the other refuſing in any Place, but in the Confines of both Kingdoms, according to Cuſtom, a fatal War immediately broke out. *Malcolm* in a ſhort Time invaded *England*, and made great Devaſtations as far as *Alnewick*; but *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a powerful Force unexpectedly ſet upon him near that Town, and not only overthrew his Army, but alſo kill'd both him and his Son *Edward*. The *Scotch* Hiſtorians ſay he was ſlain by Treachery, and that the virtuous Queen *Margaret*, hearing of the Death of her Husband and Son, ſunk down with Grief, and could not three Days ſurvive ſo great a Loſs. Tho' *Malcolm* left a Son behind him nam'd *Edgar*, yet the Nobility of that Kingdom aſſembling, unanimouſly elected his Brother *Donald* to be their King, and expell'd *Edgar Etheling*, with the *Engliſh* then ſetled in *Scotland*; who taking with them the Children of *Malcolm*, found a kind Reception in *England*. But *Donald* did not long enjoy his Kingdom; for *Duncan*, natural Son to the late King, being then in King *William*'s Court as an Hoſtage, deſir'd to obtain his Aſſiſtance to gain his Father's Kingdom; and being furniſh'd with a powerful Army of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, he march'd againſt his Uncle *Donald*, who had newly invaded *England*. Coming to a Battel, he routed his Forces, and forc'd him to fly into the Weſtern Iſles; upon which he was crown'd King of *Scotland*. In the

Sim. Dun. Hagulſt. Florent. &c.

A War breaks out with Malcolm *King of* Scotland.

Malcolm *ſlain.*

Donald *ſet up.*

Duncan *obtains the Crown.*

the ſame Year *Rees* Prince of the *Welſhmen* was ſlain in a Battel near *Brecknock* Caſtle; from which Time Princes ceas'd to rule in *South-Wales*, and the Kings of *England* accounted their chief Governors; but *North-Wales* enjoy'd its own Princes for above a hundred and fifty Years after.

Sax. An. Florent.

III. King *William*, having ſetled all Things in the North and Weſt to his Satisfaction, was now diſturb'd by his Brother *Robert* from the South, who charging him with Non-performance of Articles and Breach of Faith, occaſion'd a new War to break out between them. Upon which *William* in *Mid-Lent* paſs'd over into *Normandy*, where he had an Enterview with his Brother, about a Treaty of Peace, but could by no means come to an Agreement. However a ſecond Meeting was appointed by the Mediation of their common Friends in the Fields of *Martius*, where thoſe Barons who had formerly ſworn to ſee the Peace obſerv'd on both Sides, charg'd all the Blame upon the King, who yet would neither acknowledge his Fault, nor perform the Agreement; but inſtead of that committed new Acts of Hoſtility, and by the Power of Mony, Promiſes and the Sword, gain'd the Caſtle of *Buers* and ſeveral others, which he garriſon'd with his own Men. On the other Side the Duke, having obtain'd Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, beſieg'd and took the Caſtle of *Argenton*, with eight hundred Men in it, whom he made Priſoners; and after that beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Holme*, 'till he forc'd *Peverel* the Governor, with all his Men to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Upon this great Succeſs, the King immediately ſent into *England*, and commanded twenty thouſand Men to be rais'd and tranſported to him with all Expedition; which being muſter'd at *Haſtings*, the King's Treaſurer, by his Order, told the Men, *That each, upon the Payment of Ten Shillings, might be diſmiſs'd from this bad Service.* By which Artifice the King had a conſiderable Sum of Mony ſent him into *Normandy*, which he moſt of all wanted; and with which he ſo far prevail'd upon the *French* King, as to cauſe him to withdraw his Troops; ſo that Duke *Robert*, who before was proceeding with great Succeſs, was now oblig'd to retire with no leſs Diſadvantage.

A. D. 1094. Reg. 7/8.

A new War between the King and his Brother Robert

Chron. W. Vitales. &c.

In the mean Time the *Welſh* made great Ravages and Incurſions in *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and other bordering Counties; inſomuch that King *William* was conſtrain'd to leave *Normandy*, and that War unfiniſh'd. And reconciling himſelf to his Brother *Henry*, he return'd into *England*, and with a great Army enter'd *Wales* by Way of *Montgomery*, which Caſtle he re-edify'd; but the Inhabitants kept ſo cloſe in the Straits of the Mountains, encompaſſed with Woods and Rivers, that the King could no ways moleſt them; ſo that loſing his Labour, together with many of his beſt Soldiers, he return'd back with Diſhonour. In the ſame Year he made a ſecond Expedition into *Wales*, but with no better Succeſs. And about the ſame Time he was diſturb'd by a great Conſpiracy form'd againſt him by *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, and many other *Norman* Noblemen; of which the King having Notice, rais'd an Army and march'd againſt them; who underſtanding which Way he was to paſs, laid an Ambuſcade for him in a Wood, which was diſcover'd to him, and the Deſign prevented, by *Gilbert de Tonebridge* one of the chief Conſpirators. After which his Troops march'd on to *Bambrough* Caſtle which they beſieg'd, 'till at length *Robert* fell into their Hands, who was kept a Priſoner almoſt thirty Years. *Roger Lacy* had his Lands taken from him, and given to his Brother *Hugh*, a faithful Adherent of the King's; *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter* was privately reprimanded, and gave three thouſand Pounds to be reſtor'd to Favour; as likewiſe the King receiv'd of many others great Sums of Mony, as Compoſitions for their Crimes. *William* Earl of *Eu*, being fully convicted, loſt both his Eyes and Genetals, but many others, by the Advice of the Council, the King ſpar'd out of Policy.

A. D. 1095. Reg. 8/9.

A great Conſpiracy.

In

A great Conteſt between the King and Arch-Biſhop Anſelm.

In the ſame Year the King was both diſturb'd and perplex'd by the Behaviour of Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, whoſe Perſon he hated, and whoſe Power he dreaded. For this Prelate would neither comply with his covetous nor ambitious Deſigns, but ſtrenuouſly oppos'd him in all Things that might endamage the Power and Privileges of the Church; and when the Popedom was in Conteſt between *Urban* and *Clement*, he acknowledg'd the former; contrary to the King's Inclinations, and to a fix'd Ordinance in his Father's Reign; That no Subject in *England* ſhould acknowledge any Pope without the King's Allowance. This occaſion'd Matters of great Conteſt in the Nation, and many State Intreagues betwen the King and the Court of *Rome*, in which the latter by pure Management prevail'd. But afterwards the King proceeding to violent Methods, the Arch-Biſhop became ſo uneaſie, that he deſir'd leave to repair to *Rome*, which at firſt was abſolutely deny'd him, tho' at length with Difficulty obtain'd; but with this fatal Conſequence, that all the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick were ſeiz'd to the King's own Uſe. This and other Grievances being repreſented to Pope *Urban*, whom the King had now acknowledg'd, he openly in a Synod decreed that King *William* ſhould be Excommunicated; which Sentence was immediately revok'd by the Interceſſion of *Anſelm* himſelf. But the Pope afterwards finding King *William* obſtinate, and ſtill refuſing to reſtore the Arch-Biſhop, he became more reſolute in his Intentions, and gave the King notice that he would ſpare him no longer than the next Council Day. Notwithſtanding which, the King by ſecret Methods, Gifts and Promiſes, obtain'd ſo much Favour from the Pope, that Sentence never ſolemnly paſs'd againſt him: So that *Anſelm* having no Hopes of his Reſtoration, by the Conſent of the Pope retir'd to *Lions*, where he continu'd 'till after King *William*'s Death.

Eadmer.

Anſelm loſes his Archbiſhoprick.

A. D. 1096. Reg. 9/10.

But Pope *Urban* in theſe Times had greater Concerns to manage than the Excommunication of a ſingle Prince, and now proceeded to vaſt and unheard of Deſigns. Having aſſembled a Council at *Clermont* in *France*, chiefly by the Remonſtrances of a famous Hermit call'd *Peter*, who in the *Holy-Land* had been Witneſs of the Cruelties exercis'd by the *Turks* upon the *Chriſtians*, he by a zealous Harangue animated the Prelates then preſent to excite the Faithful to take up Arms for the Recovery of God's Country out of the Hands of thoſe barbarous Infidels. His Exhortations were ſo warm and moving, that they made ſtrong Impreſſions on all their Minds, and this uncommon Fervor in a ſhort Time ſo ſpread over all *Europe*, that incredible Numbers of all Qualities, and all Ages and Sexes, liſted themſelves in this Sacred Militia, bearing the Marks of red Croſſes upon their Garments, with this Motto, *It is the Will of God.* Theſe Cruſado's, and long Voyages, the Heat of which laſted for above two hundred Years, occaſion'd an infinite Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and prov'd the weakning of many Nations, the Ruin of the great Lords and Multitudes of the People, and the Eſtabliſhment and Encreaſe of the Power of the Popes. The chief of theſe extraordinary Adventurers were the famous *Godfrey* Duke of *Bouillon* and *Lorrain*, *Hugh* Brother to the King of *France*, *Raymond* Count of St. *Giles*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Baldwin* of *Hainault*, and above two hundred other Lords and Princes. Among theſe was alſo *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who being fired with the Proſpect of this Expedition, ſent over Ambaſſadors to his Brother King *William*, deſiring that a firm Peace might be eſtabliſh'd between them, and that he would immediately lend him ten thouſand Marks of Silver, and take the Dutchy of *Normandy* for his Security for three Years, 'till the Mony ſhould be repaid. The King was highly pleas'd with this Propoſal, and finding the Nation already exhauſted by grievous Taxes and Impoſitions, he ſent to all the great Men of the Nation to furniſh him with this Sum: Inſomuch that the Biſhops, Abbots and Abbeſſes broke in pieces the very Gold and Silver Plate and Ornaments of their Churches, and the Earls, Barons and Sheriffs oppreſs'd their Knights and Tenants to raiſe the Mony. By this Means the King took Poſſeſſion

Eadmer, Florent. &c.

The Beginning of the Holy War.

Duke Robert *one of the Adventurers.*

Who mortgages Normandy *to his Brother* William.

ſion of *Normandy*; and ſoon after claim'd the *French-Veuxin* of *Philip* King of *France*, with the chief Towns belonging to it; but after a Year's Conteſt, which occaſion'd many Loſſes on both Sides, the two Kings came to make a firm Peace.

Sax. An. Hunting. &c.

For King *William* was now more buſily employ'd againſt the *Welſh*, to oppoſe whom he march'd a third Time with a powerful Army; and tho' he paſs'd quite through the Country by the Guidance of ſome Deſerters, who ſhew'd him the ſecret Paſſes, and ſtay'd there from Midſummer to the End of *July*, yet the People retiring into their uſual Receſſes, he loſt more of his Men by Hunger and ill Diet, than he could kill or take of the Enemy. So that finding but little Proſpect of Glory or Profit, he return'd back without performing any Thing beſides the building of certain Caſtles in the Marches between *England* and *Wales*. About *Michaelmaſs* he ſent *Edgar Etheling* with a great Army into *Scotland*, who in a ſhort Time by his Valour expell'd *Donald*, who had again poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Throne, and plac'd his Nephew *Edgar* in his Room, who was the right Heir to the Crown, and accordingly did Homage to the King of *England*. All this Year the Nation ſuffer'd much by reaſon of the Scarcity of Proviſions, the Badneſs of the Seaſon, and the grievous Taxes for the rebuilding of *London* Bridge, which had lately been carry'd away by a ſtrange Inundation, for the Building of the new Walls about the Tower, and the noble Hall at *Weſtminſter*; which as they were Works of great Uſe, as well as Magnificence, requir'd immenſe Sums to finiſh them.

A. D. 1097. Reg. 10/11.

A new Expedition into Wales.

Sax. An. Chron. W.

In part of this and the following Year King *William* continu'd in *Normandy*, where he reduc'd the City of *Mans* and a great Part of that Province to his Obedience. In the mean Time the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Cheſter*, with many of the Nobility, and a conſiderable Army, made a new Expedition into *Wales*, being incourag'd to it by ſome Lords of that Country. Their Forces and Correſpondence were ſo great, that the two Princes *Griffyth* and *Cadogan*, their main Oppoſers, took the Mountains for their Defence; ſo that the Earls found an eaſie Paſſage to the Coaſts over againſt the Iſle of *Angleſey*; where they built the Caſtle of *Aberlhiennawc*. After which *Owen*, chief Counſellor to the Princes, and their Father-in-Law, diſcover'd his Treaſon by going over with all his Forces to the Earls, with which he march'd into the Iſle of *Angleſey*, where the Earls joining with him, plunder'd the Iſle, and us'd intolerable Cruelties to the poor Inhabitants. *Griffyth* and *Cadogan* fled into *Ireland* for Safety; but *Magnus* Son to the King of *Norway*, who had lately conquer'd the *Orchades* and the Iſle of *Man*, coming thither with a few Ships, gave them no little Diſturbance, and ſhot the Earl of *Shrewsbury* dead with an Arrow, which was look'd upon as a juſt Reward for his Cruelties in this Iſle. At length *Magnus* retired, and the Earl of *Cheſter* with the *Engliſh* being ſenſible they could not keep the Iſland, left the Command of it to *Owen*, the Traitor who had invited them thither.

A. D. 1098. Reg. 11/12.

Another Expedition into Wales.

Sax. An. Hunting. Malmſb.

The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* in *Normandy*, and returning into *England* a little before *Whitſontide*, kept that Feaſt in the new Hall at *Weſtminſter*, juſt finiſh'd; which when he firſt ſaw, and heard others admire it for its Grandeur, as being two hundred and ſeventy Foot long and ſeventy four in Breadth, he declar'd it *ſcarce worthy the Name of a Bed-Chamber, in reſpect of what he intended to build.* From thence he went down to hunt in the *New Foreſt*, where in the midſt of his Sport, a Meſſenger from *Normandy* inform'd him that the City of *Mans* was ſurpriz'd by Count *Elias*, and that the Caſtle without ſpeedy Succour was like to be ſurrender'd. Upon which News he with his uſual Bravery bad the Meſſenger tell thoſe in the Caſtle *He would be with them in eight Days.* And immediately turning his Horſe's Head towards the Sea, he rod with the utmoſt Speed; and when ſome of his Attendants deſir'd him to ſtay 'till his Army was got ready, he cry'd out, *They who love me will follow me.* Thus riding as far as *Dartmouth* with a ſmall Retinue,

A. D. 1099. Reg. 12/13.

The King's ſpeedy Expedition into Normandy,

nue, and going to take Shipping, the Weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that the Maſter of the Veſſel declar'd, *They could not paſs without the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives.* But *William* reply'd, *Did you ever hear of a King that was drown'd?* and making what Sail he could, he arriv'd at *Barfleur* the next Morning, and order'd all his Officers and Soldiers immediately to attend him at *Mans.* Where the King not only rais'd the Siege, but took *Elias* Priſoner, who being brought before him, the King in a triumphing Manner ſaid, *Now, Sir, I have ſecur'd you: Yes,* reply'd the other, *you have, but it was by Chance more than Valour; if I were at Liberty, I would ſhew you what I could perform.* The King anſwer'd, *What could you perform! take your Liberty, and ſhew your Abilities, I expect no Return for this Favour;* and ſo he generouſly diſmiſs'd him. The King having thus reſcu'd *Mans,* and reduc'd the Country once more to his Obedience, return'd into *England* about *Michaelmaſs.*

and Succeſs.

In this Year the Chriſtians, after many admirable Toils and Acts of Valour, took the City of *Jeruſalem* by Storm, and put near forty thouſand *Saracens* to the Sword. After which they agreed to elect *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to be King of that City and all *Paleſtine;* but he refuſing it out of a Proſpect of the Crown of *England,* it is obſerv'd by our Hiſtorians, that he never after proſper'd in any Thing he undertook; and upon his Denial, they elected the renowned *Godfrey* of *Bouillon,* who had done continual Wonders both by his Head and Arm. In the mean Time, as *Vitales* informs us, King *William* was forming vaſt Deſigns: For *William* Earl of *Poictou,* propoſing to make War in the *Holy-Land;* now offer'd the King to mortgage to him his Dutchy of *Aquitain,* with his other Territories for a large Sum of Mony which he wanted for that Expedition. The Propoſal being readily embrac'd by the King, he commanded a mighty Fleet to be prepared, and a great Army to accompany him out of *England,* that he might hinder his Brother *Robert*'s Return into *Normandy,* take Poſſeſſion of *Aquitain,* and extend the Bounds of his Empire as far as the River *Garonne.* In order to which, his Royal Navy which was to carry over vaſt Sums of Gold and Silver, was now almoſt ready to ſet Sail; but 'till then the King to divert himſelf went in the Beginning of *Auguſt* to hunt in the *New Foreſt,* where Death put an end to all his aſpiring Projects; of which we have theſe Circumſtances. A Monk the Night before dream'd that he ſaw a Crucifix ſpurn the King to the Ground, and caus'd Fire and Smoke to come out of his Mouth; which being related to him in the Morning, he made a Jeſt of it, ſaying, *The Monk wants Mony for his Dream; go give him a hundred Shillings, but bid him dream better hereafter.* The King would not be diſſuaded from making Trial of it, but fortifying himſelf with Wine, he went to hunt in the Foreſt with his Brother *Henry,* and a few Followers; among whom was *Walter Tyrrell,* a *French* Knight, who was an expert Huntſman, and an excellent Archer. In the latter End of the Day, the King ſhot at a Stag, and gave him a ſlight Wound; and while he was following him, with his Hand before his Eyes to defend them from the Sun, *Walter* ſhot in ſuch a Manner, that the Arrow by glancing hit the King full upon the Breaſt, who with one Groan fell to the Ground, and ſoon after dy'd without uttering a Word. Upon the Sight of this *Walter* immediately took Horſe and fled, without any to purſue him; for every Man's Thoughts were taken up with greater Matters. His Body was ſoon after thrown into a poor Collier's Cart, and through a Lane, where the Cart is ſaid to have fallen in pieces, was convey'd to the Biſhop's Palace at *Wincheſter,* where his Corps was the next Day bury'd in the Church under the Tower, in the Preſence of many Noblemen, but no real Mourners. Thus fell King *William* the Second, commonly call'd *Rufus,* in the forty fourth Year of his Age, after an active and vigorous Reign of twelve Years, ten Months, and twenty two Days; his Death happening on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt.*

Malmſ. &c.

Robert *refuſes the Crown of* Jeruſalem.

A. D. 1100. Reg. 13.

The King's Deſigns.

The King is ſlain in the new Foreſt.

It

Malmsb. &c. It is obſervable that this Prince was the Third of this Race, who in a few Years met with their Deaths in this Foreſt; as if Heav'n deſign'd to revenge upon the Children their Father's Sins, in deſtroying ſo many Churches and Villages to make them a Receptacle for wild Beaſts. But however it was, this Prince met with his Deſerts for his imitating and exceeding his Father in thoſe Actions which were moſt covetous, cruel and tyrannical; ſo that he may juſtly be rank'd among the worſt Kings that *England* ever had. He wanted the Piety, Chaſtity, Humanity and Wiſdom of his Father; yet ſeveral Qualities he poſſeſs'd were both valuable and admirable. as his Courage, Bravery, and Magnificence, in which he was ſo vigorous and daring, that he was never dejected in the greateſt Extremity, and very rarely fail'd of Succeſs. He was liberal to his Friends, and eſpecially to Soldiers, magnificent in his Retinue and Buildings, and expenſive in his Cloaths; as appears from the common Story of Breeches or Hoſe which he refus'd to wear becauſe they coſt but three Shillings, ordering his Chamberlain *to bring thoſe of a Mark Price*, who ſufficiently pleas'd him by bringing the ſame again, after the King's Price was ſet upon them. He was a Prince of little or no Faith, haughty, ſevere, covetous and prophane upon all Occaſions. When fifty *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had been accus'd of hunting and killing Deer, had by the Trial of *Fire-Ordeal* eſcap'd Condemnation, he paſſionately declar'd, *That he could not believe that God was a juſt Judge in ſuffering it*. Notwithſtanding his ſevere and covetous Temper, there are Actions that ſhew he had ſometimes a ſenſe of Generoſity, Juſtice and Good Nature, particularly when a great Abby became vacant, and two rich and ambitious Monks came to purchaſe it of him, according to his Simonaical Methods, he obſerv'd a third Monk at a Diſtance, and asking him *What he would give*, and receiving An wer, *That he would give nothing, and that it was againſt his Conſcience*, he immediately ſwore his uſual Oath, *That he alone deſerv'd it, and ſhould have it for nothing*. This King's Revenues were in all Probability the ſame with his Father's, yet his Expences being greater, he rais'd more unreaſonable Taxes; and to augment his Revenues, he frequently kept ſeveral Biſhopricks and Abbies vacant, and took the Profits to himſelf; and at the Time of his Death he had in his Hands the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies. Yet he gave the new Church of St. *Saviour's* in *Southwark* to the Monks call'd *Decharitate*; and alſo founded an Hoſpital in *York* to the Honour of St. *Peter*.

His Character.

Moſt Writers obſerve that ſeveral Diſaſters fell out in this Reign, as in the ſecond Year a dreadful Earthquake happen'd; in the fourth a violent Lightning had ſtrange Effects upon the Abby of *Winſcombe*. Not long after a vaſt Tempeſt blew down ſix hundred Houſes in *London*, and carry'd away the Rooff of *Bow* Church after an unheard of manner. In the ninth Year a blazing Star appear'd with two Buſhes, and other Stars ſeem'd to ſhoot Darts at each other, to the Amazement of all Spectators. In the eleventh, a Well of Blood for fifteen Days together roſe out of the Ground at *Finchamſted* near *Abington* in *Barkſhire*. In the laſt of his Reign, the Sea breaking over its Banks, drown'd an innumerable Multitude of People in many Counties, and in *Kent* over-ran the Lands which formerly belong'd to the famous Earl *Godwin*, which are ſtill call'd *Godwin's Sands*, lying very dangerous for Sailors. *Malmesbury* and others alſo obſerve, That notwithſtanding the warlike Genius of this Age, there began to be a great Corruption of Manners among the young Noblemen, Gentlemen and Clergy in thoſe Times, who practis'd all the Luxury of Eating and Drinking, and ſhow'd ſo much Effeminacy in their Habits and Carriage, that they appear'd Men in nothing ſo much as their Attempts upon the Chaſtity of Women.

Diſaſters in this Reign.

Corruptions.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King HENRY *the First.*

Containing 35 *Years,* 3 *Months, and* 1 *Day.*

A. D. 1100. Reg. 1.

I. UPON the ſudden Death of King *William*, his younger Brother *Henry*, who from his Learning then uncommon to Princes had the Sirname of *Beau-Clerk*, found it no great Difficulty to aſcend the Throne of *England*, notwithſtanding the fair Pretenſions of his eldeſt Brother *Robert*. He was now about forty two Years of Age, of great and promiſing Abilities; and wanted not ſeveral Steps by which he might mount this high Station: Particularly, The general Diſlike of King *William*'s ſevere curbing of the Natives; The great Diſtance and Careleſsneſs of his Brother *Robert*; His own *Engliſh Birth*, having both a King and a Queen to his Parents; His promiſing to abrogate all bad and rigorous Laws impos'd by his Father and Brother, the reſtoring the Clergy from Exile to their Livings; Remiſſion of all unjuſt Taxes, and due Puniſhments to the chief Promoters of them, upon which Account to ſatisfie the People he committed *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, that exorbitant Oppreſſor, to the Tower. Then taking a ſolemn Oath, 'To keep all good and 'juſt Laws towards his People, and to remove all Oppreſſions and unjuſt Pra-'ctices, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Affairs, which had happen'd during 'his Brother's Reign, he was publickly crown'd by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, upon *Sunday* the fifth Day of *Auguſt*. His firſt Buſineſs was to put in execution what he had promis'd, honourably and wiſely beginning with the Regulation of his own Court, from whence he caſhier'd many nice and effeminate Perſons, making a Decree againſt his Courtiers Rapines and Adulteries, puniſhing the former with Death, and the latter with the Loſs of Eyes and other criminal Parts. Then he reſtor'd to the *Engliſh* the Uſe of thoſe Lights which his Father had prohibited, and confirm'd many Privileges to the Nation by a publick Charter under his broad Seal, which *Matth. Paris* has preſerv'd in his Hiſtory. The Subſtance of it is, 'Firſt, He confirms the Liberty of the Church 'from all Oppreſſions, or Reſervation of any of its Revenues upon Vacancies. 'Next, That the Heirs of the Nobility ſhould inherit their Father's Lands 'without Redemption from him, which Favour they were to afford to their 'Tenants. That the Gentry might have liberty to marry their Daughters and 'Kinſwomen, without the King's Licence, to any but his Enemies. That 'Widows ſhould have their Dowers, and not be compell'd to marry againſt their 'Will. That Mothers or neareſt Relations ſhould be Guardians to Minors. 'Next he appoints the Puniſhment of Coiners to be with Loſs of Limbs, and 'ordains a Meaſure the Length of his Arm to be the Standard of Commerce 'among his People. Laſtly he forgave all Debts due to the Crown, and all 'Murthers committed before his Coronation, with ſome other like Indulgences. 'But to the greateſt Satisfaction of the People, he confirm'd the Laws of King 'Edward. To this Charter all the chief Men of the Nation were Witneſſes; and by the King's Command Copies were tranſmitted to every County, and order'd to be kept in particular Monaſteries. Yet notwithſtanding this Care, ſcarce any of them were to be found in the Reign of King *John*, when the Conteſt about this Charter commenc'd between that King and the Barons.

Malmſb. Eadmer. M. Paris.

King Henry *crown'd.*

His Charter of Liberties.

Shortly after the Coronation, the King diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, then at *Lyons*, inviting him to return into *England* with all Speed, and in his Letters added his Prayers and Wiſhes for him, promiſing *to ſubject himſelf and his Kingdom to his Council and Direction*; and his Return prov'd highly to the Satisfaction of the Nation. To add to which, the King reſolv'd to

Eadmer. Malmſb.

Anſelm's *Reſtoration.*

to leave off his Miſtreſſes, and became a Suter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland* for his excellent Siſter *Matilda*, who was Daughter to Queen *Margaret* the Siſter of *Edgar Etheling*; by which means his Iſſue might be both of the Blood of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the *Engliſh* Kings. But in this he met with one great Obſtruction, which was her Education from her Infancy in a Monaſtery in *Wilton* among Nuns; and being veil'd like them, ſhe was thought by her Parents to have been dedicated to the Service of God. This was left to the ſole Determination of Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, but he declin'd that Office, without the Approbation of a Council; and accordingly he ſummon'd the Biſhops, Abbots, the Clergy and certain Noblemen to *Lambeth*, where ſhe acknowledg'd *She had been veil'd, but againſt her Will, and took that Habit upon her to preſerve her Chaſtity from the Luſts of the* Normans, *according to the Example of many Matrons and Virgins, ſince King* William *ſubdu'd the Nation.* Upon which Allegations and Proofs, by the Judgment of the whole Council ſhe had lawful Liberty of her Perſon allow'd her, and not long after, upon the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, the Marriage was ſolemniz'd between King *Henry* and this Lady, to the general Satisfaction of all Men.

The King marries Matilda *of* Scotland.

Eadmer. Vitales. &c.

In the mean Time Duke *Robert*, who had gain'd great Reputation in the Holy Land, and was newly return'd into his own Country, began to caſt an envious Eye upon his Brother *Henry*, and reſolv'd to attempt that Crown which he concluded to be his own Right. And being excited by *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, who had eſcap'd out of Priſon into *Normandy*, and ſeveral others, who began to fear the vigorous and reſolute Temper of King *Henry*, he made all neceſſary Preparations for ſo great an Enterprize. The Report of this intended Invaſion, which diſturb'd the whole Nation, had various Effects upon Mens Minds, and divided the Nobility and great Men into Parties, ſo that the King was driven to great Uncertainties. As he continually ſuſpected their Conſtancy and Fidelity, ſo they no leſs dreaded his Authority and Power, being better ſatisfy'd with the more unactive Diſpoſition of his Brother *Robert*. Upon mature Deliberation it was reſolv'd that Security ſhould be given on both Sides, and Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm* was made Mediator between the King and them, who giving them his Hand on the King's Behalf, ſolemnly promis'd, *That he would govern the whole Kingdom as long as he liv'd, by pious and juſt Laws*, which at preſent gave them full Satisfaction. Yet when Duke *Robert* had put to Sea, many of the *Engliſh* Nation revolted, as alſo a conſiderable Part of the Fleet, ſo that he ſoon found a ſafe Landing at *Portſmouth*, and he did not a little rejoice at this fortunate Beginning, threatning his Brother *with Revenge for all Wrongs, and condemning the Nobility for ſuffering him to be thus injur'd, while he for the common Good of Chriſtendom was imploy'd in the Holy War.* On the other Side *Henry* us'd all Methods to defeat his Deſigns, and being ſenſible of the great Influence of the Arch-Biſhop he made new Promiſes of Obedience to him and the Apoſtolick See. Upon which *Anſelm* pathetically repreſented to the great Men and the whole Army the Scandal and Impiety of Mens violating their Faith once given to their Prince; which had ſuch a happy Effect upon them that they reſolv'd rather to part with their Lives than their Loyalty: And the Succeſs and Safety of King *Henry* was chiefly owing to the Fidelity and Induſtry of this Arch-Biſhop. For *Robert* being hereby defeated in the Confidence he repos'd in the Nobility, he by the Mediation of the chief Men of both Sides, concluded a Peace with his Brother, and made a fair Agreement. The Subſtance of which was, 'That in Conſideration *Henry* was born after his 'Father's Acquiſition of *England*, and was now unanimouſly crown'd King, he 'ſhould enjoy the ſame during Life, paying to *Robert* three thouſand Marks 'annually by way of Fealty, and reſtoring whatever he held in *Normandy*; 'and the Surviver ſhould be Heir to the other, if he dy'd without a Son: That 'all offending Perſons ſhould have their Honours and Lands reſtor'd to them. For the Confirmation and Performance of which, twelve chief Noblemen of either

A. D. 1101. Reg. 1/2.

Duke Robert *pretends to the Crown of* England.

He lands at Portſmouth.

A Peace concluded between the Brothers.

either Side took a ſolemn Oath, and the Armies were immediately disbanded; and Duke *Robert* was nobly entertain'd for the Space of ſix Months in the Court of his Brother *Henry*.

A. D. 1102. Reg. 2/3. This Agreement prov'd a great Strengthning to the Deſigns of King *Henry*, but not long after a Flame broke out, which conſum'd the Parties that rais'd it, and brought the King to a more compleat Authority. *Robert de Beleſme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to *Roger Montgomery*, an intrepid Youth, preſuming upon the Power of his Friends and Fortunes, fortify'd the Caſtles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgeworth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundel*, and joining with the diſaffected *Welſh*, made a formidable Inſurrection. Upon which the King with great Vigour and Reſolution march'd into thoſe Parts; againſt *Arundel* Caſtle he rais'd another of Wood, and took it; beſieg'd *Bridgeworth*, which immediately yielded, and *Shrewsbury* ſoon ſent him their Keys and Pledges of their Obedience. So that in a ſhort Time *Beleſme*, with the two Earls his Brothers, *Roger* and *Arnulph*, were conſtrain'd to leave *England* and their Eſtates, and retire into *Normandy*; where they rais'd vaſt Diſturbances for three Years together. Many Towns and Churches were burnt by their Means; and almoſt all *Normandy* ſtood up againſt this violent Earl of *Shrewsbury*; but they wanted a ſufficient Commander to quell the Power of ſo furious a Ravager. He was a Man of Parts and Subtlety, had a conſiderable Strength about him, and ſupported himſelf by his great Wealth, which he had treaſured up in thirty four ſtrong Caſtles, built for rebellious Deſigns.

An Inſurrection in England.

It is quell'd.

Vitales, &c.

These Men were not more active and buſie abroad, than Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm* was at home, who being a Man of a ſtiff Reſolution, in a Synod at *Weſtminſter*, incurr'd the Hatred both of the King and the Clergy. For firſt he proceeded to excommunicate all marry'd Prieſts, when half the Clergy of the Nation were either marry'd, or the Sons of marry'd Prieſts; and next he inhibited all Lay-Men from hearing of their Maſſes. Upon which *Huntington* makes this Reflection, 'That however it might ſeem laudable to ſome, to others it appear'd 'dangerous; leſt while they affected a Purity above their Strength, they might 'fall into an Impurity of a greater Malignity. After this Succeſs, the Arch-Biſhop proceeded to cenſure and condemn thoſe Prelates and Eccleſiaſticks who had accepted their Inveſtitures from the King, which uſually was done by receiving a Paſtoral Staff and a Ring, an ancient Rite, teſtifying their Donation was from their Soveraign: For which free Proceedings, and for refuſing to conſecrate certain Biſhops advanc'd by the King, a great Conteſt aroſe between them; and the Arch-Biſhop thinking himſelf injur'd by the preſent growing Power, appeal'd to Pope *Paſchall*, and ſhortly after went in Perſon to *Rome*. The King alſo ſent his Ambaſſadors to the ſame Place, *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwich*, with *Robert* Biſhop of *Lichfield*, both of his Privy-Council, and *William Warelwaſt* his Procurator, a Clergy Man of great Courage and Elocution; who in debating his Soveraign's Cauſe before the Pope and Cardinals, with a threatning Countenance declar'd, *That the King his Maſter would ſooner part from his Kingdom, than loſe the Right of Inveſtiture of Churches*. To whom the Pope ſharply reply'd, *If that be his Reſolution, while* Paſchall *lives, he ſhall never enjoy them without Puniſhment, tho' it were to ſave his Head*. Yet he granted the King ſome of his Father's Uſages, wholly prohibiting the Inveſtiture of Churches. This Conteſt aroſe ſo high, that for a while *Anſelm*, as in the laſt Reign, loſt his Archbiſhoprick, and the King was in great Danger of Excommunication. But after three Years, Matters were brought to an Accommodation; and upon the Pope's allowing that the Clergy might do Homage to the King, which had been before deny'd, the King was perſuaded to part with his Right of Inveſtitures; and all Vacancies being fill'd, both Parties reſted ſatisfy'd.

Eadmer.

The marry'd Clergy cenſur'd

A. D. 1103. Reg. 3/4.

Great Conteſts between the King and the Arch-Biſhop.

At length they are accommodated.

During theſe Controverſies, King *Henry* was more ſucceſsful in relation to his Brother *Robert*; who coming into *England*, and being ſplendidly entertain'd,

Sax. An. Malmſb. &c.

tain'd, out of Generoſity, or by the Perſuaſions of Queen *Matilda*, remitted the Penſion of three thouſand Marks, due to him by Articles; tho' he was far leſs able to forbear, than the King to pay ſuch a Sum. But when his Wants made him ſenſible of his Error, he openly exclaim'd againſt King *Henry*, as tho' he had impos'd upon his Generoſity; and giving Ear and Credit to ſuch as ſought their Diſunion, he gave his Brother all Occaſions for a Rupture, who wanted no great Incitement to any Thing of that Nature. Beſides this preſent Diſpleaſure, Duke *Robert* had profuſely waſted the Inheritance his Father had left him, which was the Dukedom of *Normandy*, having now ſcarce any Place left in his Dominions, but the City of *Roven*, with which alſo he would have parted, had not the Citizens deny'd their Conſents. But the greateſt Diſobligation was the Duke's ready Receiving all the Traiterous Subjects of his Brother; for beſides *Robert Beleſme* and others, now *William* Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy* and of *Cornwall* in *England*, being deny'd the Earldom of *Kent*, which he claim'd as Heir to his Uncle *Odo*, in a great Diſcontent retir'd into *Normandy*, where beſides his vigorous Aſſaults of the King's Caſtles and Soldiers, he much endanger'd the Poſſeſſions of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, then a Child and the King's Ward. So that the Flames of War rais'd by theſe Seditions, ſeem to have been blown from *England* into *Normandy*, and to have ſet fire to the Territories of the *Engliſh* in that Country. Nor is it eaſie to declare, ſays *Hoveden*, what Miſeries in the mean Time the Nation felt at home by the ſevere Taxes then laid upon it.

A. D. 1104. Reg. 4/5.

A ſecond Breach between the King and Duke Robert.

Vitales. Malmsb. *Normandy* was now in a great Confuſion, and ſuffer'd extreamly from the Careleſsneſs and Profuſeneſs of *Robert* and his Followers; ſo that *Malmesbury* ſays, That as well for his Brother's Reputation, as for the Sufferings of *Normandy*, *Henry* could no longer endure that wicked Men ſhould maintain their own Luxury with the Eſtates of the Poor, therefore he firſt admoniſh'd his Brother by gentle Words, ***To act like a Prince, and not like a Monk, nor to encourage Traitors to their Soveraign.*** But this not having its Effect, the King proceeded to open Force, and by large Diſtributions of Mony carry'd out of *England*, he won many of the *Norman* Nobility to revolt from their Lord, took the Town and Caſtle of *Caen* by Compoſition, and burnt *Bayeux*, with the beautiful Church of St. *Mary*'s, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yielded themſelves to his Protection; by whoſe Example the *Britains* and thoſe of *Anjou* did the like; ſo that their Caſtles and Forts were fill'd with King *Henry*'s Garriſons, without any great Reſiſtance from Duke *Robert*. Which done, the King return'd in a triumphant Manner into *England*, in the End of Autumn, in order to renew the War the next Campaign, being not able to finiſh his Conqueſts as yet, for want of Mony, which he went over to raiſe.

A. D. 1105. Reg. 5/6.

The King makes open War with him.

M. Paris. Vitales. &c. Duke *Robert* now finding himſelf in a declining Condition, reſolv'd to become a Mediator himſelf; and coming over into *England* in Perſon, after a more humble Manner than was agreeable to his Birth or Nature, he deſir'd a Peace: Which being refus'd him, he return'd more exaſperated than ever, threatning to be reveng'd of all Injuries. *Matth. Paris* tells us that the King upon this Occaſion felt ſome Remorſe of Conſcience for his unkind Uſage to his Brother, and uſurping of his Kingdom, and alſo apprehended ſome Rebellion of his Subjects. But to ſecure himſelf in the Affections of all Men, he ſummon'd a grand Council or Parliament to *London*, where in a ſolemn Speech he proteſted againſt Duke *Robert* his Brother, *Who for his inſolent refuſing the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *was now juſtly forſaken of God; ſetting forth his uneaſie and arrogant Temper, and Contempt of the* Engliſh *Nation, as alſo his own humble and peaceable Diſpoſition, and continu'd Reſolution to maintain all their Liberties and Privileges, and particularly the Sacred Laws of King* Edward; *aſſuring them That if he had but the Hearts and Affections of his* Engliſh *Subjects, he fear'd not the utmoſt Power of his Brother, and all his* Normans. With theſe ſpecious Promiſes he ſo gain'd upon their Inclinations,

A. D. 1106. Reg. 6/7.

He makes great Promiſes to the Nation.

ons, that they declar'd, *They would live and die with him againſt any Enemy whatſoever.*

The King having obtain'd this Point, about the End of *July* paſs'd over into *Normandy*, with a powerful Army, and the principal Nobility of the Kingdom; and piercing into the Country he built a Fort near the Town of *Tinchebray*, with an Intention to ſtreighten it, and force it to ſurrender. But the Earl of *Mortaign* with ſome Forces in a ſhort Time reliev'd it, at which the King highly incens'd laid Siege to the Town; which oblig'd that Earl to beg of Duke *Robert* to come down to his Aſſiſtance, to which he readily yielded, and march'd with ſeveral Noblemen, and all the Forces he could poſſibly gather together. Tho' the King was more powerful in Horſe, yet the Duke had a greater Number of Foot, ſo that both Parties were willing to come to a general Battel, which was fought before this Town, with great Obſtinacy for a while, 'till at length the King's Horſe prevail'd, and the Duke's Army was totally routed, with no great Loſs to the Victors. In this Battel the King took the Duke Priſoner, the Earl of *Mortaign*, *William Criſpin*, *William Ferrars*, *Robert Stuteville* the Elder, with many other *Norman* Barons, as alſo four hundred Knights or Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot; ſo that upon this great Victory all *Normandy* ſubmitted to the King, which verify'd his Father *William*'s Prediction, That he ſhould exceed both his Brothers in Riches and Greatneſs. This memorable Battel was fought on *Michaelmaſs* Eve, about forty Years after that at *Haſtings*; and as the *Norman* Duke then ſubdu'd an *Engliſh* King, and gain'd his Kingdom, ſo now an *Engliſh* King, by the Aſſiſtance of his *Engliſh* Subjects, conquer'd *Normandy*, which for many Years after was held by the Kings of *England*. In this Battel *Edgar Etheling* was alſo taken Priſoner, who was immediately ſet at Liberty by the King; and having been often made the Sport and Paſtime of Fortune, he paſs'd the reſt of his Life in Peace and Retirement. As for Duke *Robert* and the Earl of *Mortaign*, the King ſent them Priſoners into *England*, the former to *Cardiff* Caſtle in *Wales*, and the latter to the Tower of *London*. The Duke continu'd a Priſoner for twenty ſix Years, all the reſt of his Life; but as for the Story of the King's ordering his Eyes to be put out, the Silence of the beſt Authors, and the Improbability of ſeveral Circumſtances in it, renders it of too little Credit to be rely'd on.

Vitalis. Florent. Sax. An. &c.

The King totally routs the Duke, and takes him Priſoner.

Normandy reduc'd.

A. D. 1107. Reg. 7/8.

II. King *Henry* having eſtabliſh'd his Power, and finiſh'd all Foreign Conteſts, turn'd his Thoughts to the Regulation of Domeſtick Inconveniencies: And by the Advice of Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, and the Noblemen of his Kingdom, he redreſs'd ſeveral evil Practices, and began with his own Court. It was uſual in his Brother's Reign, for the Multitude which follow'd the Court to commit great Diſorders and Ravages without Control, and to behave themſelves rudely towards the Wives and Daughters of the Country People, ſo that they fled from their Habitations upon the Approach of the Court. For the Remedy of which, the King ordain'd by a publick Edict, That whoever was found guilty of theſe and the like Practices, ſhould loſe his Eyes, his Hands, Feet or other Members; which being executed upon ſome, deterr'd others from ſuch Offences. He alſo took notice of the great Miſchiefs ariſing from falſe and corrupt Mony, and decreed, That every falſe Coiner ſhould ſuffer Caſtration or the Loſs of his Eyes. And now being free from all Fear of Rivals, King *Henry* growing diſdainful, ſays *M. Paris*, refus'd to perform what he had ſo often promis'd to his Nobility, uſing haughty Words and Threats; for God had beſtow'd upon him three Bleſſings, Wiſdom, Victory and Riches, above any of his Predeceſſors: Yet, adds he, he ſhew'd himſelf unthankful to God; and, as others ſay, too regardleſs of his Clergy, in ſuffering *Anſelm*, newly reconcil'd to him, to tyrannize over them, and in a Synod to lay heavy Puniſhments upon the marry'd Prieſts, making no Difference between Matrimony and Fornication, and putting many from their Benefices, becauſe they refus'd to put

Eadmer. M. Paris &c.

The King makes many Regulations.

A. D. 1108. Reg. 8/9

He becomes more blameable.

put away their lawful Wives; from whence great Conteſts were rais'd, and grievous Sins committed both againſt God and Nature. In this Synod a Debate aroſe concerning the Largeneſs of the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*, and it was unanimouſly agreed to make another Biſhoprick out of it, and to fix the See at *Ely*. But tho' *Anſelm* wrot to the Pope concerning it, the Deſign was not finiſh'd in his Life-Time; yet not long after it was compleated, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Bangor* was made the firſt Biſhop of that Place.

Vitales. Hunting. Eadmer. In the mean Time, *Philip* King of *France* dying, was ſucceeded by *Lewis* his Son, who ſoon ſhew'd himſelf no Friend to King *Henry*; for which Reaſon the King ſail'd into *Normandy*, where he made what Preparations were convenient againſt a ſuſpected Man. Here upon ſome freſh Jealouſie he commanded his Nephew *William*, Son to his Brother *Robert*, to be taken into Cuſtody; but the young Prince by means of his Tutor *Elias* made his Eſcape, and was carry'd to the Court of *France*, and to divers other Princes, who were ſolicited for Aid and Aſſiſtance in his Behalf, but all in vain; for tho' many of the *Normans* favour'd him, as a handſom Perſon and of good natural Parts, and were earneſt for his Advancement, yet neither Prince nor Subject dare preſume at that Time to make War againſt the Power of King *Henry*. The King having paſs'd his Winter in *Normandy*, return'd into *England* a little before *Whitſontide*, and held his Court with extraordinary Splendor at *Weſtminſter*; where the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth waited on him with a noble and magnificent Retinue, to deſire his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage. The King conſented to the Propoſal, and the Articles were ſoon ſign'd; but the Princeſs her ſelf being very young, continu'd in *England* 'till the Year following, when ſhe was ſent over into *Germany* with the higheſt Pomp, and a vaſt Portion of ready Mony; for which three Shillings were laid upon every Hide of Land in *England*, which according to Dr. *Brady*'s Computation amounted to 824850 Pounds of our preſent Mony. Before the Marriage was celebrated Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm* dy'd; a Prelate of great Learning and Strictneſs of Life, and ſo inviolable a Friend to *Rome*, that that See in Gratitude Canoniz'd him for a Saint. King *Henry* took the Archbiſhoprick and all its Appendages into his own Hands, and according to the evil Example of his Brother *William*, kept it vacant five Years. Upon his Death the Clergy had hopes of enjoying the Liberty of Matrimonial Society, but the King took Care to put that Eccleſiaſtical Ordinance in Execution; upon which, out of Fear, and in the Sight of Men, they behav'd themſelves accordingly; 'but, ſays *Eadmer*, if in ſe-'cret they acted otherwiſe, the Charge muſt fall on their own Heads; for, adds he, 'if God will judge Fornicators and Adulterers, certainly the Abuſers 'of their own Coſens, not to ſay their own Siſters and Daughters, ſhall never 'eſcape his Vengeance.

Lewis *King of* France *is jealous of King* Henry.

A. D. 1109. Reg. 9/10.

The King eſpouſes his Daughter Matilda *to* Henry *the Emperor*

Arch-Biſhop Anſelm *dies.*

Bleſſentis. About this Time happen'd the Reſtoration of Learning in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, which was by the Means of *Joffred* Abbot of *Croyland*, who ſent over to his Mannor of *Cotenham* near *Cambridge*, *Giſlebert* his Fellow Monk, and Profeſſor of Divinity, with three other Monks, who had follow'd him into *England*, who being throughly furniſh'd with Philoſophical Theorems, and other ancient Sciences, repair'd daily to *Cambridge*; where they hired a publick Barn, made open Profeſſion of their Sciences, and in a ſhort Time drew a great Number of Scholars together. In leſs than two Years Time their Numbers were ſo increas'd, from the Country as well as the Town, that there was never a Houſe, Barn or Church large enough to contain them all. Upon which theſe Monks dividing themſelves into ſeveral Places, and taking the Univerſity of *Orleans* for their Pattern, read to their Scholars apart in ſeveral Companies, uſing the beſt Authors in Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick; whilſt *Giſlebert* the principal Maſter preach'd to the People upon all Sundays and Holy Days. That the Study of ancient Learning then flouriſh'd at *Oxford* as well as *Cambridge*, and that there were publick Schools for teach-

A. D. 1110. Reg. 10/11.

The Reſtoration of Learning in the Univerſity of Cambridge.

ing the Sciences, may be ſeen from Mr. *Wood*'s Antiquities of that Univerſity.

A. D. 1111. Reg. 11/12.

Diſturbances in Normandy.

Hunting. Matmſb. Flores.

The King's Peace, which ſeem'd ſecure by his new Alliance with the Emperor, and his great Glory, began now to be envy'd, and his Brother's Misfortunes to be highly pity'd, both by ſome *Engliſh* as well as *Normans*. For *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* both threaten'd Revenge, and by corrupting the Inhabitants, won the City of *Conſtance* from the King's Obedience. To ſtop whoſe Career *Henry* paſs'd over into *Normandy*, where he us'd great Severities, and put to Death *Elias* Earl of *Maine*, who held that Country againſt him; which ſo diſoblig'd *Godfrey* Earl of *Gaunt*, that he afterwards enter'd into that Earldom, and marrying the Daughter of *Elias*, kept that Country againſt all the Power of King *Henry*. But in the mean Time the King was imploy'd in a politick Project at home, in relation to many poor *Flemmings*, who came over into *England* both in his Father's and his own Reign, being forc'd hither by vaſt Inundations of the Sea in *Flanders*. By their coming in ſuch numerous Swarms, they became a Burthen to the Nation, upon which the King at firſt planted them in the waſte Parts of *Northumberland*; but finding they might be more ſerviceable for the reſtraining of the *Welſh*, whom he had lately ſubdu'd, he tranſplanted them with their Families into *Wales*, giving them all the Country of *Rhos*, lying about *Pembroke* and *Haverford-Weſt*, which before had been conquer'd from the *Welſh* Princes. The Deſcendents of theſe *Flemmings* have continu'd to this Day, being quite different from the native *Britains* or *Welſhmen*, both in Language and Manners; and being an induſtrious ſtout People, afterwards prov'd a ſure Defence againſt the Inſurrections of the *Welſh*, manifeſting the Excellency of the *Roman* Policy, in preſerving all new Conqueſts by Colonies.

The King ſettles the Flemmings *in* Wales.

A. D. 1113. Reg. 13/14.

Vitalis. Malmſb. &c.

After this King *Henry* return'd again into *Normandy*, where he met with great Diſturbances and Oppoſition; but in a ſhort Time he concluded a Peace with *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, and alſo honour'd him ſo far as to admit of his Son *William*'s marrying the Earl's Daughter. But having got *Robert de Beleſme* into his Power, he ſent him into *England* to be kept cloſe Priſoner in *Warham* Caſtle, where he contiu'd all his Life; without being pity'd, as being a turbulent, faithleſs and cruel Man, as appears by his thruſting out the Eyes of his Godſon, a Child who was deliver'd to him as an Hoſtage by his Father. Thus King *Henry* having at laſt totally ſubdu'd *Normandy*, and made Peace with all his Neighbours beyond the Seas, return'd victorious into *England*, and govern'd this Kingdom and that Dukedom in great Tranquility for five Years enſuing.

Normandy *quieted.*

A. D. 1114. Reg. 14/15.

Church Vacancies fill'd up.

Eadmer. Chron. W.

III. The King now living in Peace and Proſperity, was prevail'd upon by the Pope's Admonitions, and the Prayers of many of his Subjects, to fill up the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which had been vacant five Years. Accordingly he ſummon'd the Biſhops and chief Men to meet at *Windſor*, where upon the twenty fifth Day of *April*, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was choſen Arch-Biſhop; and being ſo declar'd to the Multitude, they receiv'd it with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy and Triumph. He was highly belov'd for his Affability and good Humour, and his Conſecration was celebrated with exceeding Pomp and Splendor; and afterwards when he was inveſted with his Pall from *Rome*, that Solemnity was attended by the Biſhops, Abbots and Nobility beſides infinite Throngs of People from all Parts. In the ſame Year *Thurſtan*, the King's Chaplain was made Arch-Biſhop of *York*, in the Room of *Thomas* deceas'd, and ſeveral other Vacancies in the Church were fill'd up; but, as *Eadmer* complains, with too great Partiality to the *Normans*, and Neglect to the *Engliſh* Nation. Tho' the King had Peace at home, yet this Year he met with great Provocations from the *Welſh*, by their Incurſions they made upon the Territories of *Gilbert Strongbow* Earl of *Striguil*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*,

The Welſh *are troubleſome.*

ſter, who had been ſetled in thoſe Parts. Their Outrages were ſo great, that the King ſwore he would utterly deſtroy all the Men of *North-Wales* and *Powiſland*, and plant them with new Inhabitants; and immediately march'd towards the Country with a powerful Army, which he divided into three Parts. The firſt was led by Earl *Gilbert* againſt *South-Wales*; the ſecond by *Alexander* King of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Cheſter*, againſt *North-Wales*; and the third by the King himſelf, under whoſe Standard was the Flower of the Mid-land Counties. But the *Welſh* finding themſelves unable to withſtand ſo great a Power, had recourſe to their old Security the Woods and Mountains, where being follow'd with great Difficulty, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſubmitted to Terms to King *Henry*, who now as a Victor return'd in Triumph to *London*: Where his Satisfaction was heighten'd by the News of the Conſummation of the Marriage between the Emperor and his Daughter *Matilda*, who was likewiſe ſolemnly crown'd Empreſs at *Ments*, at the Age of fourteen.

They are quieted.

Sax. An. Malmsb. &c. Not long after the King took ſhipping and went into *Normandy*, where after a long Stay, he caus'd all the chief Men of that Dukedom to ſwear Fealty to his Son *William*, as his lawful Succeſſor, being then about twelve Years of Age: From whence it became a Cuſtom afterwards for the Kings of *England* to make their Eldeſt Sons Dukes of *Normandy*. But this did not ſatisfie the King, who reſolving to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Crown to his own Family, in the following Year ſummon'd a great Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots and Nobility of the Kingdom at *Salisbury* on the twentieth Day of *March*; where all the chief Men, knowing the King's Intentions, readily did Homage, and ſwore Fealty to young *William*, 'That if he ſhould outlive his Father, they would 'lay aſide all other Claims, and put him in Poſſeſſion of the Crown and King-'dom, and faithfully ſerve him as King of *England*. From this Aſſembly ſeveral Writers have dated the Original of the high Court of Parliament in *England*: Some believe that there was nothing of that Nature before; Others that this was the Beginning of the Houſe of Commons; and others think that this Aſſembly was the firſt that had the Name of PARLIAMENT given to it. The firſt of theſe Opinions is undoubtedly falſe, the ſecond improbable, and the third uncertain.

A. D. 1115. Reg. 15/16.

The King's Son William *declar'd his Succeſſor in* Normandy.

A. D. 1116. Reg. 16/17.

and in England

Sax. An. Hunting. Eadmer. Malmsb. About the ſame Time King *Henry* gave Aſſiſtance to his Nephew *Theobald* Earl of *Bleſſis*, who upon ſome Diſpleaſure had taken up Arms againſt the King of *France*; which ſo inrag'd that Prince, that having join'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, he ſolemnly ſwore to diſpoſſeſs King *Henry* of all *Normandy*, and ſet up *William*, the Son of Duke *Robert*, in his room; who being neareſt of Right, many of the *Norman* Nobility, pitying the Misfortunes of the Father, join'd in the Deſign. King *Henry* was no leſs active and vigilant on the other Side, and levying a great Tax in the Nation, and joining with *Theobald* and the Earl of *Bretaign*, he made a notable Appearance in the Field. At which Time King *Lewis*, with the Earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, being enter'd *Normandy*, and hearing of the Approach and Power of King *Henry*, ſcarcely ſtaid one Night, but as Men without Heart or Courage return'd, and left the Country free to the Victor. So that all things ſeem'd well quieted for a Year, and now nothing diſturb'd the King's Peace but ſome little Troubles in *Wales*, and the uneaſie Expectation of the Pope's Legate, whom the King had expreſsly prohibited to enter *England*; and likewiſe the Death of his excellent Queen *Matilda*, which happen'd in the eighteenth Year of his Reign to the great Grief of the Nation, who highly eſteem'd her as well for her Family, as her Piety, Charity and Munificence.

The French *King in Arms againſt King* Henry.

A. D. 1117. Reg. 17/18.

He is quieted.

Queen Matilda *dies.*

Malmsb. M. Paris. Hunting. Not long after the War was reviv'd between *England* and *France*, and King *Lewis* now enter'd *Normandy* with as much Heat, as he had formerly left it with Coldneſs, and made great Devaſtations in the Country; which King *Henry* for a while ſuffer'd, and declar'd to thoſe who ſeem'd to doubt his Courage, *That he had learn'd from his valiant Father to conquer the Raſhneſs of the* French *by*

A. D. 1119. Reg. 19/20.

The French *King again in Arms.*

by Patience and Policy; and that a good King ſhould not be prodigal of the Blood of ſuch Subjects as his. In a ſhort Time after he found an Opportunity to ſignalize his Valour in a general Battel with the *French*, which was fought with great Obſtinacy for ſeveral Hours together. In the Beginning of which the firſt Battalion of the *French* broke the Ranks of the *Norman* Nobility, and preſſing forwards towards the King, put his Troops in Diſorder. But being now rouz'd, he ſoon rally'd his Men, and began a moſt bloody Conflict with Sword in Hand; in which, *Criſpin* a valiant Nobleman, aſſaulted the King, and ſtruck him twice upon the Head with ſuch Fury, that the impenetrable Helmet was beaten into his Head, with the Loſs of much Blood. But *Henry* feeling himſelf wounded, gather'd Strength with his Rage, and faſten'd ſo weighty a Blow upon his Adverſary, that he overthrew both him and his Horſe, and then took him Priſoner. By which brave Example his Soldiers fell on like Lions and Furies, and treated the *French* ſo rudely, that they ſoon betook themſelves to Flight. Many of the *French* Nobility were taken Priſoners, as likewiſe King *Lewis*'s Standard was taken, which King *Henry* bought for twenty Marks, and kept it as a Token of the Victory, returning in Triumph to *Roven.*

King Henry gains a Signal Victory over him.

Before this War was finiſh'd, the Pope call'd a Council at *Rheims*, where the *Engliſh* Biſhops were permitted by the King to be preſent, but all Complaints were prohibited, and this Charge given them, *Go ye, ſalute the Pope in my Name, and only hear his Apoſtolical Precepts, but bring none of his new Inventions into my Kingdom.* In this Council great Complaints were made againſt King *Henry*, for the unjuſt Treatment of his Brother *Robert* and others. In order to accommodate all Matters, not long after, the Pope came into *Normandy*, and met the King at *Giſors*; where his Holineſs told him, *That by the Law of God every Man ought to enjoy his own Right, and that it was his Deſire and that of the whole Council, that he ſhould ſet his Brother* Robert *at Liberty, and reſtore him and his Son* William *to their Dukedom.* To which the King anſwer'd, *That he did not take* Normandy *from his Brother, but only ſecur'd his Father's Inheritance, then given up to diſſolute Men and Robbers: That he was call'd into that Country by the Biſhops and Clergy, to prevent the Deſolation of the Church; and that what he did was not the Effect of Choice, but of the Perſuaſions and Invitations of the Inhabitants, to preſerve their Country from utter Ruin.* With this Anſwer the Pope was ſatisfy'd, and approv'd of what had been done, declaring, *That he had heard enough of the Duke and his Son.* *Malmesbury* adds, that at this Interview the King was ſo liberal of his Preſents to the Pope and his Cardinals, that ever after they eſteem'd him as a moſt eloquent Orator, and all his Actions very juſtifiable: So that abandoning theſe unfortunate Princes, the Pope imploy'd his Abilities in making up a Peace between the two Kings, which was concluded in the following Year without any Exception or Difficulty, all Forts and Caſtles taken in the Wars being deliver'd up, and Priſoners on both Sides ſet at Liberty.

Vitalis. Radmer. &c.

The Pope makes a Peace between both Kings.

A. D. 1120. Reg. 20/21.

Upon the finiſhing the War, the King reſolv'd to return into *England*, from whence he had been abſent above four Years; and with a numerous Fleet and a noble Retinue, ſet Sail from *Barfleur* on the 26th Day of *November*, and landed in *England* the Day following. But Prince *William*, who now only wanted the Name of a King, commanded a new Ship to be prepar'd for himſelf, his Brothers and Siſters, with many of the young gay Nobility his Companions, who plying the Sailors with Wine, made them boaſt that they would out ſail the King's Ship, which had weigh'd Anchor bofore: And in the Night putting to Sea with a brisk and delightful Gale, they flew over the dancing Waves, with all the Teſtimonies of Mirth and Jollitry. But Heav'n deſigning to check the too great Felicities of King *Henry*, in the midſt of all their Pleaſures, the Ship ſuddenly ſtruck againſt a Rock not far from the Shore, which turn'd their Songs into diſmal Outcries, and caus'd every one to ſhift for his Life. Prince *William* immediately got into the Long-Boat with a few others, and might have eſcap'd, had not

Vitalis. Malmsb. M. Paris.

The King returns to England.

not his Tenderneſs to his natural Siſter *Matilda* occaſion'd him to hearken to her Cries and turn back to ſave her; which gave Opportunity to others to leap into the Boat in ſuch Numbers, that it preſently ſunk, ſo that not one of this noble Train eſcap'd but the meaneſt of the Company, who were ſav'd by ſwimming upon the Main-Maſt, and gave a full Relation of this Tragical Story. This was the moſt unfortunate Shipwreck that ever happen'd in our Seas, bringing an inconceivable Sorrow to the King and the whole Nation: For in it periſh'd *William* the Joy of his Father, and the Hope of the Nation; *Richard* his natural Brother, his Siſter *Matilda* Counteſs of *Perche*, *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, with his Lady *Lucy*, the King's Niece by his Siſter *Adela*, *Otwell* the Earl's Brother, the young Duke's Governor, divers of the King's great Officers of State, and ſeveral of the chief Nobility, to the Number of a hundred and ſixty Perſons; many of whom had made themſelves infamous by unnatural Impurities. As this was a terrible Inſtance of Divine Vengeance upon theſe Enemies to true Piety, ſo it was no leſs upon the great *Norman* Family; in which we find Oppreſſion puniſh'd with Diſappointment and Extinction, and its maſculine Line, which was rais'd by ſuch vaſt Care, Expence and Bloodſhed, now expiring in the third Inheritor. Which Judgment was ſuch a ſenſible Affliction to the King, that it occaſion'd ſome to report, That he was never ſeen to laugh after it.

His Son William. and many of the Nobility are loſt at Sea.

Eadmer. Chron. W. IV. However having in ſome meaſure overcome the Senſe of theſe Misfortunes, by the Advice of his great Council aſſembled at *London*, he marry'd *Adeliza* the beautiful Daughter of *Geoffrey* Duke of *Lovain*, in hopes of repairing his great Loſs by a new Iſſue; but in that he was deceiv'd in his Expectations, ſhe never proving with Child. And now all the Affairs of *England* and *Normandy* were in a peaceable Condition, only the *Welſh* would have no Reſt, for *Griffyn* Prince of *North-Wales*, being encourag'd by the Death of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, ſent his Sons into *Cheſhire*, where they burnt two Caſtles, kill'd many Men, and made great Devaſtations. Upon which the King raiſing a powerful Army, march'd himſelf into *Wales*; and going with a ſmall Party a nearer Way through the Mountains and Straits, he was ſuddenly beſet in that diſadvantagious Place, and many of his Men kill'd by the *Welſh* Archers: Among whom one ſhot the King upon the Breaſt, which tho' it was repell'd by his Armor, ſo diſcourag'd him, that fearing the Glory he had gain'd in more famous Parts might be loſt in this wild Country, he ſoon came to a Parly, and then to a Peace; receiving from Prince *Griffyn* a thouſand Head of Cattle and Hoſtages, and leaving Lord *Fitzwarren* Lieutenant of the Marches, he return'd to *England*. Not long after *Ralph* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* dy'd, a Perſon tho' of great Affability and good Nature, yet ſo exactly nice as to the Priviledges of the See, that in the great Feaſts when the King wore his Crown, he would not permit the King himſelf to put it on his Head, claiming the ſole Right of it himſelf. The Archbiſhoprick was not fill'd up 'till the following Year, when the King call'd a Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots and Nobility to *Gloceſter*, and order'd them to make choice of an Arch-Biſhop, and he would confirm the Election. After much Conteſt, *William Corbet*, a *Benedictine* Abbot of a new founded Abby, was elected and conſecrated by the Biſhop of *London*, and five other Biſhops; for *Thurſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, refuſing to own his Superiority, was not allow'd to perform the Ceremony.

A. D. 1121. Reg. 21/22.

The King marries a ſecond Time.

Diſturbances in Wales.

A. D. 1122. Reg. 22/23.

Corbet *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

Vitales. Sim. Dun. Hunting. The *Normans* ſtill repining at the Captivity of *Robert* their late Soveraign, and being well affected to his Son *William*, they reſolv'd to ſet him up in his Room. *Robert* had lately ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt by marrying *Sybil* the other Daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, with whom he receiv'd the Earldom of *Main*, upon Diſpleaſure conceiv'd for that King *Henry* had ſtopp'd the other Siſter's Dowry in *England*. The chief in this Action was *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, who had lately made a Defection; wherefore the King haſtning into *Normandy*, firſt beſieg'd his Caſtle

A. D. 1123. Reg. 23/24.

New Diſturbances in Normandy.

Caſtle of *Pont-Andomar*, and took it; and at that Time built a large and high Wall with many Outworks about the Caſtle of *Roven*, and alſo repair'd the Caſtles of *Caen*, *Arches*, *Geſors*, *Falaiſe*, *Angenton*, *Damfort*, *Vernon*, *Ambres*, and ſeveral others. In the mean Time, Earl *Mellent*, to be reveng'd on the King, join'd with *Hugh* Earl of *Montfort* and others of Power, who entering *Normandy* with Fire and Sword, by their Ravages expected to make all ſubmit. To put a ſtop to theſe Outrages, *William Tankerville* the King's Chamberlain, and Lieutenant in thoſe Parts, march'd againſt them, and drawing them into an Ambuſcade, after a long Fight took both the Earls Priſoners, and preſented them to his Maſter, which put a Stop to the Wars for ſome Time. At the ſame Time *England* was extreamly troubled with Thieves, Robbers and Falſe Coiners; which together with the ſevere Taxes, and a great Famine, prov'd highly calamitous to the Nation. To remedy ſome of theſe Troubles, the King's Juſticiary in a publick Council order'd forty four Robbers to be hang'd up, and puniſh'd others with Loſs of Members: And afterwards at another Meeting at *Wincheſter*, many of the Corrupters of the Coin ſuffer'd by Caſtration and the Loſs of their right Hands; which Puniſhment did for the future more deter Men from committing that Crime, than the Fear of Death it ſelf.

A. D. 1124. Reg. 24/25.

Which are quell'd.

Regulations in England.

A. D. 1125. Reg. 25/26.

In the King's Abſence, but not without his Licence, *John de Crema*, Cardinal and a Legate from Pope *Honorius*, came into *England*, to redreſs the great Abuſe, as it was term'd, of the Clergy's retaining the Society of their Wives. He was receiv'd with great Pomp and Magnificence, but with no great Satisfaction; and *Gervaſe* of *Canterbury* complains, That it was a Thing never heard of ſince the Time of *Auguſtin*, that it was an Innovation, a Scandal to *England*, and a Retrenchment of the Liberty of this ancient Kingdom, which had never been ſubject to a Legantine Power. However he held a general Synod at *London*, where he ſeverely envighed againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, declaring, *That it was a horrid Sin for a Prieſt to riſe from the Bed of Luſt, and then to touch the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt*; yet the Night following, after he himſelf had celebrated Maſs, he was taken in Bed with a common Strumpet: Which, ſays *Huntington*, was too notorious to be deny'd, and too wicked to be conceal'd. So this hypocritical Cardinal was oblig'd to return with much more Shame than he came hither with Honour; and tho' by the Conſent of the Synod he made ſeveral Canons for the Reformation and Celebacy of the Clergy, they were not much regarded. 'Till ſome few Years after, in 1129, the King deſirous to ſettle the Celebacy of the Clergy, in a Synod call'd on purpoſe, through the Weakneſs of the Arch-Biſhop, as *Paris* expreſſes it, obtain'd Power to have the ſole Execution of this Law himſelf. But inſtead of wholly reſtraining the pretended Abuſe, he puniſh'd them in their Purſes, and receiving Sums from a great many of them, he permitted 'em to enjoy their Wives as formerly.

The Celebacy of the Clergy eſtabliſh'd.

A. D. 1127. Reg. 26/27.

V. King *Henry* having enjoy'd his ſecond Queen near ſix Years with little Proſpect of Iſſue, became extreamly deſirous to leave the Crown to the Empreſs his Daughter *Matilda*, now lately a Widow, and ſo much belov'd by the *Germans*, that ſhe was deſir'd to reign over them, but was prevented by her Father in Hopes of the Crown of *England*. In order to effect this great Work, the King took his Daughter into *England*, and at *Windſor* ſummon'd a Grand Council or Parliament, conſiſting of all the chief Men of the Nation, beſides *David* King of *Scotland*. Here he perſuaded all the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, to take a ſolemn Oath, 'That if he ſhould die without Iſſue Male, 'they would receive his Daughter *Matilda* for their Queen; as being his only 'lawful Heir, by whom they ſhould again be govern'd by the ancient *Engliſh* 'Royal Blood, from which he ſhew'd her to be deſcended. The Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops and Abbots firſt ſwore to this Succeſſion, then *David* King of *Scotland*; and

Malmſb. Sax. An. M. Pariſ. &c.

The chief of the Nation ſwear Fealty to the King's Daughter, the Empreſs Matilda.

and the firſt of Lay Lords was *Stephen* Earl of *Mortaign* and *Boloign*, King *Henry*'s Nephew by his Siſter *Adela*, who was the firſt that violated his Oath. Then that he might ſtrengthen her Intereſt by Foreign Alliances, he ſhortly after caus'd her to be marry'd to *Jeoffry* ſirnam'd *Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, in the Room of his Father *Fulk*, who was now made King of *Jeruſalem*. This Marriage was not highly pleaſing to the Empreſs, and much leſs to ſeveral of the Nobility both of *England* and *Normandy*, who were diſoblig'd for not being made privy to this Affair, and gave juſt Occaſion for ſome to prognoſticate that after the King's Death they would fall off from the Oath they had ſworn to her. But the King did it out of a politick Deſign, to ſecure his Intereſt with the Earl of *Anjou*, againſt the growing Power of his Nephew *William*, who by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King, had lately been put into Poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Flanders*; and being ſo nearly ally'd to the Crown, began to be formidable to King *Henry*.

She is marry'd to Jeoffry Plantagenet *Earl of* Anjou.

Hunting. Hoveden. M. Paris. The King by his Daughter's Marriage having made *Anjou* his own, to put a Stop to the Greatneſs of *William*, and the *French* King who ſupported him, from *Normandy* invaded *France* as far as *Eſparne*, where for eight Days he remain'd as ſecure as in his own Dominions; and partly by Threats, and partly by Promiſes, he procur'd King *Lewis* to withdraw his Aſſiſtance from young *William*. Nor did he ſtop here, but taking Advantage of the cruel and covetous Temper of his Nephew, he caus'd many of his Subjects in *Flanders* to ſet up *Theodorick* Lantgrave of *Alſatia* againſt him, pretending a Title to the Earldom, ſo many Towns revolted, among which *Aloſt* was one, which *William* beſieg'd; and having bravely routed the Forces of the Lantgrave who came to relieve it, and when the Caſtle was juſt ready to be ſurrender'd to him, he was by a Lance wounded near the Wriſt, which immediately turning to a Gangrene, kill'd him within five Days after. He was a Man of great Courage, but to avoid his Father's Vice Prodigality, fell ſo far into the other Extream, that in the *Belgick* Hiſtories he is ſirnam'd *Miſer*. In him expir'd all the Legitimate Iſſue of Duke *Robert*; but he had two natural Sons, *Richard* who was long before kill'd hunting in the *New Foreſt*, and *William* who was afterwards ſlain in the *Holy-Land*.

A. D. 1128. Reg. 28/29.

William *the Son of Duke* Robert *ſlain.*

Malmſb. M. Paris. Ducto. After this we find no conſiderable Action of King *Henry*: In the thirtieth Year of his Reign, he took another Journey into *Normandy*, and met Pope *Innocent* at *Chartres*, where he acknowledg'd him for lawful Pope, notwithſtanding he was then ſhut out of *Rome*, and *Anacletus* poſſeſs'd of that See; and at *Roven* he and his great Men made him many Preſents. Having ſtay'd about a Year in *Normandy* the King return'd into *England*, and with him the Empreſs his Daughter, who had been lately parted from her Husband by reaſon of ſome private Conteſts that had happen'd between them. Not long after the King ſummon'd a grand Council or Parliament at *Northampton*, where the Clergy and Nobility all renew'd the Oath of Fealty which they had formerly taken to her; and then by their Advice, ſhe was ſent back to her Husband, who now deſir'd her Company, and being joyfully receiv'd by him, ſhe within leſs than two Years bore him a Son. In the thirty ſecond Year of this Reign the King founded a Church and an Epiſcopal See at *Carliſle*, to which he laid the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and Part of *Northumberland*, and appointed *Athulf* his Confeſſor, then Abbot of St. *Oſwald*'s Abby, to be the firſt Biſhop of it. The ſame Year was remarkable for nothing ſo much as the Burning down the greateſt Part of *London*, which being then built almoſt all of Wood, was a Calamity very incident to that great City. As this was a Year of Sorrow to many, ſo the next was a Year of Joy to a great Part of the Nation, but eſpecially to the King himſelf; and this was the Birth of a Son by the Empreſs *Matilda*, whoſe Name was *Henry*, which ſo pleas'd the King, that he ſummon'd the chief Men of his Kingdom with great Pomp, and again appointed his ſaid Daughter and her Heirs to be his Succeſſors, cauſing them

A. D. 1130. Reg. 30/31.

The Nobility again ſwear Fealty to Matilda.

A. D. 1132. Reg. 32/33.

The Biſhoprick of Carliſle *founded.*

A. D. 1133. Reg. 33/34.

Henry II. *born.*

them all to take an Oath to obſerve this Ordinance; ſo that the People of *England* were twice ſworn to the Succeſſion.

In the latter End of this Summer, the King having fill'd up ſeveral Vacancies in the Church, made his laſt Paſſage into *Normandy*. Upon the ſame Day he took Shipping, which was the third of *Auguſt*, there happen'd ſuch an extraordinary Eclipſe of the Sun, that *Malmesbury* tells us he himſelf ſaw many Stars near that Planet, which prov'd very frightful to moſt People; and that two Days after there was ſuch a dreadful Earthquake, that the Houſe where the Author ſate was lifted up by a treble Remove; to which others add, That out of the Clefts of the Earth aroſe Flames of Fire that could not be quench'd: Which divers judg'd to be the fatal Preſages of the Deaths of thoſe two Princes that not long after enſu'd. The firſt was that of *Robert*, the King's eldeſt Brother, who at a great Age dy'd in *Cærdiff* Caſtle in *Wales*, after twenty ſix Years Impriſonment; a Prince ſometime of great Courage and Reputation, who refus'd to receive a Kingdom gain'd partly by his own Sword; yet having been rebellious to his Father, and perfidious to his Brothers, as well as prodigal and careleſs, he loſt the Benefit of his Birth-Right, and met with a Reward but anſwerable to his Crimes. His Body was bury'd at *Gloceſter*, in the Cathedral Church, and in the Middle of the Quire; where his Tomb remains to this Day, with a carved Image of his Shape, as the Monument of a moſt unfortunate Man.

A. D. 1134. Reg. 34. 35.

Duke Robert dies.

A. D. 1135. Reg. 35. 36.

In the next Year he was follow'd by the King his Brother, who being a hunting in *Normandy*, and returning to the Caſtle of *Lyons* near *Roven* with a ſtrong Appetite, took a Surfeit by eating of Lampreys, which he much lov'd, but never could recover. Finding himſelf very ſick and declining, he ſent for *Hugh* Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*, being alſo attended by his natural Son *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and great Commanders, who deſiring him to name his Succeſſor, he made anſwer, *That he left all his Dominions whatſoever to his Daughter* Matilda, *by a lawful and perpetual Succeſſion*; without mentioning her Husband, having been lately much diſoblig'd by ſeveral Affronts receiv'd from him. Then he commanded his Debts, and all Servants Wages to be paid; all Forfeitures and Fines to be remitted; all Exiles and ſeiz'd Eſtates to be reſtor'd; and directed his Son *Robert*, who had the Cuſtody of his Treaſury at *Falais*, to diſtribute no leſs than ſixty thouſand Pounds among his Servants and ſtipendiary Knights and Horſemen. And now having made his Will, and done all Things neceſſary for a Chriſtian Prince, after ſeven Days Sickneſs, he deceaſed on the ſecond Day of *December*, and in the ſeventy eighth Year of his Age; after a tumultuous, vigorous and proſperous Reign of thirty five Years, three Months, and one Day. His Body was embalm'd after a ſtrange and barbarous Manner, peculiar to thoſe Times, and carry'd into *England*, where it was honourably bury'd on *Chriſtmaſs* Day, in the Abby of *Reading* in *Barkſhire*, which he himſelf had founded and endow'd with large Revenues.

Hunting. Malmsb. Vitalis, &c.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Death.

This was the End of the great *Henry* the Firſt, under whoſe long Reign, the Nation ſcarcely felt any Foreign Invaſion or Domeſtick Inſurrection, except ſome inconſiderable Incurſions of the *Welſh*; by which continu'd Peace, during three Reigns, *England* became a Place of Refuge and a Sanctuary to the Afflicted and Diſtreſſed of Foreign Nations. This King added much to its Strength and Glory, notwithſtanding ſeveral ſevere Oppreſſions; defending the Land by numerous Garriſons, and building many Forts and Caſtles, beſides twenty five Towns and Cities; in all which he manifeſted his extraordinary Parts and Abilities. He has been celebrated by ſome for the three glorious Felicities of Wiſdom, Victory and Riches, and condemn'd by others for three notorious Vices, Avarice, Cruelty and Luſt; the firſt three being manifeſted in his obtaining, keeping and improving the Kingdom; and the laſt by his hard Taxes, his Severity to his Brother and others, and his numerous illegitimate Iſſue. As

Malmsb. &c.

Character.

to

to his Perſon, he was of a middle Stature, ſtrong and well jointed, corpulent, of fine Eyes, and an amiable Countenance: In his Humour he was affable, and of a pleaſant Converſation; and his Mind was inrich'd with many Virtues, being a Follower of Juſtice, a Lover of Religion, ſevere againſt Robbers, temperate in eating, and never drinking but for Thirſt, vigorous and valiant in Battel, yet very circumſpect, chuſing rather to win by Conduct than Effuſion of Blood; and by the Report of moſt Writers he exceeded all the Princes of his Age in Greatneſs and Magnificence. Whatſoever was wiſely and virtuouſly perform'd in his Government, is by theſe Writers chiefly attributed to his Education and Learning; in which his renowned Father was very careful, often declaring, *That an unlearned King was but a crown'd Aſs.* Upon which Account he often reſided at his new Palace at *Oxford*, both for the Converſation of learned Men, and the Vicinity of a Park he made at *Woodſtock*, which was the firſt known in *England*. His Works of Devotion appear from his Erection of the two Churches and Biſhopricks of *Ely* and *Carliſle*, the Abbies of *Hide*, *Circeſter*, *Reading*, and the Priory of *Dunſtable*. His Queen *Matilda* founded the Priory of the *Holy Trinity* within *Algate* in *London*, and the Hoſpital of St. *Giles in the Fields*; ſo that by himſelf, his Queen, and other devout Perſons, above twenty four religious Foundations were erected in this Reign. The Laws of this Prince, beſides his great Charter already mention'd, are publiſh'd by *Lambert*; tho' they are not accounted of any great Certainty. For the Price of Proviſions and the like in this Reign, Dr. *Brady* tells us, That Wheat for one Day's Subſiſtance of a hundred Men was valu'd at one Shilling; a Ram or Sheep at four Pence; and an Allowance of Hay and Provender for twenty Horſes one Day, four Pence; ſo that according to that Computation Mony was then near twenty Times the real Value, that it has been of late Years.

His Works of Piety.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of King STEPHEN.

Containing 18 *Years*, 9 *Months, and* 17 *Days.*

Malmsb. &c. I. THO' the Empreſs *Matilda* had Fealty ſworn to her during the Life of her Father, and Her and her Heirs ordain'd to be his Succeſſors in the Crown of *England*; yet ſo prevalent are the Charms of Ambition, and ſo weak the Aſſurances of the People, that all King *Henry*'s Precautions were ſoon defeated; and principally by one who had appear'd moſt forward in taking the Oath, namely *Stephen* Earl of *Boloign*, Nephew to the late King by *Adela* his fourth Siſter, who was the third Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, who by the Favour of the King his Uncle was made Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy*. This Man having alſo many Lands and Honours in *England*, a great Intereſt upon the Account of his Perſonal Merit and his affable Behaviour, and a long Acquaintance with the Biſhops and Nobility, reſolv'd to take the Advantage of *Matilda*'s Abſence, and ſet up his own Title. Accordingly he haſten'd with the utmoſt Expedition into *England*, where his Landing was attended by a moſt dreadful Tempeſt of Thunder, which was thought to portend thoſe Storms and Troubles it afterwards brought upon the Nation. The Inhabitants of *Dover* and *Canterbury* fortify'd themſelves againſt him, but *London* receiv'd him; where his Deſigns were much facilitated by his younger Brother *Henry* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a powerful Man in the State, who by his Intereſt prevail'd upon *William* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*,

A. D. 1135. Reg. 1.

Stephen Earl of Boloign pretends to the Kingdom.

bury, the first Man who had sworn to the Empress: By whose Example many others were brought into the same dangerous Design, not fearing to affirm, *That it was Baseness for so many noble Peers to be subject to a Woman.* And to forward these bold Beginnings, *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, the late King's Treasurer, protested, *That they were all free from the Oath sworn to the Empress, because without the Consent of the Barons she had marry'd out of the Nation.* But that which had the greatest Effect was the Testimony of *Hugh Bigot*, Steward to King *Henry*, who took a solemn Oath, That the King on his Death-Bed, upon some Displeasure to his Daughter, had disinherited her, and appointed his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Successor. These colourable Pretences so prevail'd upon the too credulous Arch-Bishop, and the Peers, that they consented to yield Allegiance to him; and upon the 26th of *December*, being St. *Stephen*'s Day, he was crown'd at *Westminster* by the Arch-Bishop, with a small Appearance, being now about thirty one Years of Age.

He is crown'd King.

But since his Title was so precarious, before he was crown'd he made large Promises of reforming whatever was amiss in his Uncle's Reign, for which his Brother ingag'd his Faith; and at his Coronation he took an unusual Oath, chiefly consisting of these three Articles, '*First that he would never keep Bishop-*'*ricks vacant for his own Advantage, but immediately consent to a Canonical* '*Election, and invest new Bishops in them. Secondly he would not retain the* '*Woods of any Clerk or Lay Man in his Hands, upon the Account of their* '*Hunting, as King* Henry *had done, to the great Vexation of many. Third-*'*ly he would for ever remit the Tribute of Danegelt, which his Predecessors* '*had often rais'd.* On the other side the Bishops took their Oath of Allegiance conditionally to obey him as King, so long as he should preserve the Church's Liberties, and the exact Discipline of it: Which Policy was also observ'd by the Lay Lords, as appears from *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the late King's natural Son, who swore to be the true Liege Man of *Stephen*, so long as the King should preserve to him his Dignities, and keep all Covenants; upon which the King promis'd to reform all the hard Laws of his Predecessors, and give it under his Seal and Charter. Then seising upon the vast Treasure his Uncle had amass'd in the Castle of *Winchester*, which amounted to more than 100000 Marks, besides Plate and Jewels, he hasten'd to meet his Corps, now brought into *England*, and made a pompous Funeral at *Reading*, being attended by many of the Nobility. Shortly after he repaired to *Oxford*, where he sign'd and seal'd the Charter of Privileges he before promis'd; in the Preface of which he declares, 'That he obtain'd the Crown by the Election of the 'Clergy and People of *England*, and was confirm'd in the same by the present 'Pope *Innocent*. The Tenor of the rest was, That all Liberties, Customs, 'and Possessions granted to the Church, should be in full Force: That all Per-'sons and Causes Ecclesiastical should belong only to Ecclesiastical Judicature: 'That none but Clergy-Men should intermeddle with the Vacancies of Chur-'ches, or any Church-Man's Goods: That all bad Usages in the Land touch-'ing Forests, Exactions, and the like, should be abolish'd, and the ancient Laws 'restored. As *Stephen* well knew, that they had chosen him their King to obtain their own Designs; so *Malmesbury* observes, that he granted these Immunities rather to blind their Eyes, than to bind up his own Hands by such Parchment Chains.

His Coronation Oath.

A. D. 1136. Reg. 1.

His Charter.

Hunting. Malmsb. Howden.

This appeared in the second Year of his Reign, when *William* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* dy'd; at which Time he did not only keep the Archbishoprick vacant for above two Years, but finding that he had left vast Sums of Mony, and that he dy'd without a Will, he seiz'd all to his own Use, which tho' too customary, was contrary to his Charter. However the Beginnings of his Government were very peaceable; but by several Steps civil Discord began and increas'd to the infinite Damage of the whole Nation. And what in a great measure gave Birth to these Mischiefs was the King's own Indulgence, who tho'

Malmsb. M. Paris. Hunting. &c.

Troubles begin in England.

tho' he was advanc'd only by a Party of Men, unadviſedly gave leave to all the Nobility, many of whom were his Enemies, to build Caſtles upon their own Lands, inſomuch that above eleven hundred Places of Strength were erected in a ſhort Time; by which means they were put into a Condition to renounce their Obedience, when ever they thought it to their Advantage. The firſt Man who openly declar'd againſt him was *Baldwin de Redvers*, who fortify'd the City and Caſtle of *Exeter*; and at the ſame Time the *Welſhmen*, reſenting the Damages done by King *Henry*, began to revenge themſelves by the Slaughter of many of the *Engliſh*. To quell theſe Miſchiefs King *Stephen* march'd with a Body of *Engliſh* and *Flemmings*, and after a long and chargeable Siege, by Famine he reduc'd *Baldwin* and his Adherents; after which he baniſh'd him and his Family, but us'd ſuch Lenity towards the reſt, that it gave great Incouragement to all future Inſurrections. But in *Wales* his Affairs appear'd with another Fate, for at *Cardigan* a great Battel was fought, with ſuch Loſs and Slaughter of the *Engliſh*, that the Men were taken Priſoners by Women, and ſo many drown'd by the Fall of a Bridge over the *Temd*, that another Paſſage was made over the River by dead Carcaſſes. Nor was this all the Trouble King *Stephen* had; for about the ſame Time, many of the *Engliſh* out of Hatred to him, ſecretly invited *David* King of *Scotland* to revenge the Injuries done to the Empreſs *Matilda*; upon which he ſuddenly invaded the Frontiers, and took both *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, which he fill'd with Garriſons. Againſt theſe King *Stephen* march'd with a powerful Army, and concerning this War there are divers Reports; yet all agree that in no long Time a Peace was concluded, by which *David* ſtill enjoy'd *Carliſle*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntingdon*, for which he did Homage to King *Stephen*; but his Father refus'd to do the ſame, alledging, That he had already given his Faith to the Empreſs *Matilda*.

Many Caſtles erected.

Sim. Dun. Malmſb. M. Paris. King *Stephen* returning in Peace, not long after fell into ſuch a dangerous Fit of a Lethargy, that his Death was commonly believ'd and reported, which occaſion'd great Troubles both in *England* and abroad; for by this his Friends were diſhearten'd with Fears, and his Oppoſers grew more bold in declaring for the Empreſs. *Hugh Bigot*, one of the firſt Promoters of his Intereſt, now fortify'd himſelf in the Caſtle of *Norwich*, and himſelf refus'd to deliver it to any but the King, and with great Unwillingneſs to him: In *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader*, the Sons of Prince *Gryffith*, made furious Ravages, and carry'd great Booties from the *Engliſh*: Likewiſe in *Normandy* there began new Inſurrections; for *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjou*, who in the Right of his Wife the Empreſs laid Claim to all, eaſily gain'd the Hearts and Endeavours of many to adhere to the true Heir, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſeveral Caſtles. But proceeding further, and entering upon the Territories of *Talevaz*, a Perſon of Note proſcrib'd by King *Stephen*, the *Normans* ſo diſlik'd that and ſome other of his Actions, that they ſent for *Theobald* Earl of *Bevis*, King *Stephen*'s Elder Brother, offering him both their Dukedom, and their Swords and Lives to defend him in it. *Theobald* coming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, who was always ready to diminiſh King *Stephen*'s Power, deliver'd the County of *Falaiſe* to him upon Compoſition; having himſelf carry'd no ſmall Sums from thence out of King *Henry*'s Treaſury, and carefully and ſecretly watching all Opportunities to advance the Title and Deſigns of the Empreſs.

The Troubles encreaſe.

Nubrigen. Malmſb. &c. King *Stephen* finding ſo many Diſturbances, prepar'd firſt to go into *Normandy*; at whoſe Approach, after ſome ſmall Attempts, the People diſtracted between Fear and Duty, ſoon yielded to his Power, and ſurrender'd all their Towns and Caſtles. This good Succeſs was much improv'd by a League made between him and *Lewis* King of *France*; upon the Aſſurance of which he created *Euſtace* his eldeſt Son Duke of *Normandy*, and order'd him to do Homage to the *French* King. Earl *Theobald* ſeeing himſelf thus abandon'd, now ſtorm'd at the Injuries done him, and being eldeſt Brother laid Claim both to *Normandy* and *England*;

A. D. 1137. Reg. 2/3.

King Stephen *is ſucceſsful in* Normandy.

gland; but notwithſtanding his Rage and Threats, he at length came to a Compoſition, and renounc'd his Claim for a Penſion of two Thouſand Marks *per Annum*. Likewiſe Earl *Geoffry*, whoſe Title by his Wife was better than both, finding himſelf over-match'd by the King's Power, Wealth and Confederates, ſubmitted to Neceſſity, and for a Penſion of five thouſand Marks *per Annum*, ſuffer'd *Stephen* quietly to enjoy the Crown. Having remov'd theſe two great Obſtacles, he hop'd to enjoy a peaceable Reign, when unexpected News was brought him, That *England* was in a Tumult, and that the factious Peers taking Advantage of his Abſence, were up in Arms againſt him. Upon this, with the utmoſt Expedition he took Shipping for *England* in the midſt of Winter, and even upon the Eve of *Chriſt*'s Nativity beſieg'd, and afterwards took the Caſtle of *Bedford*, garriſon'd againſt him upon the Account of the *Scots:* About which Time *David* their King having enter'd *Northumberland* in the Behalf of *Matilda*, the ruder Sort of the Army too tragically reveng'd the Injuries of that Princeſs, by ripping up the Wombs of big-belly'd Women, and toſſing their Infants upon the Points of Spears, ſlaying the Prieſts at the Altar, and diſmembering the dead Bodies after a moſt inhuman manner.

He is call'd into England.

A. D. 1138. Reg. 3/4.

King *Stephen* us'd all Expedition againſt theſe Barbarians, declaring, *That it was no Policy to give an Hour's Reſt to ſuch Enemies*, and accordingly he march'd directly into *Scotland*, from whence, after a ſmall Revenge, he was haſtily recall'd into *England*, by a great Defection of the Nobility, who by his Example and Proceedings had been ſufficiently taught the Arts of Perjury. For theſe alledg'd that the King had violated his Oath concerning their Foreſts, and other Immunities of the Church and Common-wealth; but, as *Malmesbury* obſerves, theſe were but colourable Pretenſions to cover their private Reſentments for miſſing of ſuch Caſtles, Commands and Preferments as they expected; looking upon the King as ſo much oblig'd to them, as not to deny them any Thing. To put a ſtop to theſe endleſs Importunities, he ſometimes us'd Arguments, and at other times Promiſes and Rewards; but their Loyalty being built upon ſuch ignoble Foundations, could not be of any long Continuance. The chief of their Party was *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, now chief Counſellor to the Empreſs, who finding theſe particular Diſlikes, and being excited by religious Men with the Fear of hazarding both his Reputation and future Happineſs by his Neglect, he ſent threatning Meſſages to King *Stephen*, charging him with the Breach of his Oath to his Soveraign Lady *Matilda*, and with drawing him and others into the like Perjury and Treaſon; upon which he declar'd *Stephen* an open Enemy to the State, and himſelf an open Enemy to *Stephen*. He ſoon ſtrengthen'd his Party by the Conjunction of many Noblemen, among whom *Milo*, High Conſtable to the King, revolted and became a great Aſſiſtant to his Proceedings. *Robert* took in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and ſecur'd that of *Slede*, and his Aſſociates did the like in other Places; for *William Talbot* garriſon'd the Caſtle of *Hereford*, *William Lovel* that of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* that of *Duneſtor*, *Robert de Nichol* the Caſtle of *Warram*, *Euſtace Fitz-John* the Caſtle of *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Wakelin* the Caſtle of *Doure*. And thus thoſe Forts which were erected to defend the Crown, firſt offended the King. Some few of which as he recover'd he demoliſh'd; often ſwearing *He would not ſo eaſily loſe his Crown*, and admiring, *What ſhould induce them, who had ſo readily advanc'd him, ſo ſpeedily to dethrone him.* One freſh Motive to their Diſcontents was the King's ſeiſing on the Perſons and Lands of ſome great Men, on a bare Suſpicion of their Loyalty, and the extraordinary Favour he ſhew'd to *William de Ypres* and his *Flemmings*, whoſe Counſels he wholly follow'd. This laſt they interpreted as a Contempt of themſelves and their Nation; therefore out of Anger and Diſdain they ſent to the Empreſs, declaring, *That within five Months ſhe ſhould have the Kingdom at Command, according to their Oaths made to her Father.*

Sim. Dun. Gervaſe. Malmsb. &c.

A great Combination againſt King Stephen.

Robert *Earl of* Gloceſter *the Chief.*

The Empreſs Matilda *ſent for.*

Theſe

Hunting. Malmsb. M. Paris. &c.

These Commotions working in the Bowels of the Kingdom, gave *David* of *Scotland* a fair Opportunity to attack the Borders of it, which he did with great Ravages and Desolation in *Northumberland:* Against whom a considerable Army was sent, under the Command of *Thurstan* Arch-Bishop of *York*, whom the King had made his Lieutenant in the North; but being detain'd by Sickness from the Field, he appointed *Ralph* Bishop of the *Orchades* for his General, whose invective Oration had an extraordinary Effect upon the Army; and absolving all who should die in the Battel, the *English* became absolutely fearless, and press'd forwards with so much Force and Fury, that the *Scots* soon abandon'd their King, who still stood bravely to his Arms, 'till his best Friends urg'd him to desist. But his Son *Henry* esteeming Honour more than Life and Safety, rush'd in among his retiring Soldiers, and with undaunted Courage persuading them to regard themselves and his Person restor'd the Battel for a while; 'till at length being overpower'd by the main Body of the *English*, he was constrain'd to quit the Field with great Loss and Damage. With the like happy Success King *Stephen* proceeded against his disobedient Barons, and won from them the Castles of *Hereford*, *Gloceſter*, *Webley*, *Bristol*, *Dudley* and *Shrewsbury*; by which he so much weaken'd the Power of Earl *Robert*, that he was oblig'd to fly into *France*, resolving to procure his Sister the Empress to come over into *England*. These Domestick Obstacles being remov'd, the King resolv'd to prosecute the War in the North which *Thurstan* had happily begun; and first gaining the Castle of *Leids*, he march'd into *Scotland*, where in a short Time a Peace was concluded between the two Kings: And *Stephen* returning thence, brought the valiant Prince *Henry* with him into *England*, and at the Siege of *Ludlow* Castle, that adventrous Youth was by the Besieg'd pluck'd from his Horse with an Iron Grapple, and had been taken, had not King *Stephen* with extraordinary Valour and Honour, recover'd him, and won the Castle. In the same Year, a Synod was call'd at *Westminster* by *Alberic* the Pope's Legate; where, by all the Bishops in *England*, *Theobald*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, was elected and consecrated Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, since that Archbishoprick had been vacant above two Years.

The Scots are worsted.

King Stephen is successful.

Malmsb. Vitalis.

II. King *Stephen* had now by his Valour and Vigilance rais'd himself to a high Pitch of Grandeur, and seem'd well establish'd in his Kingdom; but upon the Report of the Empress designing to come into *England* in Person, his Jealousie occasion'd him to commit an Error which gave him great Disturbance, and vastly weaken'd his Interest; and this was an unseasonable Breach between him and those Bishops who had set the Crown upon his Head, who were now too powerful to be crush'd at once. About this Time *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* had built two magnificent Castles, one at the *Devises*, another at *Sherburn*, beginning a third at *Malmesbury*, and a fourth at *Salisbury*; and likewise his Nephew *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln* had built a Castle at *Newark*, as he alledg'd, for the Safety and Dignity of his Bishoprick. *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely*, another Nephew of Bishop *Roger*, also imitated these in their Grandeur and Magnificence; so that these three seldom appear'd at the King's Court without vast Trains of armed Followers. All this rais'd great Envy among the Earls and Barons, who took occasion to infuse such jealous Thoughts into the King, that he judg'd himself unsafe 'till he had stripp'd them of their Power and Grandeur. He soon found an Opportunity in a grand Council held at *Oxford*, where the Retainers and Servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury* happen'd to contend with those of *Alan* Earl of *Bretaign* about securing of Lodgings, in which Contest many were wounded, and one Knight kill'd, but the Bishop's Men were Superior in the Conflict. The King taking advantage of this Riot, commanded the fore-mention'd Bishops to be conven'd, that they might satisfie the Court for their Servants Breach of the Peace, and the Satisfaction he requir'd, was no less than

A. D. 1139. Reg. 4/5.

The King falls out with the Bishops.

than the Delivering up their Caſtles into his Hands as a Security for their future Fidelity. They were willing to give Satisfaction; but upon debating whether they ſhould yield up their Caſtles, he commanded that they ſhould be kept cloſe Priſoners, to prevent their Eſcape. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* was carry'd unbound, and his Son *Roger*, the Chancellor of *England* whom he had by a Concubine, was carry'd in Fetters before the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, which *Nigel* Biſhop of *Ely*, who had eſcap'd thither from *Oxford*, held out againſt the King.

He ſeizes their Caſtles and their Treaſure.

By this ſevere Treatment the Caſtles of *Sherburn*, *Salisbury* and *Malmesbury* were ſurrender'd upon the firſt Summons; as was that of the *Deviſes*, after three Days Siege. His other Nephew the Biſhop of *Lincoln* purchas'd his Liberty by a ſpeedy ſurrender of *Sleaford* Caſtle into the King's Hands. In the Caſtles of *Sherburn* and the *Deviſes* the King found ſuch vaſt Quantities of ready Mony, that by ſending a great Part of it to *Lewis* King of *France*, he not only obtain'd his Friendſhip, but alſo his Siſter *Conſtantia* for his Son Prince *Euſtace*, tho' the Marriage was not conſummated 'till the following Year.

This Act of the King's occaſion'd great Debates; *Hugh* Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*, and his Advocate, was of Opinion, *That Biſhops might juſtly be depriv'd of thoſe Caſtles which were not built by the Allowance of the Canons; that they ought to be Evangeliſts of Peace, not Creators of ſuch Places as were Sanctuaries for their diſloyal Practices.* The King's Brother, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and now the Pope's Legate, affirm'd, *That if Biſhops tranſgreſs'd, they were not to be try'd in the King's Court, but to be judg'd by the Canons, nor to be depriv'd of any Thing but in a publick Synod*; and immediately ſummon'd the King his Brother to appear in the Council he intended to hold at *Wincheſter* on the 29th Day of *Auguſt*. At which Day appear'd moſt of the Biſhops of *England*, with *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; where the Legate, after producing the Pope's Commiſſion, in a *Latin* Speech aggravated the Fact of his Brother, *in that he had ſeiz'd on the Perſons of the Biſhops, even under the Protection of his own Court; exhorting all preſent to conſult what was needful to be done in this Exigency, and declaring, that he would put the Decree of the Council in Execution, tho' it was with the Loſs of his Brother's Friendſhip, his own Eſtate, or his Life.* The King not diſtruſting his Cauſe, ſent ſome of the Earls into the Synod, to know why he was conven'd thither, to whom the Legate anſwer'd, *That he was guilty of ſuch a Crime as that Age never ſaw; and being himſelf a Chriſtian, he ought not to take it amiſs, if he was call'd by the Miniſters of Chriſt to make Satisfaction; therefore if his Brother would take his Advice, he would do wiſely to give an immediate Reaſon for this Action, or ſubmit to the Judgment of the Canons.* Upon which *Alberic de Ver*, a great Lawyer, ſoon after carry'd the King's Anſwer, and in Defence of his Maſter, urg'd many Things againſt the Biſhops, *as being Movers of Sedition, and Correſponders with the King's Enemies; That they were not ſeiz'd as Biſhops, but as the King's Servants; and that they themſelves ſurrender'd their Caſtles as a Compoſition for the Crimes they had committed.* The Biſhop of *Salisbury* deny'd that he was the King's Servant, and threaten'd, *That if he could not find Juſtice in this Synod, he would ſeek it in a higher Court.* The Legate ſaid, *That the Crimes of which the Biſhops ſtood accus'd, ought to be prov'd in the Synod, before they could be ſentenc'd; therefore the King ought firſt to reinveſt them in their Poſſeſſions, otherwiſe whilſt remaining diſſeiz'd, by the Law of Nations, they were not to plead.* After many Allegations on both Sides, at the King's Requeſt, the Cauſe was adjourn'd to the next Day, and to the next after that, 'till the Arrival of the Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*; who granted, *That the Biſhops might have Caſtles, if the Canons allow'd them*; but ſtill urg'd the *Neceſſity of the Times.* To which *Alberic de Ver* added, *That if they preſum'd to ſend any Biſhops or other Perſons, to the Court of* Rome, *contrary to the King's Will, and the Dignity of the Kingdom, their Return would be very difficult.* By this they underſtood that

Malmsb.

Upon which a Synod is call'd.

the

the King would not abide by the Cenſure of the Canons, and therefore the Biſhops thought it beſt to forbear pronouncing it; firſt becauſe it would be a raſh Thing to excommunicate their Prince without the Knowledge of the Pope; ſecondly becauſe they found that the Soldiers were ready to revenge it: Upon which the Synod was diſſolv'd within three Days after it was call'd. Yet the Legate and Arch-Biſhop, according to their Duty, threw themſelves at the King's Feet, beſeeching him *to be merciful to the Church and his own Soul, and to conſult his Reputation ſo as not to ſuffer a Breach to be made between the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Governments.*

But comes to no Determination.

Malmſb. Vitales. &c. Theſe Diviſions between the King and the Biſhops occaſion'd many to rebel, and incourag'd the Empreſs to come over in Perſon, who with her Brother *Robert* landed at *Arundel* in *September*, with an inconſiderable Party of an hundred and forty Men; which Attempt is by *Malmesbury* compared to that of *Julius Cæſar*, who with one Legion began the Conqueſt of the *Roman* Empire. They were kindly receiv'd by *Adeliſa* the Queen Dowager, to whoſe Husband the Caſtle belong'd, and after a ſhort Refreſhment the Earl committing his Siſter to the Care of her Mother-in-Law, march'd through the Enemy's Country as far as *Briſtol* with only twelve Knights and Attendants. King *Stephen* was then imploy'd in the Siege of *Marlburgh* Caſtle, but hearing of a more dangerous Enemy, he ſoon remov'd, and march'd towards *Arundel*; upon whoſe Approach Queen *Adeliſa*, fearing her Caſtle ſhould be taken and her ſelf made a Priſoner, by a Meſſage to the King, declar'd, *That ſhe was ready to take her Oath, That ſhe was not the Occaſion of the Landing of the Empreſs or her Adherents, nor had entertain'd them as his Enemies, but only as her near Relations and ancient Acquaintance.* Upon which Meſſage *Stephen* by an uncommon Strain of Generoſity, caus'd the Empreſs, his great Rival, to be ſafely and honourably conducted to *Briſtol*; where ſhe remain'd for the Space of two Months, and then remov'd to *Gloceſter*; ſo that all thoſe Parts, even to the Borders of *Wales*, partly by Force, and partly through Inclination, before the End of this Year ſubmitted to the Empreſs.

The Empreſs Matilda *arrives in* England.

She goes to Gloceſter.

Malmſb. &c. And now began all the Miſeries of a Civil War, and we find nothing but taking and retaking of Towns and Caſtles, Plundering and Burning of Houſes and Churches, and all the Marks of Trouble and Deſolation. If any Earl or great Man injur'd or affronted another, both Parties frequently got together all their Knights that held of them, their other Tenants and poor Dependants, with all the Aſſiſtance of their Friends and Confederates, and burnt each others Caſtles and Houſes, deſtroy'd their Lands and Territories, and carry'd away the Inhabitants Priſoners. And now there were in *England* ſo many Tyrants, as there were Lords of Caſtles, every one pretending to coin Mony, and to exerciſe the Rights of Soveraignty; and to add to theſe Calamities, the King had with him great Numbers of *Flemmings* and *Britains*, who being accuſtom'd to live by Plundering, came into *England* to devour the Riches of the Land. In the mean Time *Stephen* perform'd all the Parts of a vigilant Commander, and cloſely beſieg'd *Matilda* and her Brother in *Wallingford* Caſtle; but finding great Difficulties, and little Proſpect of Succeſs, he caus'd a remarkable Tower of Wood to be there erected, which he well furniſh'd with Men and Ammunition, and then remov'd to the Siege of *Malmesbury*. At the ſame Time his Brother of *Wincheſter*, a valiant and politick Prelate, was no leſs induſtrious in his Behalf; for inviting ſeveral Noblemen to his Palace at *Wincheſter*, he detain'd them Priſoners, 'till he compell'd them to ſurrender their Forts and Caſtles to the King. In the mean Time Earl *Robert* took and plunder'd *Worceſter*; *Ralph Painel*, in favour of the Empreſs, took and burnt the Town of *Nottingham*; and *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, joining with *Robert*, whoſe Daughter he had marry'd, gave continual Annoyance to the King, tho' he had receiv'd great Honours from his Hands. The Empreſs her ſelf, the better to ſecure her own Perſon, and to give Acceſs to her Friends, took up her

A. D. 1140. Reg. 5/6.

A Civil War breaks out, with great Calamities.

Quarters

The Empreſs retires to Lincoln.

Quarters in *Lincoln*, and ſtored that great City with all Neceſſaries, in order for a long Abode.

But abandons it.

King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politick, march'd directly and beſieg'd the City, where he had ſurpriz'd his greateſt Enemy, had ſhe not found Means to eſcape; ſo poſſeſſing himſelf of that Place, he reduc'd the whole Country to a peaceable Condition. Shortly after his Departure, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter* with his Counteſs and Brother, coming to *Lincoln* to keep their *Chriſtmaſs*, the Citizens knowing the King's Jealouſies, ſent ſecret Intelligence to him, *That if he would ſurprize both theſe Brothers, he had now a fair Opportunity*. Upon which the King immediately after *Chriſtmaſs* march'd thither with great Expedition; and while they, thus circumvented, ſtood on their Guard in the Caſtle, the Earl eſcap'd, and begg'd the Aſſiſtance of the Empreſs to reſcue his Wife and Brother, who were now cloſely beſieg'd. Earl *Robert* upon this Intelligence immediately join'd with *Ranulph*, and gather'd all their Forces to relieve their Friends in *Lincoln*; where reſolutely wading through the River, upon *Candlemaſs* Day they appear'd in Order of Battel near the King's Camp. The King, tho' he was not ſtrong in Numbers, was ready to receive them, and divided his Army, which conſiſted much of *Flemmings*, *Britains* and *Normans*, into three Bodies; which Method was alſo obſerv'd by the Earl of *Gloceſter*. Before this fatal Battel began, both *Ranulph* and *Robert* made ſevere Invective Orations againſt the Nobility on the King's Side; which was anſwer'd by *Baldwin-fitz-Gilbert*, who was as ſevere upon thoſe of the Empreſs's Party. Upon which a dreadful Conteſt began on both Sides, and for a while with equal Succeſs; 'till in a ſhort Time the *Flemmings* and the King's Cavalry fled; whereupon the Earl of *Cheſter* charg'd the King's Body of Foot, in whoſe Strength he repos'd his greateſt Truſt; but they being overpower'd by the Horſe, began alſo to faint and fly, leaving the King inrag'd both at his Friends Cowardice and his Foes Succeſs. It was a very ſtrange Sight, ſays *M. Paris*, there to behold King *Stephen*, left almoſt alone in the Field, yet no Man daring to approach him, while grinding his Teeth and foaming like a furious Wild-Boar, with his Battel-Ax he drove whole Troops before him, to the eternal Renown of his Courage; ſo that if a hundred ſuch had been with him, a whole Army had been unable to have taken him Priſoner. Yet as he was ſingle, he held out, 'till firſt his Battel-Ax broke, and then his Sword flew in Pieces with the Force of his irreſiſtible Strokes; and being weaponleſs, he was beaten down upon his Knees by a large Stone from an unknown Hand, which being ſeen by a valiant Knight call'd *William de Kains*, he ran in and took hold on the King's Helmet; yet he refus'd to ſurrender himſelf to any but the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who being near was call'd to take him Priſoner. The Earl preſerv'd him from all Violence to his Perſon, and ſhortly after ſent him Priſoner to the Empreſs at *Gloceſter*; from whence he was ſent to *Briſtol* Caſtle; where for a while he was kept in honourable Cuſtody, but afterwards, either through Suſpicion or Hatred, he was ingloriouſly fetter'd with Irons.

A. D. 1141. Reg. 6/7.

Malmſ. Hunting. Hoveden. M. Paris.

A great Battel at Lincoln,

in which King Stephen *is taken Priſoner.*

The Empreſs governs.

III. King *Stephen* now for a while loſt all the Marks of Soveraignty and Grandeur, and the Empreſs having ſecur'd her moſt formidable Oppoſer, triumph'd in her Fortune, and as the ſole Monarch of the Nation commanded in all Affairs, and diſpos'd of all Dignities and Offices according to her own Pleaſure. Yet ſtill ſhe did not alter her Title of Empreſs, or Queen of the *Romans*, as appears from her Broad-Seal; under which ſhe granted the Cuſtody of the Tower of *London* to *Geoffry de Mandevil* and his Heirs, making Covenants with him, That ſhe would not make Peace with the Citizens of *London*, without his Conſent, becauſe they were his mortal Enemies: But this Earl being afterwards accidentally apprehended in St. *Albans*, for his Liberty was oblig'd to ſurrender both the Tower of *London* and his other Caſtles to King *Stephen*. Upon this great Succeſs of the Empreſs, the State Men ſtood no longer for *Stephen*,

Malmſ.

phen, but their Faiths turning with their Fortunes, they all paid Allegiance to her; the *Kentiſh* Men only excepted, where *Stephen*'s Queen *Matilda*, and *William de Ypres*, maintain'd his Cauſe to the utmoſt of their Powers. Nor was King *Stephen* diſappointed only of *England*, but alſo *Normandy* caſt off his Subjection; for *Geoffry* of *Anjou*, Husband to the Empreſs, having Intelligence of the late Victory, induc'd the *Normans* to join in his Party, by publiſhing the Captivity of *Stephen*, now unable to relieve them or himſelf; and *David* King of *Scotland* was not backwards in ſetting forth the Claim of the Empreſs, and under that Pretence ſeiz'd upon the County of *Northumberland*. Stephen *daily declines.*

Malmsb. &c. During theſe Tranſactions the Empreſs to eſtabliſh her Power repair'd to *Wincheſter*, where ſhe ſwore to the Biſhop, *That if he and the Holy Church would receive her as their lawful Queen, he ſhould order and direct all the great Affairs of the Nation, and diſpoſe of all Biſhopricks and Abbies.* This was alſo promis'd by the Earl of *Gloceſter* and ſeveral of the Nobility; upon which the Biſhop readily acknowledg'd her Queen of *England*, and with ſome of his Friends took an Oath, *That as long as ſhe made good her Promiſes, they would be faithful to her.* And the next Day ſhe was receiv'd into the Cathedral with a pompous Proceſſion, in Company with many Biſhops, Abbots, Barons and Knights; where the Legate *curs'd thoſe who curs'd Her, and bleſs'd thoſe who bleſs'd Her; abſolving the Obedient, and excommunicating the reſt.* From *Wincheſter* ſhe went with the Court to *Wilton*, where ſhe kept her *Eaſter* with a mighty Conflux of People; and was recogniz'd by *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Shortly after a General Synod of the Clergy was ſummon'd at *Wincheſter* under the Legate, who after private and ſeparate Conferences with the Biſhops, Abbots and Arch-Deacons, made a publick Speech, *ſetting forth the Cauſe of this Aſſembly, which was to conſult of the Peace of the Country, inſiſting upon the flouriſhing State of the Kingdom under King* Henry; *who many Years ſince had receiv'd an Oath of* England *and* Normandy, *for the Succeſſion of his Daughter and her Iſſue: That ſhe delaying her Coming into* England *at the Time of his Death; for the Peace of the Nation his Brother was admitted to the Throne. Tho' he had been a Pledge between God and him That he ſhould honour the Church, and maintain righteous Laws; yet with Grief and Shame he could but mention his Misbehaviour: The Peace of the Nation was deſtroy'd, and no Puniſhment inflicted upon Criminals; Biſhops were impriſon'd, and oblig'd to ſurrender their Poſſeſſions; Abbies were ſold, and Churches pillag'd; the Counſel of Ill Men was follow'd, and the Advice of Good Men deſpis'd. That he had conven'd him before a Synod, but had gain'd nothing but Hatred; He ought indeed to love his Mortal Brother, but much more his Immortal Father: Therefore,* added he, *ſeeing God has exercis'd his Judgments, by letting him fall into the Hands of powerful Men, leſt the Kingdom ſhould be loſt for want of a Governor, I have call'd you hither by my Legantine Power. Yeſterday the Cauſe was propounded in private to the greateſt Part of the Clergy of* England, *to whom of Right it belongs to Elect and Ordain a King; and therefore, after invoking the Divine Aſſiſtance, we Elect* Matilda *Queen of* England, *the Daughter of the peaceable, glorious and incomparable King* Henry. *A Council called at* Wincheſter, *in which the Empreſs is declar'd Queen.*

Ibid. All that were preſent aſſented, or by their Silence would not contradict what was done. The Legate alſo told them, *That he had ſummon'd the Citizens of* London, *and expected them the next Day.* Accordingly they came, and being brought into the Council, declar'd *That they came from the Community of* London, *not to raiſe any Debates or Conteſts, but to petition that their Lord the King might be releas'd out of Priſon; which was the earneſt Deſire of all the Barons, and great Men lately receiv'd into their Community.* The Legate anſwer'd at large, and with a Grace, *That it became not the* Londoners, *who were eſteem'd as Noblemen in* England, *to join with ſuch Barons as had forſaken their King in Battel, render'd the holy Church contempti-*

ble, and favour'd them only for their own Advantage. Upon which a Chaplain of King *Stephen*'s Queen, offer'd a Letter from her to the Legate, which becauſe he refus'd to communicate to the Aſſembly, the Chaplain with great Confidence read it himſelf, in which the Quen *earneſtly begg'd of the Clergy, particularly the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *her Lord's Brother, to reſtore him to the Kingdom, whom his wicked Subjects had caſt into Priſon.* To which the Legate gave ſuch an Anſwer as he had given to the *Londoners*; who after a Conſultation, ſaid, *They would communicate the Reſolution of the Council to their Fellow-Citizens, and comply with it as far as they could.* This done, many of the King's Party were excommunicated, particularly *William Martel*, his Steward, whoſe Advice he had follow'd in many Things; and ſo after three Days Seſſion only, the Council was diſſolv'd. From *Wilton* the Empreſs went to *Reading*, where with a great Multitude, *Robert D'oyly* came and offer'd her the Caſtle of *Oxford*; which ſhe receiv'd with the Homage of that City, and the Country round about. From thence ſhe went to the famous Monaſtery of St. *Albans*, where many of the *London* Citizens met her, and treated about delivering the City to her; to which Place ſhe repaired, thinking her ſelf ſafe in the Company of ſo many Biſhops and Barons. At *Weſtminſter* he was receiv'd with a magnificent Proceſſion, and ſtay'd there ſome Days to give Directions and Orders about the State and Affairs of the Kingdom.

She comes to London.

The Empreſs thus eſtabliſh'd, all now eſteem'd her as Fortune's Darling, and beheld her as their only riſing Sun; and had her Diſcretion been equal to her Reſolution, ſhe might have reign'd many Years in Proſperity. For now the Priſon Walls had obſcur'd and defac'd all the Virtues and Favours of the unfortunate *Stephen*, whoſe ſorrowful Queen *Matilda* inceſſantly ſolicited the Empreſs in her Husband's Favour, deſiring his Liberty, but not his Crown, which ſhe ſhould freely enjoy; and thereupon offer'd many great Perſons for Pledges, who gave their Faith for him, *That from thenceforward he ſhould devote himſelf to a religious Solitude, becoming either a Monk or a Pilgrim.* All which ſhe rejected with great Haughtineſs, and with but little better Grace refus'd the Legate Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, when he only deſir'd that his Nephew *Euſtace* might enjoy his Father's Honours and Lands in *Normandy*. The *Londoners* likewiſe having lately acknowledg'd her for Queen, thought they might have whatever they deſired, and became Petitioners to her, *That ſhe would mitigate the over hard Laws of her Father, and put thoſe of King* Edward *in full Force.* This ſhe abſolutely deny'd; which being in an unſetled State, prov'd very impolitick and pernicious. For firſt *Stephen*'s Queen *Matilda* ſent to her Son *Euſtace*, *That their Suits muſt be obtain'd only by War*; urging him to ſtrengthen his Party by the Aſſiſtance of the *Kentiſh* Men: Several of the Nobility alſo repin'd, that they were ſo ſlightly regarded, or rather rejected; and the *Londoners* inrag'd at this laſt Repulſe, endeavour'd to make the Empreſs their Priſoner, and ſo redeem *Stephen*, who had chiefly their Affections; but ſhe hearing of the Deſign, fled ſecretly in the Night, and retired to *Oxford*, which in all her Difficulties ſhe ever found true to her, out of Love both to her Cauſe, and the Memory of her Father. At the ſame Time the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s high Mind not bearing the Denial of his Suit, upon ſecret Conferences with *Stephen*'s Queen, by her ſorrowful Entreaties began to melt in his Affection towards the diſtreſſed King his Brother; and at length reſolv'd to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt, and abſolv'd all thoſe whom before he had excommunicated, alledging, *That the Barons had kept their Faith with the Empreſs, but ſhe had done otherwiſe with them:* And thinking it now Time to ſtand up for his Brother, he ſolicited the diſcontented *Londoners* in his favour, and ſtored the Caſtles of *Waltham*, *Fernham* and *Wincheſter* with Men and Ammunition.

She diſobliges the Citizens and others.

She retires to Oxford.

Malmſb. Gervaſe. &c.

In the mean Time the Empreſs haſten'd to *Gloceſter* to confer with her great Friend *Milo*, and ſoon after returning to *Oxford*, was there ſolely maintain'd at

Malmſb.

at his Charge, having no Subſiſtance of her own; to requite which Fidelity and other Services, ſhe there created him Earl of *Hereford*. Having gather'd a conſiderable Force together, ſhe march'd directly to *Wincheſter*, accompany'd with her Uncle *David* King of *Scotland*, her Brother *Robert*, and many of the Nobility; and arriving at the City, ſhe ſent for the Biſhop, whoſe Intereſt ſhe much deſired, to come to her with all Speed. But he thinking it not ſafe, return'd an equivocal Anſwer, *That he would prepare himſelf*, as if he deſign'd to follow them; and ſo iſſuing privately out of the City immediately *prepar'd* himſelf to work her Ruin: For getting the Aſſiſtance of Queen *Matilda* and her Son *Euſtace*, the *Londoners* and *William de Ypres*, he made good his Party; himſelf and Friends remaining in the City, while the Empreſs and her Nobility defended themſelves in the Caſtle, without daring to go forth among ſo many Enemies. And ſhortly after, knowing the Citizens to be better affected to the Empreſs than himſelf, to gratifie his revengeful Temper, he commanded the City to be ſet on Fire, by which the great Nunnery, the Convent of St. *Grimbald*, above twenty Churches, and the greateſt Part of the City was conſum'd to Aſhes. Seven Weeks being ſpent in the Siege and Counter-Siege of the City and Caſtle, the Empreſs under great Troubles and Reſtraints, deſir'd to change her Quarters; and with no ſmall Difficulty march'd out with her Brother Earl *Reginald*, and many other Friends, beſides Earl *Robert*, who brought up the Reer with two hundred undaunted Followers. She was immediately follow'd by the King's Forces, and many of her Men ſlain and taken Priſoners; but ſhe by good Fortune eſcap'd to the Caſtle of *Lutgurſhal*, and from thence to the *Deviſes*; where finding that ſhe was ſtill in Danger, according to *Brompton* and others, ſhe was oblig'd to be carry'd to *Gloceſter* in a common Coffin or Herſe, like a dead Corps; in which ſhe had good Occaſion to reflect upon the Chains ſhe had put upon her Rival *Stephen*. But her Brother Earl *Robert* met with worſe Fortune, who while he was more careful in providing for her Safety than his own, was taken Priſoner, and brought back to *Wincheſter*, where he was preſented by the Biſhop to Queen *Matilda*, who committed him to the Cuſtody of *William de Ypres*, and for more Security ſent him to *Rocheſter*: But others taking Sanctuary in the Nunnery of *Warwell*, were burnt, together with the Place. *Robert*, ſtill undaunted in his Misfortunes, tho' he was tempted by Promiſes and urg'd by Threats to deſert his Siſter's Cauſe, yet nothing would prevail with him; nor would he enter into any Treaty for his own Releaſe, without her Conſent, or to her Prejudice. But within the Space of ſix Months, the King and he were both exchang'd upon equal Terms; ſo that each Party was left at liberty to purſue the War with as great Eagerneſs as ever.

and from thence to Winchester.

Where ſhe is put to great Diſtreſs.

Earl Robert *taken Priſoner.*

King Stephen *releas'd.*

Malmſ. Not long after the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* proceeded in his Deſign to ruin the Empreſs, and by his Legantine Authority ſummon'd a Synod to meet at *Weſtminſter*; where the Pope's Letters to him were openly read, in which *he blam'd him for ſo little endeavouring to reſtore his Brother, exhorting him to uſe all Power both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular to effect it.* King *Stephen* alſo in this Council complain'd, *That his Subjects, to whom he had never deny'd Juſtice, had impriſon'd, and reproachfully treated him to his great Affliction.* Upon which the Legate by his Rhetorick endeavour'd to juſtifie his own Proceedings, alledging, *That he had receiv'd the Empreſs by Compulſion, not Choice; and when the King's Army was routed, and his Nobility fled, ſhe with her Adherents came to* Wincheſter; *and whatever Promiſes ſhe made there, ſhe had wilfully broke.* He further urg'd, *That ſhe and her Friends had contriv'd to deprive him both of his Dignity and Life, but God had defeated her Deſigns; and the King his Brother being now freed from his Impriſonment, he commanded them on the behalf of God and the Pope, that they would aſſiſt him with their whole Power, 'Who was anointed by the Will of the People, and 'Aſſent of the Apoſtolick See; and that he would excommunicate all Diſturbers of the publick Peace, that favour'd the Cauſe of the Empreſs.* The Le-

His Cauſe is vindicated in a Synod.

gate's Words were not very grateful to all the Clergy, tho' none reply'd, but out of Fear and Reverence kept silence; only one Lay-Messenger from the Empress boldly forbad the Legate, *by the Fealty he had sworn to the Empress, to act any Thing contrary to her Honour or Interest*, adding, *That she came into* England *by his Invitation, and that her imprisoning the King was by his Approbation.* All this, and much more, which he urg'd against the Legate with great Shapness, could not move him to return any Answer, or to shew any Passion, much less to desist from his late Designs.

A. D. 1142. Reg. 7/8.

In the following Year Earl *Robert*, fearing the King's Power and his Sister's Declension, went into *Normandy* to solicit her Husband *Geoffry* for her Assistance. But that Earl having Troubles with his own Nobility, and the *Normans* being scarcely brought to Subjection, thought it not convenient to leave his Country; therefore he only sent some Forces with *Robert*, and with them his young Son Prince *Henry* into *England*. The Empress in his Absence had strongly fortify'd her self in *Oxford*, whom King *Stephen* follow'd with an eager Pursuit, and won the Suburbs to the City Gates; and resolving not to desist 'till he had got her in his Possession, he so closely besieg'd her, that for two Months whatsoever Strength or Stratagem could perform on either Side was there put in practice. 'Till at length Want made the Besieg'd think of a Surrender; upon which the Empress was once more forc'd to make use of Policy, and to take Advantage of the Sharpness of the Winter, when the River *Thames* was cover'd with Ice and Snow. Being reduc'd to Extremity, she undertook a dangerous Attempt; for cloathing her self, and a select Company with white Linnen Garments, to deceive the Eyes of the Sentinels, she issu'd secretly by Night out of a Postern Gate, and passing the frozen River ran on Foot through Ice, Snow, Ditches and Vallies for five Miles, as far as *Abington*, with the Snow still driving in their Faces; and there taking Horse, the same Night recover'd the Castle of *Wallingford*, to the great Joy and Admiration of that Garrison. In the mean Time Earl *Robert*, and Prince *Henry* had besieg'd and taken the Castle of *Warham*, hoping to divert the King from the Siege of *Oxford*; but soon after hearing of the strange Escape of the Empress, he came with young *Henry* to his Mother, whose Sight made her forget the many Troubles she had endur'd. Here *Malmesbury*, the most judicious and considerable of the Monkish Writers, concludes his History, being patroniz'd by *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*.

Malmsb. Hunting. Hoveden.

The Empress closely besieg'd in Oxford.

She makes her Escape.

A. D. 1143. Reg. 8/9, &c.

In the Beginning of the next Year, King *Stephen* was present at a Synod in *London*, which was held by the Legate Bishop of *Wincheſter*, in which it was ordain'd, 'That whoever laid violent Hands upon one in Holy Orders, 'should not be absolv'd, but by the Pope himself,' and then only in his Presence. Which last Clause to a former Decree made in the Reign of King *Henry*, render'd the Persons of all Ecclesiasticks for the future inviolable. This was a most seasonable Ordinance for the Clergy, for now daily Devastations and Outrages were committed in all Parts, and a dismal Civil War was carry'd on for several Years in this Nation. Of this we have but a short and slender Account: We find that *Oxford* was surrender'd to the King upon Conditions, and that *Wilton* was fired by Earl *Robert*. Then the Tower of *London*, with the Castles of *Walden* and *Pleeſes*, and afterwards that of *Lincoln* were yielded to *Stephen*; the Castles of *Warham* and *Portland* submitted to the Empress: The Earls of *Cheſter* and *Eſſex* were surpriz'd by the King; and his Favourite *William Martel* was taken and imprison'd by *Robert*. Thus about four Years pass'd with Variety of Success, and every Year on each Side produc'd fresh Calamities, to the infinite Damage of the whole Kingdom, and mostly to the strengthning and encreasing King *Stephen*'s Interest. For during this Time, the two famous Earls, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and *Milo* of *Hereford*, Men of great Abilities and unshaken Fidelity to the Empress, both lost their Lives, one by a Distemper, and the other by an Accident. The Miseries of the Nation, and the Loss of

Hoveden. Hunting. M. Paris. &c.

MAny Actions.

King Stephen's *Interest increases.*

two

two ſuch Supporters, caus'd the Empreſs to leave *England*, and retire into *Normandy*, where ſhe continu'd with her Husband 'till his Death; having not long before ſent her Son *Henry* to his Father, who deſir'd rather to have him Heir of a Dukedom with Safety, than of that of a Kingdom with continual Hazard.

The Empreſs leaves the Nation.

Hunting. Hoveden. Gervaſe.

IV. Upon the Departure of the Empreſs, King *Stephen* began to take freſh Courage, and caus'd ſeveral of the Barons to ſwear Allegiance to his Son *Euſtace*; by which Compliment he ſuppos'd all Things had been ſecure on his Side. In the ſame Year he repair'd to *Lincoln*, and for a while kept his Court there; and to ſhew his Grandeur, wore his Crown at the *Chriſtmaſs* Solemnity, which no King before him durſt undertake to do in that City, being deterr'd by a certain ſuperſtitious Propheſie, foretelling Death, or ſome extraordinary Misfortune to any Prince who attempted it, which the King not regarding, is therefore by our Hiſtorians commended for his Courage. In this Year alſo, or the next, Pope *Eugene* in a Council held at *Rheims*, without the Conſent of the greateſt Part of his Cardinals, ſolemnly depriv'd *William* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, becauſe he had been nominated by the King before he was canonically elected, and the Chapter of *York* commanded to make a new Election, which fell upon *Henry Murdac* Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Fountains*; and *William* was oblig'd to retire to *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who maintain'd him 'till the Death of the ſaid Pope.

A. D. 1147. Reg. 12/13.

King Stephen *wears his Crown at* Lincoln.

Gervaſe. Hunting. Hoveden. &c.

While King *Stephen* thought himſelf ſecure in his Throne, Prince *Henry*, now about ſixteen Years of Age, reſolv'd to make one Attempt more for a Crown, and accordingly came over into *England* with a ſmall but ſelect Army; to whom were join'd the diſcontented Earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger* Son of the deceas'd *Milo*, with many Knights and valiant Men of the *Engliſh*. *Henry* ſoon march'd into the North, and met with his Coſen *David* King of *Scotland*, by whom he was moſt honourably receiv'd, and ſolemnly knighted. From that Time he ſought all Occaſion to provoke both *Stephen* and his Son *Euſtace*; and having ſetled ſome Affairs with his chief Counſellors for the Purſuit of his Deſigns in *England*, he return'd into *Normandy*, to tranſact ſome other Buſineſs that might be available to theſe Ends. Where he ſtay'd not long before his Father *Geoffry* dy'd, and left him in Poſſeſſion both of the Dukedom of *Normandy* and the Earldom of *Anjou*. And to add to his growing Greatneſs, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, he marry'd the fam'd *Eleanor*, Dutcheſs of *Guienne* and *Aquitain*, who had lately been divorc'd from *Lewis* King of *France* for Conſanguinity and Suſpicion of Adultery, after ſhe had born him two Daughters. *Lewis* now fearing Iſſue made by this Marriage, to the diſinheriting of his ſaid Daughters, was highly incens'd with Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen* alſo fearing his Greatneſs, having now the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Guienne*, *Aquitain* and *Poictou*, both of them ſought all Methods to diminiſh his Power. *Lewis* with Prince *Euſtace* oppos'd him in foreign Parts, and *Stephen* in *England*; where to ſecure the Succeſſion, he endeavour'd to inveſt Prince *Euſtace* with the *Engliſh* Diadem, in order to cut off all Hopes from Duke *Henry*. And calling a grand Council at *London*, King *Stephen* commanded *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to crown his Son *Euſtace*, which he abſolutely refus'd, alledging, *That the Pope had forbidden him to crown him, whoſe Father had contrary to his Oath uſurp'd the Kingdom.* At which Repulſe, the King ſhut up all the Biſhops with their Primate in one Houſe; but the latter made his Eſcape, and fled into *Normandy*, which intirely defeated the King's Deſigns. But to be reveng'd on him for this Diſappointment, he ſeiz'd on all his Lands and Poſſeſſions.

A. D. 1149. Reg. 14/15.

Duke Henry *comes into* England.

His Father leaves him great Poſſeſſions.

A. D. 1151. Reg. 16/17.

He marries King Lewis's *Queen* Eleanor

A. D. 1152. Reg. 17/18.

King Stephen *in vain endeavours to Crown his Son.*

Gervaſe. Diceto. Hunting.

King *Stephen*, finding his Title now queſtion'd by the Church, who had before eſtabliſh'd it, reſolv'd to make it good by the Sword; and winning the Caſtle of *Newberry*, fortify'd *Malmesbury*, and laid cloſe Siege to *Wallingford*; againſt which he erected the Caſtle of *Cranmerſe*, to hinder all Communication. But Duke *Henry*, having put a ſtop to the Wars abroad, return'd into *England* with

A. D. 1153. Reg. 12/19.

with a conſiderable Force; and being join'd by many of the Nobility, who yielded to him above thirty ſtrong Caſtles, he haſten'd to the Relief of *Wallingford*, where he undertook a great Enterprize; for he ſurrounded the Beſiegers with a large Intrenchment, and kept them as much from Relief, as they had done the Beſieg'd. King *Stephen* haſtning to their Succour, encamp'd near the Enemy, and being ready to give Battel, the Winter Storms prevented him; but ſoon after, while the King at the Head of his Army was giving Orders for a Battel, his Horſe mounted thrice with his fore Legs, 'till at laſt he fell down backwards, to the great Hazard of the King's Perſon. Upon which *William* Earl of *Arundel*, a brave and eloquent Man, took occaſion to exhort the King *To be warn'd by theſe ill Omens, and not to expect any Succeſs againſt the juſter Cauſe; aud that there were ſo many near Relations and Friends ſet againſt each other, that they could not engage without a great and unnatural Effuſion of Blood; therefore he ought to ſend Meſſengers to the Duke to treat of a Peace.* Upon which Advice it was reſolv'd to come to a Parly, which was ſignify'd to Duke *Henry*; who being warm and ready for Battel, could hardly moderate his youthful Ardour; yet by the Importunity of his Friends he yielded to an Interview with the King near *Wallingford*, where the River *Thames* being narrow, they could diſcourſe together from the oppoſite Banks. After a long and private Conference, they both return'd to their Camps, and ſoon after agreed to a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities.

Duke Henry's Intereſt increaſes.

He makes a Truce with the King.

But *Euſtace* the King's Son was highly diſoblig'd by this Treaty, which he knew would end to his Prejudice, and leaving the Court in a Paſſion, march'd into *Cambridgeſhire*, and then into *Suffolk*; where coming to the Abby of St. *Edmund's-Bury*, he was treated with all Reſpect, but not receiving Mony which he demanded for his Soldiers, he order'd them to ſeize upon all the Corn belonging to the Abby; but ſitting down to Dinner, upon the firſt Bit he eat, he fell into a Frenzy, and expir'd in a little Time. He was eighteen Years of Age, born to be never out of the Calamities of War, and was bury'd at *Feverſham* with his Mother *Matilda*, who deceas'd a little before, without any real Injoyment of a Crown. *Stephen* began to find the Puniſhments of Heav'n in theſe great Loſſes, and upon the expiring of the Truce, many fell from him, and many Caſtles were loſt, as *Bertnell*, *Reading*, *Warwick*, *Stamford* and others. And under theſe Afflictions he was more inclinable to a Peace, which was much promoted by Arch-Biſhop *Theobald*; and alſo *Henry* of *Wincheſter*, who by making his Brother King had brought ſuch Miſeries upon the Nation, now ſtrucken with Remorſe, contributed his utmoſt Aſſiſtance to this great Work. Upon which a grand Council was ſummon'd both by the King and Duke to meet at *Wincheſter*, conſiſting of all the great Men of either Party, who were joyfully receiv'd with a ſolemn Proceſſion; and there in the Preſence of infinite Multitudes the King led the Duke by the Hand, and then a Peace was concluded on theſe Conditions: 'Firſt that *Stephen* ſhould enjoy the Crown of *England* during Life: Secondly, upon his Deceaſe, *Henry* ſhould ſucceed him as his Lawful Heir. Then the King adopted the Duke for his Son, and at the ſame time pay'd him Reverence, and acknowledg'd him as a Father and Lord; and Earl *William*, the King's only ſurviving lawful Son, at his Father's Command did Homage to the Duke. After theſe Things were ſolemnly perform'd, and ratify'd by the mutual Oaths of the King, Biſhops and Temporal Lords, a firm Peace, which for many Years had been baniſh'd from the Nation, was happily reſtor'd. The Duke was receiv'd, with the King, at *London*, at *Oxford*, at *Canterbury*, and other Places, with all Demonſtrations of Joy; but the Duke's Pleaſures were interrupted by a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon by certain *Flemmings*; but juſt upon the Execution, *William* the King's Son, who was concern'd in it, falling from his Horſe upon *Burham* Down, broke his Leg, and for Want of a Leader the Deſign fail'd. However it occaſion'd the Duke to take his final Leave of the King, and paſs over into *Normandy*, where after a Year's Abſence he was joyfully receiv'd by his Mother, Wife and all his Subjects. King

Gervaſe. Hunting. M. Paris.

The King's Son Euſtace dies.

A Peace concluded between Stephen and Henry.

A. D. 1154. Reg. 19.

The Duke goes into Normandy.

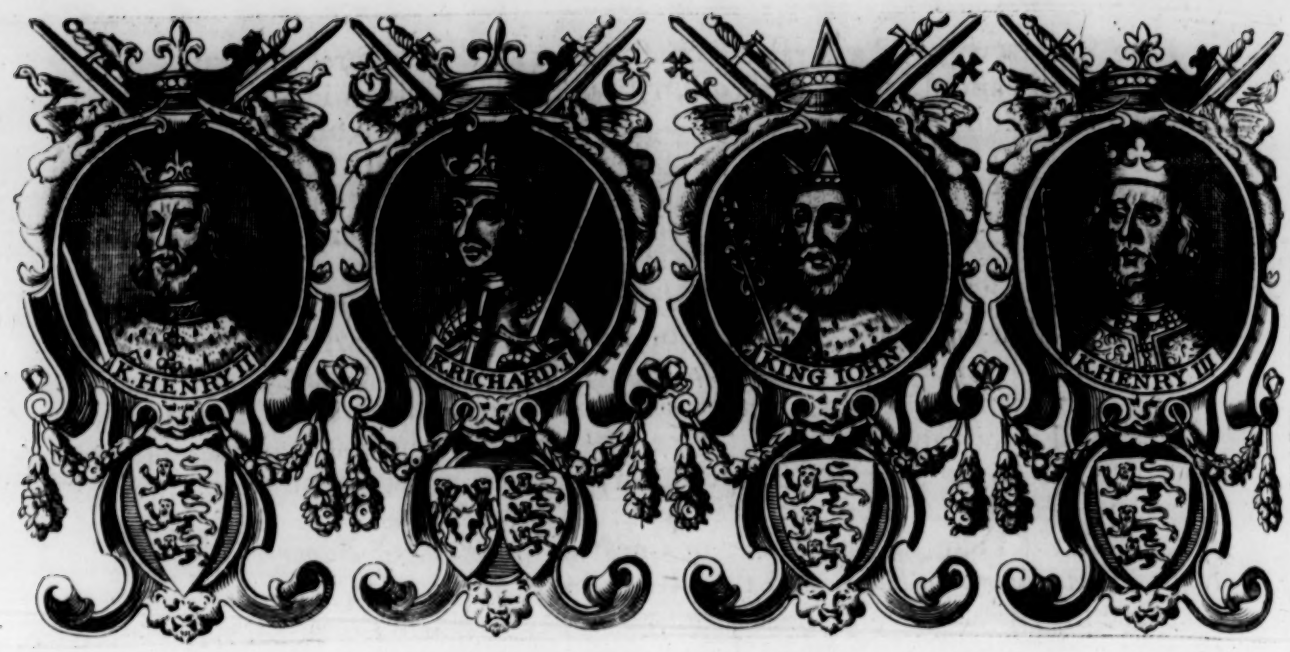
Hunting, &c. King *Stephen* now had a fair Proſpect of reaping all the Pleaſures that a Crown in Peace could afford him, and accordingly us'd all laudable Methods for the repairing the Ruins of the Kingdom; but God thought fit to allow him but a ſhort Enjoyment of that Crown he ſo unjuſtly acquired, and after he had puniſh'd him with the Loſs of all Hopes of the Succeſſion in his Family, he took him out of this World upon the 25th Day of *October*, after a calamitous Reign of eighteen Years, nine Months, and ſeventeen Days. He was near fifty Years of Age, and dy'd of his old Diſtemper the Emroids, accompany'd with Iliack Pains, being bury'd by his Wife and Son at *Feverſham* in the Abby Church of that Monaſtery which he himſelf had founded. As to his Character he had undoubtedly many princely Qualities, as Valour, Affability, and Generoſity both to his Friends and Enemies; but at the ſame Time he was unmeaſurably ambitious, reſolving to be no Slave to his Word or Oath, which brought vaſt Calamities upon him and others. Yet he ſhew'd ſignal Marks of Devotion, particularly in the Founding the Abbies of *Cogſhall* in *Eſſex*, of *Furneſs* in *Lancaſhire*, *Feverſham* in *Kent*, and the Nunneries of *Carew* and *Higham*. Setting aſide his Ambition and unjuſt Title, he was an excellent Prince; none burthening their Subjects with fewer Taxes, nor governing with greater Clemency; and notwithſtanding the many Inſurrections, he is ſaid never to have put one Man to Death. The Cuſtom of holding the ſplendid Aſſemblies or *Curiæ* at the three great Feſtivals, which in the former Reign began to languiſh, by reaſon of the unſetled Times was now wholly laid aſide. Theſe Times of Confuſion alſo gave the Pope and Clergy great Opportunities to encroach upon the Regal Power, and to introduce new Laws, Uſages and Cuſtoms. Particularly the Pope's Canon Law was now firſt brought into the Nation; which was compil'd into a Code or Body by *Gratian*, and publiſh'd by Pope *Eugene* in the Year 1151. The Occaſion of bringing it hither was a great Conteſt between the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; which brought over Lawyers from *Rome*, together with their Law, *Vacarius* being the firſt Profeſſor of it in *Oxford*.

King Stephen dies.

His Character.

The Canon Law firſt introduc'd here.

CHAP.



CHAP. II.

The Plantagenets *Undivided; From the Death of King* Stephen, *and Reſtoration of the* Saxon *Line, to the Death of King* Henry *the Third.*

Containing the Space of about 118 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Second.*

Containing 34 *Years,* 8 *Months, and* 12 *Days.*

A. D. 1154. Reg. 1.

I. THE Miſeries of the late Civil Wars had ſo conquer'd the Spirit of Ambition in the Land, that tho' *Stephen* left a Son behind him, who wanted not a conſiderable Intereſt, Duke *Henry* found an eaſie and uninterrupted Acceſſion to the Throne of *England.* Tho' he was a *French* Man by Birth, he came to the Crown neither unexpected, nor undeſired; for the Opinion of the Nation, and the Hopes conceiv'd of his future Government, had the Force to keep *England* in an intire Obedience above ſix Weeks without the Preſence of a King; whoſe Entrance, like that of the Soul into the Body, did immediately invigorate the whole Kingdom. He was ſoon after his Arrival ſolemnly crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, together with *Eleanor* his Queen, by *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, on the nineteenth Day of *December*, with the loud Acclamations of all the People, being now about twenty one Years of Age. He was ſirnam'd *Plantagenet*, that is *Planta Geneſta*, or *Broom Plant*; and being Son of the Empreſs, who was Grand-Daughter to Queen *Margaret* the Siſter of *Edgar Etheling*, in him the Royal Line of the old *Engliſh Saxons* was reſtored. He was not only the neareſt Heir to the Crown, after his Mother's Deceaſe, but was alſo the moſt powerful Monarch that had hitherto ſate upon the *Engliſh* Throne; being, beſides *England* and *Normandy*, poſſeſs'd of a great Part of *France* before recited.

M. Paris, &c.

King Henry *and Queen* Eleanor *crown'd.*

In

M. Paris. Hoveden. Gervaſe. In order to reſtore a ruinous and waſted Country, he began with demoliſhing ſeveral Caſtles, which had been the Neſts of Rebellion, and reſum'd others to his own Uſe, and likewiſe ſuch Lands and Eſtates as had been alienated from the Crown, as the unjuſt Reward of thoſe who withſtood his Title. Others write, that he promiſcuouſly reſum'd all ſuch Lands, as were by a ſet Number of Jurors found at any Time to have belong'd to the Crown. He reduc'd ſome Noblemen unduly created to a private Condition, and clear'd the Nation of Foreign Soldiers; eſpecially from the *Flemmings*, whoſe mercenary Swarms had been moſt burdenſome to the Land, and pernicious to his Cauſe. A. D. 1155. Reg. 1/2.

King Henry's wiſe Eſtabliſhments.

Then to preſerve good Government, he choſe a Body of Counſellors out of the moſt eminent of the Clergy and Laity; as *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Deacon of the ſame See, whom he made Chancellor of *England*, as alſo *John* of *Oxenford*, with divers other Prelates; of the Laity he had *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, chief Juſticiary of *England*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Jocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Nevile*, and others; but in his Cabinet Council, he had his Mother the Empreſs, now one of the moſt experienc'd Ladies of the Age. Thus furniſh'd, he aſſembled a Council or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he caus'd the whole Kingdom to ſwear to the Succeſſion of his two young Sons *William* and *Henry*, the former dying not long after; and here he confirm'd the Laws of St. *Edward*, and the ancient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and likewiſe granted a ſhort Charter of Liberties, which in Subſtance is a bare Confirmation of all that his Grand-father *Henry* I. had granted. Theſe hopeful Beginnings of ſo young a King were as grateful to the Quiet and Peaceable, as they were unpleaſant to the Wicked and Rapacious; who were now either forc'd to leave the Country, or put on the Appearance of Honeſty; by which Means all Men quietly enjoy'd the Fruits of a long deſired Peace.

Hoveden. M. Paris. &c. King *Henry* having ſetled his Affairs in *England* to his Satisfaction, haſten'd into *France* to King *Lewis*, where he did Homage to him for *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Main* and *Tourain*; which were partly his own Patrimony, and partly the Inheritance of *Eleanor* his Queen. But his Brother *Geoffry* having a juſt Title to the Earldom of *Anjou*, by his Father's Will, held out that Country againſt him. Yet *Henry*, tho' he himſelf had ſworn to obey his Father's Will, never regarded it; but procuring Pope *Adrian* to diſpenſe with his Oath, by Force he unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd his Brother of all his Territories, and oblig'd him to accept of an Annuity of a thouſand Pounds *Engliſh*, and two thouſand more of *Anjouvin* Mony; which in the third Year was ended by the Death of *Geoffry*. After this Succeſs King *Henry* return'd into *England*, and at *Cheſter* he contracted a Friendſhip with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon the ſame Terms with his Grand-father *Henry*; upon which *Malcolm* ſurrender'd the City of *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, and that of *Bamborough*, and King *Henry* reſtored to him the Earldom of *Huntington* in *England*. A. D. 1156. Reg. 2/3.

He goes into France.

He returns.

M. Paris. Hoveden. &c. The King daily increas'd in Strength and Power; and yet the *Welſh*, a reſtleſs People, ſtill ventur'd to make frequent Incurſions into *England*, which occaſion'd *Henry* to raiſe a powerful Army to ſubdue them, and bring them to a peaceable Correſpondency. The Enemy truſting to the Security of their Woods and Mountains, retreated thither upon his Approach; and the Van of the King's Army marching in thoſe difficult Places, was intercepted by them, and a great Part of it cut in Pieces. Upon which *Henry de Eſſex*, the King's hereditary Standard-Bearer, threw down his Standard and fled, alſo reporting that the King was ſlain, which put the whole Army into a great Confuſion; but upon the King's ſudden Appearance it receiv'd new Vigour, rallied, and forc'd the Enemy to ſuch Terms as ſatisfy'd the King. He cut down their Woods, and made open Ways into their Country, had the Caſtle of *Roelent*, and all other Places ſurrender'd to him which they had taken from his Predeceſſors, and receiving the Homage and Fealty of their Nobles and great Men, he return'd in A. D. 1157. Reg. 3/4.

His Expedition againſt the Welſh.

Triumph into *England*. But *Henry de Eſſex* for his Cowardice was charg'd with Treaſon by *Robert de Montfort*, a valiant Nobleman, and in a Trial by a ſingle Combate was vanquiſh'd, for which his Life was forfeited by Law; but the King ſpared it, and caus'd him to be ſhorn a Monk in the Abby of *Reading*, and ſeiz'd upon all his vaſt Eſtate. Not long after the King's third Son *Richard* was born in his Palace at *Oxford*, who afterwards ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom. The Beginning of which Year the King ſpent in a Progreſs through *England*, and coming to the City of *Lincoln*, he caus'd himſelf to be again crown'd in a Suburb call'd *Wickford*, without the Walls, being deterr'd by ſome ſuperſtitious Propheſies from wearing the Crown in the City it ſelf, which tho' it had before been deſpis'd by King *Stephen*, yet this King could not free himſelf from thoſe vain Apprehenſions. In the following Year he and his Queen were again crown'd at *Worceſter* upon *Eaſter Sunday*; and coming to the Oblation, they there devoutly offer'd up their Crowns at the High-Altar, vowing never to wear them after, which they ſtrictly obſerv'd. After this we do not find many of our Kings to have worn their Crowns at the great Feſtivals as formerly.

A. D. 1158. Reg. 4/5

The King is crown'd again at Lincoln;

and at Worceſter,

A. D. 1159. Reg. 5/6.

where he lays down his Crown.

King *Henry* having eſtabliſh'd his Affairs in *England*, croſs'd a ſecond Time into *Normandy*, where for three or four Years ſeveral Matters of Importance ſucceſſively occurr'd, tho' not largely treated of by the Writers of theſe Times: As his ſeiſing the City of *Nants* and a great Part of *Bretaign*, after his Brother *Geoffry*'s Deceaſe: His Journey to *Paris*, with *Eleanor* his Queen, upon a formal Invitation by King *Lewis*: His expenſive and unſucceſsful Siege of *Tholouſe*, where *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* was in Company with him, and knighted by him: The immature Marriage of his Son *Henry* with *Margaret* the *French* King's Daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* Lord Chancellor had conducted with great Pomp from *Paris*, by Conſent of Parents, for that Purpoſe: The Offence taken at thoſe Eſpouſals by King *Lewis*, becauſe the Parties were but Children, and himſelf a Loſer by the Contract: The War hereupon attempted by *Lewis*, who fortifying *Chaumont*, which King *Henry* recover'd with Advantage, after the *French* had quitted the Field by Flight: The Armies of both Kings, being afterwards ready to join Battel, were reconcil'd by Pope *Alexander*, who was ſo honour'd by them, that they both walk'd on Foot by his Horſe's Side, and perform'd the Office of Yeomen or Gentlemen of the Stirrup. After which King *Henry*, after a long Abſence from *England*, return'd with great Satisfaction, Honour and Reputation.

M. Paris. Hoveden. &c.

He goes into France.

His ſeveral Actions there.

A. D. 1163. Reg. 9/10.

II. King *Henry*, in the midſt of his Proſperity and Grandeur, began now to be exceedingly diſturb'd and perplex'd, by a famous Conteſt between him and *Thomas Becket*; a Man of an aſpiring Temper, and invincible Reſolution, who by Birth was a *Londoner*, and by Profeſſion a Civilian. Being in holy Orders, he was made Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and then advanc'd to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high Station he carry'd himſelf like a Soveraign King; and in the late Wars between the Kings of *England* and *France*, beſides his own Retinue, he maintain'd ſeven hundred Knights or Horſe-men, and alſo twelve thouſand others of leſs Quality, with four thouſand mercenary Footmen for one Month; and tho' he was a Clerk, he tilted with a *French* Knight, diſmounted him, and gain'd his Horſe. Upon the Death of *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Monks objected againſt *Becket*, as being a Courtier and a Soldier, yet in the Year 1162 the King gave him that Arch-Biſhoprick, partly in Reward of former Services, and partly in Hopes of greater to come. But immediately after his Conſecration, he not only reſign'd his Office of Chancellor, returning his Seal to the King, but alſo wholly chang'd his former Courſe of Life, put on a ſevere rigid Monk's Habit, liv'd an auſtere Life, alter'd and order'd his Family accordingly; and contrary to the King's Expectations, withdrew himſelf from his Obedience and Service,

Fitz-Steph. Nubrigen.

The Riſe of Thomas Becket.

He is made Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

Service, and oppos'd him in many Things. The grand Conteſt was concerning the Regal and Pontifical Authority, and was firſt diſputed upon the Account of the numerous Abuſes and Corruptions of the Church Men, who were then grown to a dangerous Height; of which *Newburg*, who liv'd in theſe Times, gives us this Account. It was declar'd in the King's Preſence, That the Clergy had committed above a hundred Murthers during his Reign, which highly provoking the King, he was ſomewhat too violent in puniſhing them; for which the Prelates ought to be blam'd, in giving ſo great an Occaſion. For whereas the Canons ordain'd, that Clerks for inferior, as well as heinous Offences, ſhould be degraded, and thouſands of ſuch were then in the Church, like much Chaff among a little good Corn; yet very few for many Years had been depriv'd. The Prelates, while they rather ſtrove to ſupport the Liberties and Dignities of the Clerks, than to puniſh and exterminate their Vices, thought they were ſerviceable to God and the Church, in protecting ſuch heinous Offenders from publick Puniſhment, whom by the Duty of their Places they ought to correct; by which Liberty and Impunity, they fear'd not God, whoſe Judgments they thought far diſtant, nor Men in Authority; ſince on the one Side their Prelates neglected to reform them, and on the other, they were by their Order exempt from Temporal Juriſdiction.

The Corruptions of the Church-Men.

Nubrigen. Hoveden. This being the State of the Church and Kingdom, in which ſome were ſo injur'd without Remedy, and others ſo injurious without Reſtraint, as if neither Sort were in the Condition of Subjects; the King, out of his Wiſdom and Zeal, took particular Care to revive the publick Diſcipline, and the Power of the ancient Laws, which thus lay neglected. To which End he had ſetled ſelect Miniſters of Juſtice in all Parts of the Land; and upon Complaints brought him of the Remiſsneſs, and other Defects of his Judges, he by his Princely Care apply'd Remedies, and puniſh'd the Delinquents. The like Remiſsneſs was complain'd of in his Eccleſiaſtical Judges; occaſion'd by a Murther, committed by a Prieſt of *Sarum* Dioceſe, whom the Arch-Biſhop order'd to be depriv'd and ſhut up in a Monaſtery, by which he was freed from a more deſerv'd Puniſhment, deſign'd by the King's Juſticiaries. With which, and ſome other like Affronts from the Arch-Biſhop, the King was highly diſpleas'd, as ſeeing all Things tend to the Ruin of Regal Government, which he deſired might be employ'd to the Impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice to all his Subjects. The Arch-Biſhop on the other Side, ſhew'd himſelf no leſs violent for the Immunities of his Clergy and See; and proceeded ſo far as to challenge from the Crown the Cuſtody of *Rocheſter* Caſtle and other Forts, which the King for the Security of his Kingdom had reſum'd into his own Hands. The Sum of the Controverſie between the Crown and the Mitre is thus deliver'd by *Hoveden*: The King expected That all ſuch of the Clergy as were taken in Robbery, Murther, Felony, and the like Crimes, ſhould be try'd and adjudg'd in his Temporal Courts, as Lay-Men were: Againſt which the Arch-Biſhop's Reſolution was, That all Clergy-Men ſo offending ſhould be try'd only in the Spiritual Courts, by Men of their own Order, and upon Conviction, ſhould at firſt only be depriv'd of their Office and Benefice; but after they were thus degraded, upon a freſh Offence, they ſhould be judg'd at the King's Pleaſure.

The King endeavours to reform them.

Becket *oppoſes him.*

The Sum of the Controverſie.

Fitz-Step Nubrigen. &c. The King finding himſelf thus depriv'd of one Half of his Soveraignty, and that *Becket* could not be mollify'd either by the Remembrance of old Favours, or the Power of freſh Perſuaſions; notwithſtanding he reſolv'd to put nothing in Execution, but what was firſt ratify'd and confirm'd by his Biſhops, of whoſe ready Aſſent to all juſt Demands, he had no Reaſon to doubt. Therefore at an Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter* the King ſhew'd his Reſentments againſt the Arch-Biſhop's Behaviour, and took an Occaſion to eſtabliſh ſeveral Articles, which he call'd *his Grand-father's Cuſtoms*, much to the Detriment of the Papal and Eccleſiaſtical Authority. The Points in thoſe Ordinances, which the Arch-Biſhop condemn'd, and ſet down in his Letters to the Pope, and his

The King eſtabliſhes ſeveral Ordinances againſt the Papal Authority.

own Suffragan Biſhops, were principally theſe: 1. That none ſhould appeal to the See of *Rome* for any Cauſe whatſoever, without the King's Licence. 2. That it ſhould not be lawful for any Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop to leave the Nation and go to the Pope, upon his Summons, without the King's Licence. 3. That no Biſhops ſhould excommunicate any one holding of the King in chief, or put any other of his Officers under Interdict, without his Licence. 4. That all criminal Clerks ſhould be try'd before ſecular Judges. 5. That the Laity, whether the King or others, ſhould hold Pleas of Churches, and Tithes, *&c.* Theſe Ordinances were peremptorily urg'd to the Arch-Biſhop and all the Biſhops, who anſwer'd, *That they willingly conſented to them, ſaving in all Things their Order, and the Rights of the Church.* This Anſwer highly diſpleaſing the King, caus'd him to remove ſuddenly to *Woodſtock*, to which Place the Biſhops follow'd him, earneſtly perſuading the Arch-Biſhop to comply, as they already had done. At firſt he was immoveable, but at length overcome by the Importunities of the Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Hereford*, he aſſented to acknowledge the King's Laws without that *Saving Clauſe*, which had given ſo much Offence. At which the King ſeem'd ſatisfy'd for the preſent; however he reſolv'd to have all their Conſents ratify'd in a grand Council of the whole Kingdom.

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10/11.

To this End, that he might better aſſert the Rights of the Crown, he call'd a Parliament at *Clarendon* in *Wiltſhire*, where he propounded to the Biſhops and Secular Barons many ancient Regular Cuſtoms and Laws, which he expected the Biſhops to recognize, as the ancient Rights of the Crown; which Laws, being the ſame with thoſe before-mention'd, have commonly been call'd *The Conſtitutions of* Clarendon. All the Prelates gave a verbal Conſent to theſe, but being requir'd to put their Seals to them, the Arch-Biſhop utterly refus'd; yet at length the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leiceſter*, with other Perſons of Quality by Tears, Importunities and Arguments perſuaded him to comply with the King's Pleaſure. So that both the Arch-Biſhop, and all the Biſhops conſented to theſe Laws, and recogniz'd them under their Seals; and the King afterwards ſent them to the Pope to be confirm'd, who not only rejected them, but utterly condemn'd them. Shortly after the Arch-Biſhop began to be ſeverely afflicted, and repented of this Act, making his Body ſuffer a hard Penance for it; and he thought it ſo heinous an Offence, and ſo great a Pollution, that he was not fit to ſay Maſs, or appear before the Altar; and therefore he ſuſpended himſelf from that Service, 'till by Confeſſion and Penance he obtain'd the Pope's Abſolution. During the Controverſie, the Pope being in *France*, ſent over *Rotred* Arch-Biſhop of *Roven* to compoſe theſe Differences; but the King would not hearken to him, unleſs the Pope would firſt conſent to confirm his Laws by his Bull. And when he ſaw he could not obtain it, he ſent two of his Chaplains to prevail with the Pope to conſtitute *Roger* Arch-Biſhop of *York* his Legate throughout *England*, ſo that he might confound and mortifie *Becket*. But neither did this Project ſucceed; for the Pope knowing that *Becket*'s Cauſe was his own, would not be the Author of any Damage to ſo faithful a Servant; yet to gratifie the King, he granted by his Bull a ſlight Authority, which when the King ſaw was only ſuperficial and not effectual, he ſent it back again to the Pope by the ſame Perſon who brought it.

Fitz-Ste &c.

Becket and the Biſhops comply with them.

Becket repents, and makes new Oppoſition.

When theſe Methods fail'd others were attempted, and the Arch-Biſhop having many Enemies, ſeveral Troubles were brought upon him in a ſhort Time. First, he was condemn'd in Damages for a Mannor, which *John de Marſhall* claim'd, notwithſtanding the Arch-Biſhop had enjoy'd it a long Time without Moleſtation. Next he was proſecuted at the King's Suit for five hundred Marks, which had been lent him in the Army at *Thralouſe*, and for another like Sum, which he borrow'd of a *Jew* upon the King's Security: Then he was proſecuted for all the Profits of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and other Biſhopricks and Abbies vacant during his Chancellorſhip: Beſides all he was in Parliament call'd

Fitz-Ste Hoveden. &c.

Many Troubles fall upon him.

call'd to an Account for thirty thouſand Pounds of the King's Mony formerly in his Hands. To theſe he reply'd, *That ſince he had formerly accounted, and that the King's eldeſt Son, the Juſticiary of* England, *and all the Barons of the Exchequer had acquitted him of all Accounts, and that he ſhould come free from all Actions to the Archbiſhoprick, he therefore now would not anſwer as a Lay-Man.* Which peremptory Refuſal of his was highly aggravated with divers Accuſations, particularly of Contempt towards the King, in denying to come to his Preſence, when commanded to appear before him; and tho' he made ſeveral Excuſes and Pretences, yet the Peers and the Biſhops condemn'd all his moveable Goods to the King's Mercy. And the Prelates perceiving that the King's Diſpleaſure tended to a further Severity, premoniſh'd him to ſubmit himſelf, *Otherwiſe the Court intended to adjudge him a perjur'd Perſon, and a Traitor, for refuſing Temporal Allegiance to his Temporal Soveraign, according to his Oath.* Still finding him immoveable, the Biſhops by joint Conſent adjudg'd him guilty of Perjury, and by the Mouth of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* diſclaim'd all future Obedience to him as their Arch-Biſhop. The following Day, while the Biſhops and Peers were conſulting about ſome further Expedient, *Becket*, undaunted in his Deſigns, caus'd to be ſung before him at the Altar, *The Princes ſit and ſpeak againſt me, and the Ungodly perſecute me*, &c. And immediately taking his Silver *Croſier* in his Hands, he enter'd arm'd with it into the King's Preſence. At which the Arch-Biſhop of *York* ſeverely reprov'd him for this unpreſidented Action, declaring, *That the King carry'd much the ſharper Weapon of the two*, and adviſ'd him to lay down the Croſs. The Arch-Biſhop made Anſwer, *That tho' the King's Weapon might kill the Body, yet his own could deſtroy the Soul, and ſend it to Hell.* The King in a great Rage commanded his Peers to ſit in Judgment upon him, as a perjur'd Traitor; and accordingly they order'd him to be apprehended, and thrown into Priſon. The Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leiceſter*, citing him to hear his Sentence pronounc'd, he immediately appeal'd to the See of *Rome*, declaring them *Incompetent Judges:* Whereupon all reviling him with the Name of Traitor, he reply'd, *That were it not for his Function, he would enter a Combat with them in the Field, and acquit himſelf both of Treaſon and Perjury*; and upon that fled from the Court, and diſguiſing himſelf under the Name of *Dereman*, paſs'd over into *Flanders*.

He is declar'd a Traitor.

He leaves the Nation.

Hoveden. Gervaſe. The King on the other Side, to leave nothing unfiniſh'd, immediately diſpatch'd *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundell* to the *French* King, urging him *Not to harbour one who had fled as a Traitor*, but prevail'd not: For he on the contrary begg'd of the Pope, *That as he lov'd the* Roman *Church, and the Happineſs of* France, *he would favour and ſupport the Cauſe of* Thomas *againſt King* Henry. To this the Pope readily comply'd, upon which the King ſent an Ambaſſy to him of many great Perſons, as the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London, Wincheſter*, and *Chiceſter*, *John* of *Oxenford*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and others, whoſe ſole Employment being by any Means to procure Diſgrace to *Becket*, their final Suit was, *That his Holineſs would be pleas'd to ſend two Cardinals into* England, *fully to end the Controverſie:* But the Pope deny'd it, holding it derogatory to his own abſolute Authority, declaring like God's Vice-gerent, *It was his own Glory, which he would not give to another; but when the Arch-Biſhop was to be judged, he would judge him himſelf.* But the great Reaſon, as *Hoveden* obſerves, was that he knew the King of *England* was rich and powerful, and that Legates might eaſily be corrupted, as being greater Lovers of Gold and Silver, than Juſtice and Equity. To which *Gervaſe* adds, That the Pope and Cardinals wiſely foreſaw, That if the Arch-Biſhop was ſupported in his Cauſe it would be a Preſident for others in the like Caſe to oppoſe Kings; but if it ſunk, no Biſhop for the future would dare to withſtand their Soveraign's Pleaſure, ſo that the Power of the Church would be ſhaken, and the Authority of the Pope cruſh'd.

The French *King and the Pope ſtand his Friends.*

The

A. D. 1165. Reg. 11/12.

The King proceeds against them,

The King being thus disappointed, and impatient of a Repulse, where his own Subject was a Party, thought the Indignity offer'd by the Pope insufferable, and to let him understand how he resented it, he directed his Writs to all the Sheriffs of *England*, commanding them *to attach all such as offer'd to appeal to the* Roman *Court; together with the Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Nephews and Neices of all such of the Clergy as were with the Arch-Bishop, and to put them under Sureties; as also to seize the Revenues, Goods and Chattels of the said Clergy-Men.* Again by other Letters to *Gilbert* Bishop of *London* he sequester'd all the Livings and Benefices, which within his Province belong'd to any of the Clergy who fled over to the Arch-Bishop; so that without his Leave, they might receive no Part of the Profits. Lastly he gave strict Orders to all his Justices, That if they found any Person with Letters or Mandates from the Pope or Arch-Bishop, containing any Interdict or Excommunication against the Nation, speedy Justice should be executed upon him, as a Traitor to the Kingdom. He also caus'd the Church of *Canterbury* and all the Arch-Bishop's Goods to be confiscated, grounding himself, as it is believ'd, upon the Judgment given against *Becket* at *Northampton*, notwithstanding that Sentence had been expresly null'd by the Pope's Bull. Nor was this all, for he banish'd all the Kindred of the Arch-Bishop, Men, Women, Children and Infants; and forbad that he should be any longer publickly mention'd, and pray'd for in the Church as Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. *M. Paris, Hoveden.*

and uses many Severities.

A. D. 1166. Reg. 12/13.

Becket excommunicates great Numbers.

On the contrary Side, the Arch-Bishop, now in *France*, solemnly excommunicated all such as obey'd, promoted or defended the Regal Laws of *Clarendon*, and *Richard de Lucie*, *Richard* of *Poictou*, *Jocelin de Bailleol*, *Alan de Nevil*, and some others by Name; but being neither cited nor convicted, they appeal'd to the Pope. The King having notice, that *Becket*, after his publick Sermon on a great Festival, had threaten'd the like Sentence against his Royal Person, either to terrifie his Adversaries, or to revenge himself, got a powerful Army in Readiness, under a Pretence of subduing *Wales*. In the mean Time, *John* of *Oxenford*, the King's great Advocate, so far prevail'd with the Pope as to send two *Legates a latere* to reconcile the King and the Arch-Bishop; but after their Departure, the Pope fearing the Power and Riches of King *Henry*, sent Letters after them to put new Limits to their Authority. Upon the Appearance of these two Cardinals, *Thomas* refus'd to put his Cause to them, unless there was first plenary Restitution made to him and his Friends: But being advis'd by them to submit himself to the King, his Answer was, he would, *Saving God's Honour, and the Churches Liberty; Saving his own Honour, and the Churches Possessions; and saving his own and his Friends Rights.* Being afterwards demanded by them, *Whether, for the Peace of God's Church, he would renounce the Archbishoprick, if the King would renounce his Ordinances*; he answer'd, *That the Proposal was unequal; since he could not renounce his Archbishoprick, without betraying the Honour of his Church; but the King was oblig'd both in Honour and Conscience to renounce those Ordinances.* King *Henry* being inrag'd at so many Salvos, resolv'd to create new Troubles to the Arch-Bishop, who having been near two Years well maintain'd in the Abby of *Pontigny*, the King threaten'd that Abbot, *That if he any longer shelter'd* Becket, *he would immediately banish all the Monks of his Order out of* England. Upon which he was dismiss'd from the Monastery, and the *French* King took him to *Sens* with himself, under whose particular Protection he continu'd for about four Years; and prov'd a great Instigator of that King and the Earl of *Flanders* against the King of *England*. In which Year the King's youngest Son *John* was born, whom in Raillery his Father call'd *Sans-Terre*, as having no Lands setled upon him; tho' he afterwards obtain'd the Crown of *England*. *Hoveden, Fitz-Stephen &c.*

Two Cardinals interpose.

but in vain.

Becket remains under the French *King's Protection.*

King John *born*

A. D. 1167. Reg. 13/14.

In the following Year the King's Mother, the Empress *Matilda*, dy'd at *Roven*, in the 66th Year of her Age; and her Son distributed her great Treasure to Churches, Monasteries, Lepers and other poor People, for the good of her Soul. *M. Paris. Gervase. &c.*

Soul. Still the Pope forgot not his faithful Servant *Becket*, but honour'd him with a Confirmation of all the Privileges and Powers, that any of his Predeceſſors ever enjoy'd, in Defiance, as it were, of the King's utmoſt Indignation. On the other Side the King ſent Letters into *Germany*, declaring his Intentions to renounce the preſent Pope *Alexander*, and join with the Emperor and the Anti-Pope, which ſtill made the Breach wider and more dangerous. In the mean Time *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, being commanded by the Pope to admoniſh the King to lay aſide all Cuſtoms and Ordinances prejudicial to the Church, and to reſtore the Arch-Biſhop, he obey'd him, and in his Anſwer he endeavour'd to perſuade his Holineſs to Moderation and a Connivance, not forgetting to juſtifie his Soveraign, particularly, 'That the King was ready to obey 'the ſacred Decrees of the Church, ſaving his own and his Kingdom's Dignity: 'That as to Appeals, he claim'd that Honour by the ancient Inſtitution of his 'Kingdom, namely, That no Clerk ſhould for a civil Action leave the ſame, 'till Juſtice could not be found in his Courts at home, and then he would 'hinder no Man. That he never baniſh'd the Arch-Biſhop, who might return 'at his Pleaſure, provided he obſerv'd thoſe ancient Cuſtoms, to which he 'bound himſelf by Oath. That the King thinks himſelf fully juſtify'd, in be-'ing willing to abide by the concurrent Judgment of the Church in his own 'Kingdom. Yet after great Heats and Factions, and ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility between the Kings of *England* and *France*, a Peace being concluded, *Thomas* preſented himſelf before the two Kings, where he was urg'd in the Preſence of both to ſubmit himſelf to King *Henry* without any further Reſervations; to which he ſeem'd ready to comply, only with this Reſtriction, *Saving the Honour due to God.* With which the King being exaſperated, declar'd to the *French* King, *That ſuch were the ſubtle Evaſions of the Man, that whatſoever diſpleas'd him, he was wont to ſay was againſt the Honour of God:* Adding further, *That as there had been ſeveral Kings of* England *of leſs Power than My ſelf, and ſeveral Arch-Biſhops of* Canterbury, *Great and Holy Men; let him do what the greateſt and moſt holy of his Predeceſſors did to the leaſt of mine, and I will acquieſce.* Upon which all agreed that the King had ſufficiently yielded; and King *Lewis* offended at *Becket*, ask'd him *Whether he thought himſelf greater, or holier than St.* Peter? And the Peers of both Nations accus'd him of great Arrogance, declaring, *That he himſelf was the wilful Obſtacle of his own, and the Holy Church's Tranquility.*

The Biſhop of London *writes to the Pope.*

A. D. 1168. Reg. 14 15.

Becket appears before the Kings of France *and* England:

But in vain.

Gervaſe. M. Paris. When neither Mediations, Letters, Meſſages, or other Means would end the Controverſie, the Pope ſignify'd to the King, *That he would no longer reſtrain the Arch-Biſhop from revenging his own and the Church's Injuries by the Sword of Cenſure;* upon which the Arch-Biſhop excommunicated the Biſhop of *London*, and proceeded ſo far with others, that there were ſcarce enough left in the King's own Chappel and Preſence, to perform the uſual Service. The King highly offended at theſe Proceedings, incourag'd Biſhop *Gilbert* with moſt friendly Offers, to bear the Charges of proſecuting his Appeal againſt *Becket*; and likewiſe urg'd the Pope to ſend Legates *to abſolve his excommunicated Subjects, and ſettle a Peace, or elſe he ſhould be compell'd to provide otherwiſe for his own Security and Honour.* Thereupon two Cardinals were ſent to the King in *France*, in order to an Accommodation, but to little or no Effect. After that, by the Pope's Mediation, the two Kings of *England* and *France* met at *Paris*, whither the Arch-Biſhop repair'd, and yet no Peace enſu'd; becauſe the King refus'd *Becket* the Ceremony of the Kiſs of Peace, and would not ſatisfie any Thing under the Name of *Reſtitution*, as being againſt his Honour, ſince all Reſtitution imply'd an Injury committed. Yet as to the Matter of the Regal Cuſtoms, he freely offer'd to ſtand to the Judgment, not only of his own Divines, but alſo of thoſe of the Church of *France*; which being refus'd by the other, the King came off with much Advantage in the Opinion of the Auditors. And now ſeeing no Iſſue of

A. D. 1169. Reg. 15 16.

The Pope proceeds to Cenſures.

The King provides against them.

of his tedious Diſturbances, and underſtanding that the Arch-Biſhop of *Sens* in Perſon had ſolicited the Pope to put the Kingdom of *England* under a general Interdict, he immediately ſent out his Edicts from *Normandy* into *England*, declaring, *That whoever brought any Letters of Interdict from the Pope or* Becket, *ſhould immediately ſuffer as a Traitor to his King and Country. That no Clerk ſhould go out of the Land without a Paſsport from his Juſticiaries, and none return again without a Licence from the King himſelf. That none receive any Meſſage from the Pope, or* Becket, *nor make any Appeal to them, or hold any Plea by their Mandates. That if any Prelate, Clerk or Lay-Man obey a Sentence of Interdict, he and all his Relations ſhall be baniſh'd, and his Goods forfeited to the Crown. That all Clerks having Rents in* England, *ſhall return home within three Months, or loſe all their Revenues. That* Peter-Pence *be not paid to* Rome, *but reſerv'd.* Thus, as *Gervaſe* laments, all from the Eldeſt to the Youngeſt, were forc'd to abjure Obedience to Pope *Alexander*, and Arch-Biſhop *Becket*.

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16/17.

After four Years Continuance in *France*, the King took Shipping for *England*, in which he narrowly eſcap'd a violent Storm, that deſtroy'd ſeveral of his beſt Veſſels, in one of which his chief Phyſician, and about four hundred Perſons were drowned. Shortly after *Eaſter* he held his Court at *Windſor*, where *William* King of the *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, and all the Biſhops and great Men of the Nation were preſent; when the King alſo appointed certain Earls, Abbots, Knights and Clerks to go as Commiſſioners throughout the Kingdom, to inquire into all ſorts of Frauds, Extortions, Miſcarriages and other Failures of Sheriffs, their Bailiffs, and other of the King's Officers. Which Inquiſition being finiſh'd, all Parties concern'd in it were commanded to appear before the King at *London* on the fourteenth Day of *June*, where at the ſame Time he held a grand Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Aldermen of *England*, who appear'd with their Sureties in no little Fear, not imagining the King's Deſigns. But when all were preſent, the King proceeded to an Act unknown to *England*, and to the Surprize of all Men, commanded his Son *Henry* to be anointed and crowned King, by the Conſent of the whole Aſſembly. The Ceremony was perform'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London* and *Durham*; and the next Day he receiv'd the Fealties of the King of the *Scots* and his Brother, and of all the other Earls and Barons of the Kingdom. This Tranſaction was a Contempt of the Authority of Arch-Biſhop *Becket*, and likewiſe a Strengthning of the Regal Cuſtoms; but moſt of all it was the greateſt Security to the Succeſſion of the King's Iſſue, who was ſenſible that for want of this, the Nation could not be kept in their Duty to his Mother *Matilda*. Yet this new King *Henry* was far from being ſenſible of his Father's great Kindneſs and Truſt; tho' he in Honour to his Son, at the Coronation-Feaſt vouchſaf'd to carry up the firſt Diſh, congratulating him *for having a greater Servitor than any Prince in the World.* For when the Arch-Biſhop of *York* gravely told him, *How much he was oblig'd to his Father for ſo ſignal a Favour*; he haughtily reply'd, *That it was no great Condeſcenſion in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to Him, who was the Son of a King.*

He makes a grand Inquiſition in the Nation

He crowns his Son Henry.

Gervaſe. Hoveden. Pol. Virg.

The King of *France* was highly diſoblig'd becauſe his Daughter *Margaret* was not crown'd with the young King her Husband; but that Matter was ſoon accommodated by the King's Paſſage into *Normandy* ſhortly after. Where, being weary'd out by the Pope's repeated Threatnings, which might have proved fatal to him, he reſolv'd to be reconcil'd to Arch-Biſhop *Becket*, who now had been puniſh'd with above ſix Years Exile. To that End he repair'd to *Amboiſe* near *Tours*, where he was met by moſt of the Biſhops and Noblemen of *France*; and on the ſecond Day, by the Mediation of King *Lewis*, and the Admonitions of Pope *Alexander*, the King receiv'd the Arch-Biſhop into his Grace

Gervaſe &c.

Grace and Favour, as well as all thoſe who were with him in Exile; promiſing entirely to reſtore to him all the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Church of *Canterbury*, as he held them the Year before he left *England*. Which Concluſion the King ſignify'd to his Son in *England*; ſo that the great Controverſie between the King and the Arch-Biſhop ſeem'd to have been happily ended. But in a ſhort Time another great Miſchief aroſe; for the Arch-Biſhop being implacably inrag'd againſt thoſe Biſhops that had crown'd the new King, procur'd Letters from the Pope for the Suſpenſion of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Durham*; and for the Excommunication of the Biſhops of *London*, *Exeter* and *Salisbury*, who aſſiſted in the Coronation; and at his firſt Arrival he publiſh'd theſe Letters, to the great Diſturbance of the Nation; nor would he, at the young King's Requeſt, abſolve them but upon very hard Conditions.

The King and Becket *reconcil'd.*

Becket *raiſes new Diſturbances.*

Immediately upon this Publication, the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops went over into *Normandy* to the King, and throwing themſelves at his Feet, complain'd, *That he had made an unhappy Peace for them, ſince they and his moſt faithful Friends were thus unreaſonably treated:* To which the Arch-Biſhop of *York* added, *That as long as* Thomas Becket *was alive, it was impoſſible he ſhould enjoy happy Days, or a peaceable Kingdom.* At which Words, the King, tranſported with Rage and Paſſion, inconſiderately cry'd out, *I am a miſerable Man, who have fed ſo many ungrateful cowardly Servants, none of whom durſt vindicate me from the Injuries I ſuffer at the Hands of one Prieſt.* Upon which unhappy Expreſſion, four of the King's Domeſtick Servants, remarkable for their Birth and Valour, *Raynold Fitz-Urſe*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Brito* and *Hugh Morville*, bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath to revenge the King's Quarrel, and deſtroy the Arch-Biſhop. To that End they privately withdrew from the Court; and finding an eaſie Paſſage into *England*, they ſoon arriv'd at *Canterbury*. And coming into the Preſence of the Arch-Biſhop, who had lately ſhown himſelf with the utmoſt Pomp and Grandeur, they upbraided him with Obſtinacy and Arrogancy, and finding him immoveably reſolute as to his former Actions and Opinions, without the Warrant and Privacy of their Maſter, they proceeded firſt to threaten Force, and then to commit it; and that after an execrable Manner. Having put on Armor, to make themſelves more formidable, they enter'd the Arch-Biſhop's own Church, whither he had withdrawn himſelf to the High-Altar, while the Monks were at Divine Service; and there calling him Traitor and other opprobrious Names, they gave him many Wounds, and at length beat out his Brains, ſo that the Altar it ſelf was ſhamefully polluted with Blood and Gore. His paſſionate Behaviour in theſe laſt Moments; his couragious Meeting of Death; his devout committing the Cauſe of the Church and his own Soul to God and the Saints; the Place, the Time, the Manner, and all Things aggravate the Horror of the Fact, and cauſe Compaſſion and Opinion to be on his Side. The Aſſaſſinators having effected this audacious Deſign, afterwards conſidering the Hainouſneſs of their Crime, and doubting whether the King, tho' ſecretly pleaſed, would openly countenance ſo odious an Act, retired to the North of *England*; and being driven from thence, in a few Years dy'd miſerable Fugitives in Foreign Countries.

Fitz-Steph Gervaſe.

The King is inrag'd.

A. D. 1171. Reg. 17 18.

Becket *murder'd.*

This was the fatal Period of the famous *Thomas Becket*; a Perſon of a capacious Genius and ſingular Abilities, and of ſtrict Morals and great Auſterities; yet unhappily allay'd with exceeding Haughtineſs, Oſtentation and Popularity, which caus'd great Miſchiefs to the Nation. And tho' ſeveral have exalted him among the greateſt Saints and Martyrs, yet others have doubted whether he deſerv'd the Name of a good Man; and about fifty Years after a celebrated Queſtion was debated among the learned Doctors of the Univerſity of *Paris*, Whether *Thomas* was ſav'd or damn'd; the one Party declaring *That*

His Character.

he deserv'd Death and Damnation for his Contumacy against the Minister of God his Soveraign, and the other asserting, *That his many Miracles were a Sign of his Salvation*; which was fairly alledg'd, had the Truth of them been as well prov'd, as reported. And indeed the Fame of them was exceeding great; which occasion'd for him one of the richest and noblest Shrines in the World. He was not only canoniz'd, but also several Solemnities were ever after observ'd in his Memory, and a famous Jubilee kept every fifty Years at *Canterbury*. It is almost incredible what Multitudes of People flock'd to that City, upon the Time of the Solemnity; particularly in the Year 1420, Mr. *Somner* informs us that there were by Estimation a hundred thousand Persons, as *English*, *Irish*, *Welsh*, *Scots*, *French*, *Normans*, and other Foreigners, who came thither to procure the Health or Salvation of their Souls; for whom the *Bailiffs* of the City commanded the Citizens, Victuallers and Inn-keepers, to provide sufficient Lodgings, and all other Conveniencies.

III. King *Henry* was now freed from the greatest Disturber of his Repose, yet the News of this barbarous Murther, with all its heightning Circumstances, gave him fresh Disquiets, and new Troubles. For the King of *France*, the Earl of *Blois*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Sens* sent such inflaming Letters to the Pope concerning this Parricide, that *Henry* found it extraordinary difficult to preserve his Kingdom from a general Interdict, tho' he made use of his Power, Mony, and Protestations to submit to the Judgement of such Legates and Cardinals as his Holiness should send to inquire into the Fact. To divert himself in these melancholy Perplexities, the King resolv'd to display his Soveraignty, and more vigorously carry on that great Design of subduing the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which in part had been begun a Year or two before, and had been protected, and sanctify'd by the *English* Pope *Adrian* in the Beginning of this Reign. It is very observable at this Time, that not only the Manners of that Nation were extreamly corrupted, but the *Christian* Faith it self was decay'd; Barbarism over-running the one, and more than Superstition the other: So that there were then all the usual Forerunners of great Revolutions and Conquests. King *Henry*'s Pretensions to this Kingdom were an ancient Title, as well as the continu'd Injuries the *Irish* had committed by their Piracies, buying and selling *English* Captives, and using them like the worst of Slaves: Which made the *Irish* Clergy confess, *That it was nothing but their Deserts, that their Land should be transferr'd to that Nation which they had so cruelly treated.* But the particular Occasion of that Kingdom's Invasion proceeded from those constant Effects of Looseness and Immorality, Factions and Divisions among themselves; which in no long Time ruin'd them, and brought them under the Subjection of other Masters.

Hoveden. Cambrens.

The King's Designs upon Ireland.

The State of that Island.

Ireland, besides inferior Governors, was now under the Subjection of five Rulers, which our ancient Historians often call by the Name of Kings; one of whom was *Dermot* Prince of *Leinster*, who from his Youth, and first Accession to his Kingdom, had been a Tyrant and great Oppressor of his Subjects. To add to his Crimes, he took occasion to corrupt and steal away the Wife of *Orocic* Prince of *Meath*; who being justly provok'd with this Indignity, gather'd what Forces he could procure, and gain'd the Assistance of *Roderick* Prince of *Connaught*, then chief Monarch of *Ireland*; by whose Power, and the Conjunction of many of his injur'd Subjects, after several Conflicts, he was dispossess'd, and driven from his Dominions. Upon which, *Dermot* fled to King *Henry*, then in *Aquitain*, imploring his Protection and Assistance, and swearing to be his Vassal and Subject. The King, glad to find his former Designs thus promoted, entertain'd him very kindly; and tho' he could not as then furnish him, being ingag'd in other great Affairs, yet he permitted such of his Subjects as pleas'd to venture their Fortunes with him. With this Permission *Dermot* repair'd to *Wales*, where he first prevail'd with *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a Man

Cambrens.

King Henry's *Assistance desired.*

Man of great Intereſt tho' of deſperate Fortunes; and ſoon after with *Richard Strongbow*, Earl of *Pembroke*, a Lord of great Courage and Worth, which produc'd him many Followers, and of large Poſſeſſions in *England* and *Normandy*, which gave him Means to entertain them. *Fitz-Stephen* was perſuaded by the Promiſe of great Rewards, and the Earl by the Hopes of *Eva* the Daughter of *Dermot*, and the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of *Leinſter*.

Cambrenſ. *Dermot* having thus ſucceeded in his Affairs, while his Friends in *England* prepar'd themſelves and their Forces, he ſail'd into his own Country, carrying with him the Promiſes of Confederates, and uſing all Methods to facilitate the Entrance of the *Engliſh*, by extolling their Civility and Piety, their Valour and Riches, and all other Qualifications that might move either their Love or their Fear. Not long after *Fitz-Stephen* with his Half Brother *Fitz-Gerard*, paſs'd the Sea with a ſmall Number of Soldiers, and landed at a Place near *Waterford* call'd by the *Iriſh Bagg and Bunn*, which ſignifies *Holy*, and therefore was interpreted as a happy Preſage of good Succeſs, of which this Time retains the Memory, *At the Head of* Bagg and Bunn, Ireland *was loſt and won*. The next Day *Maurice de Pendergaſt*, with other Soldiers and ſome Archers, in two Ships, arriv'd at the ſame Place; and joining with *Fitz-Stephen*'s Forces, march'd to the City of *Wexford*, with Colours diſplay'd, and in ſuch a peculiar Form and Order, that tho' they were not above four hundred in Number, yet the *Iriſh*, unacquainted with ſuch unuſual Bravery, and overcome with Fear, ſoon ſurrender'd themſelves and the City of *Wexford*; which with the neighbouring Country was given by *Dermot* to *Fitz-Stephen*, as an Earneſt of greater Rewards. And here was planted the firſt Colony of the *Engliſh*, which, according to *Speed* and *Daniel*, has ever ſince continu'd, retaining a Sort of our ancient Attire, and much of our Language, proper only to that City and the neighbouring Parts, and by a diſtinct Denomination call'd *Wexford Speech*. The next Year new Supplies were ſent out of *Wales*, and upon Intelligence of good Succeſs, the Earl of *Pembroke* ſail'd to the Bay of *Waterford*, and landing with twelve hundred Men, ſoon took the Town, which was then call'd *Porthlarge*, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, partly to revenge their Infidelity to *Dermot*, but chiefly to give Terror to his Arms, and make Way for future Conqueſts. Here *Dermot* gave him his Daughter *Eva* in Marriage, with the Dowry of his Country, which, after his Wickedneſs had ruin'd, he liv'd not to ſee much longer, but dy'd miſerably; leaving the Stile of *Ningal*, ſignifying *the Strangers Friend*, added to his Name in Memory of his unnatural abandoning his own Country. The Earl, after he had ſecur'd the new acquired Places, march'd with his ſmall Body of Forces into the Bowels of the Kingdom with no Oppoſition; and *Roderick*, who had aſſum'd the Title of the great Monarch of *Ireland*, confin'd himſelf to the Wilds and Faſtneſſes of *Connaught*. So that paſſing through the Country at his Pleaſure, he took what Pledges of Security he thought fit from the Inhabitants, and with as little Difficulty poſſeſs'd himſelf of the City of *Dublin*, the Metropolis of the whole Iſland. Thus *Wales* firſt gain'd us the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with a ſmall Force, and without a general Battel; a Thing almoſt incredible that a Country ſo populous, and of that Diſpoſition, ſhould do ſo little in its own Defence, and be ſo languid and remiſs, when their All was at ſtake: But this muſt be attributed to their great Diſuſe of military Diſcipline, their diſpirited Minds, and thoſe general Corruptions before-mention'd.

Fitz-Stephen and other Engliſh arrive in Ireland.

A Colony planted at Wexford.

Great Succeſſes of the Engliſh.

Ibid. But King *Henry* being adviſ'd of the extraordinary Succeſs of theſe Adventurers, and the true State of the Country, now became jealous of them, thinking they preſum'd further than their Subjection would allow, and that they thought to carry away that Glory which ought to be his; and therefore by Proclamation commanded, *That no Veſſel ſhould tranſport any Thing out of his Dominions into* Ireland, *and that all his Subjects ſhould return from thence, and abandon their Deſigns, otherwiſe they ſhould forfeit their Eſtates at home.* By which Edict the Affairs

A. D. 1171. Reg. 17/18.

The King is jealous of them.

of the Adventurers were reduc'd to the loweſt Ebb, but were ſoon brought to a better Condition, by certain Mediators ſent to the King, who found him in *Gloceſterſhire* with an Army ready to accompany him into *Ireland*; where it was agreed, 'That the King ſhould have *Dublin*, with all the Sea-Coaſt Towns and 'Caſtles, and the reſt to remain in the Conquerors, to hold of the King and 'his Succeſſors, and ſo to continue under his Protection as Subjects; which Subjection the King thought they deſign'd to have renounc'd. Shortly after *Michaelmaſs* the King paſs'd over the Sea with a great Fleet and Army, and landed near *Waterford* upon the Eve of St. *Luke*; where a white Hart ſtarting out of a Buſh being immediately taken and preſented to him, it was interpreted as a happy Preſage of certain Succeſs. The next Day he march'd to *Waterford*, where he continu'd fifteen Days; to which Place came the Kings of *Cork*, *Limerick*, *Oſſery*, *Meath*, and all of any Power in *Ireland*, except *Roderick*, and voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves with all the Clergy, and took their Oaths of Fealty to him and the young King, and their Succeſſors for ever. So theſe divided Princes, holding no publick Council for the common Safety, rather than join thoſe Hands which had ſo often injur'd each other, fell all from themſelves, and with the ſame Emulation they had expreſs'd in Liberty, ſtrove who ſhould firſt receive the Yoke of Servitude from a Foreign Maſter.

He paſſes into Ireland *in Perſon.*

The Iriſh *ſubmit.*

From *Waterford* the King march'd to *Dublin*, where he receiv'd the Homage of *Roderick* the chief Monarch, and kept his *Chriſtmaſs* with great Pomp and Splendor, magnificently feaſting all his Kings and great Men of the Country, and ſetling the great Affairs of the Nation. And being mindful of his Duty to God, whilſt the Iſland was calm and ſilent by the Preſence of ſo great a Monarch, he caus'd all the Biſhops and the Clergy to aſſemble at *Caſſel*, and appointed a ſpecial Chaplain of his own, with the Arch-Deacon of *Llandaff* to be Aſſiſtants and Adviſers to them in the Reformation of Church Affairs, which were as much diſorder'd as the People. For tho' the *Iriſh* had been long ſince *Chriſtians*, it was now after a wild and mix'd Faſhion; and therefore according to his Promiſe made to the late Pope, and to do a pleaſing Work to him now in the Chair, it was decreed, 'That all Church Lands ſhould be free from the Ex-'action of ſecular Men; and that thenceforward, all Divine Things ſhould be 'order'd and us'd in every Part of *Ireland*, according to the Manner of the 'Church of *England*. *For*, ſays the Conſtitution, *as* Ireland *has by God's Mercy obtain'd a Lord and King out of* England, *ſo it is fit that they ſhould receive from thence a better Form of Life and Manners than they had before.* After this the King planted Garriſons in all convenient Places; and made *Hugh Lacy* Juſtice of all *Ireland*, giving him the Keeping of *Dublin*, confirming beſides by Charter to him and his Heirs the County of *Meath* to hold the ſame in Fee, for the Service of a hundred Knights. He made *Robert Fitz-Bernard* Governor of the Towns of *Waterford* and *Wexford*, which he took from *Fitz-Stephen*, the firſt Invader, with a Charge to build Caſtles in them; and to humble the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to level him with the reſt of his Subjects, he took all his Dependants from him, which by his Bounty he made his own. Thus it was but one Winter's Work to gain a Kingdom; which tho' thus eaſily won, it prov'd more difficult and chargeable to keep, becauſe the Proſecution of a full Eſtabliſhment, by reaſon of other Diverſions, was not for ſeveral Ages throughly accompliſh'd.

Ibid.

A. D. 1172. Reg. 18/19.

The King makes many Regulations in Ireland.

The Reduction of that Kingdom.

On *Eaſter Monday* the King ſet ſail for *England*, and from thence haſten'd into *Normandy* to meet the two Legates ſent by the Pope to enquire into the Murther of the late Arch-Biſhop *Becket*. Four Months were ſpent in debating the Matter, and at length, the King by his ſolemn Oath taken upon the Relicks of Saints, and the Holy Evangeliſts, in the Preſence of all the great Men of the Country, purg'd himſelf, of either commanding, or conſenting to the Murther; and declaring withal his infinite Sorrow for having by raſh Words in his Paſſion given occaſion for others to commit that Fact, and giving a further Oath

Cambrenſ. Hoveden.

The King purges himſelf from Becket's *Murther, and ſubmits to Penance.*

to

to perform enjoin'd Penances, he was by the Legates abſolv'd. The Conditions were theſe: 'Firſt, That he ſhould never oppoſe the Pope's Authority, ſo long as 'he was us'd as a Catholick King: Secondly, That all Appeals ſhould be freely 'made to the Pope in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: Thirdly, That he ſhould undertake 'the *Cruſado*, and go to *Jeruſalem* for three Years; and if diverted by the *Sara-*'*cens* in *Spain*, maintain two hundred Soldiers for a Year in the Holy Land: 'Fourthly he ſhould freely reſtore all that were Exiles upon the late Arch-'Biſhop's Account: And fifthly aboliſh all Cuſtoms introduc'd in his 'Time to the Prejudice of the Church of *Canterbury*, or of any other Church 'in his Kingdom. And thus ended this vexatious Controverſie, by which the Pope eſtabliſh'd and enlarg'd his Eccleſiaſtical Power to a high Degree; ſo that the King's long Oppoſition, and the Murder of the Arch-Biſhop, as much added to his growing Authority, as unſucceſsful Rebellions do to the Power of Temporal Princes.

Hoveden. M. Paris. Higden.

IV. When King *Henry* had, as he imagin'd, ſurmounted all Difficulties and Troubles, an unnatural Rebellion and Conſpiracy began to diſcloſe new Miſchiefs, which were ordain'd to exerciſe this wiſe and warlike Prince; being firſt begun in *England* during his Abſence in *Ireland*, and in a ſhort Time encreas'd to a dangerous Degree. One of the chief Fomenters of it was Queen *Eleanor* his Wife, violently inrag'd at the Injuries done to her Bed by her Huſband, who was immoderately addicted to Variety of Loves; more particularly he was captivated by the Charms of the beautiful Lady *Roſamund Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodſtock*, ſome ſay in a Labyrinth, where the Queen found Means to end her Life. Beſides his Queen, his own Son *Henry* was another great Actor, whoſe Ambition tranſported him beyond all Reaſon and Duty; ſo that as *M. Paris* expreſſes it, God ſtirr'd up the King's own Bowels againſt himſelf. This Conſpiracy was juſtly formidable; for to theſe were added the King's two younger Sons *Richard* and *Geoffry*, whom their Mother perſuaded to join with the young King, the two Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Matthew* Earl of *Bulloign*, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Roger Mowbray*, and other Noblemen in great Numbers: So that they ſeem'd to want nothing but a good Cauſe; however they gave the moſt plauſible Turn to their Deſigns, and were pleas'd to repute the Father no King, becauſe he had crown'd his Son.

A. D. 1173. Reg. 19/20.

A great Faction and Conſpiracy againſt the King.

M. Paris. Hoveden. Walſing.

Tho' nothing could be more afflicting than this unnatural War, yet the King proceeded with his uſual Vigour and Dexterity, and found great Numbers whoſe Hearts were inflam'd with Indignation at ſo much Injuſtice. The Particulars of the Wars would fill a Volume: At one Time *Normandy*, *Guienne* and *Bretaigne* were invaded by the Confederates in *France*, and at the ſame Time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had Friends in all thoſe Parts, and hearing that *Vernvil* was beſieg'd by the *French* King in Perſon, and that the Place had agreed to ſurrender if not reliev'd by a certain Day, he began to exert his Power, and ſent a Meſſage to King *Lewis*, *That if he did not leave* Normandy *immediately, he would come and viſit him at the appointed Day.* Upon which, *Lewis*, who meant more to weaken him by Factions, than overpower him by Force, immediately rais'd the Siege, and abandon'd the Place with ſuch Precipitation, that he left all his Tents and warlike Proviſions behind him. And now King *Henry* beginning to ſhake his dreadful Sword, had many ſucceſsful Encounters, mixt with ſome Loſſes, tho' not great nor many, in reſpect of the Overthrows given to the Enemy. In *Bretaign* his Forces worſted *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter* and *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and ſlew above fifteen hundred upon the Spot, taking theſe two Perſons Priſoners, with many others; and in *England*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucie* in a bloody Battel overthrew the inſolent Earl of *Leiceſter*, and enter'd the Town of *Leiceſter* by Force.

Upon which a great War inſues.

Force. Yet after theſe Advantages, the *French* King moving for a Parly, *Henry* the Father deſirous to uſe the good Fortune of War only to reclaim his Rebels, was ſo willing to make Peace, that he ſeem'd to have out-gone Expectations in the Freeneſs of his Offers; but through the wicked Perſuaſions of ſome Perſons, it prov'd ineffectual. Among theſe Incendiaries the Earl of *Leiceſter* was chief, who having match'd with a Lady no leſs haughty and ambitious than himſelf, proceeded ſo far as to affront the King in his Preſence, in behalf of his young Maſter the Son, and likewiſe laid his Hand upon his Sword to have ſtrucken him, but was ſtopp'd in that audacious Attempt. This Man with all Heat and Violence join'd with the young King the Son, not that he thought his Cauſe more juſt, but, as *Walſingham* tells us, becauſe his Father, labouring to inlarge the Soveraign Power, ſought to ſet his Foot upon the Necks of the Proud and Haughty.

But God, who thought fit to chaſtiſe the King, without delivering him into his Enemy's Hands, deſtroy'd thoſe Hopes that mov'd the Sons to their unnatural Attempts; for not long after News was brought into *Normandy*, that his faithful Friends and Servants *Richard de Lucie*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* High-Conſtable of *England*, being aſſiſted by the Earls of *Cornwall*, *Gloceſter* and *Arundell*, near St. *Edmund's Bury* bravely ingag'd with the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his *Flemmings*, of whom above five thouſand were ſlain, or taken; and among the Priſoners was the Earl himſelf and his Maſculine Counteſs, who were ſhortly after ſent over to the King in *Normandy*. Upon this great Victory, and other Advantages, King *Lewis*, apprehenſive of Succeſs, fought for ſix Months Truce, and had it granted. But becauſe two great Men in *England*, the Earl of *Norfolk* and *Roger Mowbray*, ſtill held out, and kept *Leiceſter* and other Places; tho' *Geoffry*, the King's natural Son and Biſhop Elect of *Lincoln*, had taken two of *Mowbray's* Caſtles, and done great Service for his Lord and Father, the Enemy made no better uſe of the Truce than to breath, and repair their Loſſes. In the mean Time the King recover'd *Xaintes* from his violent Son *Richard*, and proceeded with that Expedition, that the *French* King ſaid *He ſeem'd not to go, but to fly*. Yet before he could finiſh all in thoſe Parts, the News from *England* oblig'd him to haſten into *Normandy*; where he met with *Richard* the Elect of *Wincheſter*, ſent over by his Juſticiaries of *England*, to lay before him the preſent dangerous State of the Nation. For *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* having ſworn to invade *England*, in favour of young *Henry*, ſeveral Forces joining with the Earl of *Norfolk*, had taken and plunder'd the City of *Norwich*, and done other Damage, which gave great Incouragement to the young King and his Faction, and he and the Earl of *Flanders* were ready to come over with freſh Forces into *England*. Moreover, *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars* had ſuddenly enter'd *Nottingham*, burnt the Town, drove out the King's Garriſon, and ſlew the Inhabitants; and being inrich'd with the Plunder, he retir'd to *Leiceſter*, to which Place *Anketill Malorie* had alſo brought two hundred Priſoners, taken at *Northampton*, which he had ſuddenly ſurpriz'd and taken with the Slaughter of a conſiderable Number of the Townſmen. So that the whole Kingdom ſtood wavering and in extream Peril; to add to which, *William* King of *Scotland*, a Principal in the Confederacy, invaded *England*, dividing his Forces into two Parts, himſelf waſting the Province of *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* a cruel Commander, deſtroying the Weſtern Borders.

Hunting. Hovedn. M. Paris &c.

The King's Party gains Ground.

Yet ſtill the King's Affairs are in an ill Condition.

A. D. 1174. Reg. 20/21. King *Henry* highly exaſperated at theſe Tranſactions, left *Normandy* in as good a Condition as the Time would permit; and ſending his own Queen *Eleanor*, and his Son's Queen *Margaret*, his Son *John*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* with his Counteſs, and many other Priſoners, and a powerful Army on board, he took ſhipping at *Barfleur*; where being detain'd by the Wind, he is ſaid to have publickly pray'd, *That if this Voyage was for the Peace of the Clergy and People of* England, *he might have a proſperous Wind, but if otherwiſe, he deſir'd never*

Hoveden. Fitz-Steph &c.

never to ſet a Foot upon that Shore again. Which Prayer was ſucceeded by a freſh Gale of Wind, which in the ſame Day carry'd him ſafe to *Southampton.* From whence he took his Journey towards *Canterbury*, where the Remainder of his Penance enjoin'd him at his Abſolution was to be perform'd. For beſides the Conditions formerly mention'd, the Author of *Becket*'s Life ſays, the Legates enjoin'd him ſome other Things ſecretly, which came not to our Knowledge; and the Legates in their own Letters write that he promis'd to do ſome Things voluntarily which were not fit for them to commit to Writing. And what they were *Hoveden* has told us: The King coming towards the Church where the late Arch-Biſhop was bury'd, cloath'd all in Woollen, went three Miles bare-footed, inſomuch that the very Ground where he walk'd was diſtain'd with the Quantity of Blood running from his tender Feet cut by the hard Stones. Nor was this the worſt, for after this, coming to the Sepulchre, and there proſtrating himſelf, he receiv'd Diſcipline by Rods on his bare Fleſh, at the Hands of the Biſhops, Prieſts, Abbots and Monks there preſent; ſo that we may eaſily believe *Baronius* and his Author, who acknowledge that he receiv'd eighty Laſhes. So he who in his Life-Time could only make him bow, after his Death brought him upon his Knees; and tho' he had then proſecuted him as a Traitor, he now ador'd him as a Saint and Martyr.

The King finiſhes his Penance for Becket's *Murther.*

M. Paris. Walſing. &c. Some of the Monks of that Age attribute the happy Succeſs which enſu'd, to the Reconciliation which King *Henry* thus made with God, for the Blood of his Servant *Thomas*; for it pleas'd Him to deliver his Enemy *William* King of the *Scots* into his Hand, about the very ſame Time, and alſo to drive back his diſobedient Son, the young King, into *France*; who being under Sail for *England*, his whole Fleet was diſpers'd, and a great Part of it loſt by a Storm. The King's other Actions 'till his next Return into *Normandy*, which was not long after, are by *Walſingham* comprehended in theſe few Words; he tam'd his Rebels, put his Enemies to Flight, and ſeiz'd on their Forts. And thus having in a manner miraculouſly quieted the Nation, he took with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, with his other chief Priſoners, but leaving his ſeditious Wife behind him under ſtrict Cuſtody, he arriv'd with his Forces at *Normandy*. This being underſtood in the *French* and Confederate Army, which had beſieg'd *Roven*, King *Lewis* immediately broke up, and ſetting fire to all his Engines of War retreated in ſuch Haſte into *France*, that the *Engliſh* Soldiers took great Quantities of Baggage and Ammunition. *Hoveden* aſſures us, that as ſoon as *Lewis* heard the victorious *Henry* was near *Roven*, he firſt ſent away the weak and worſt of his Army, and then deceiving the *Engliſh* with a ſolemn Promiſe of returning the next Day, to negotiate a Peace with the King, departed with all the reſt; ſo that this Author aggravates the Diſhonour of the Retreat, with an open Breach of Faith.

His great Succeſſes after it.

Ibid. And here if we look upon the Grandeur and Felicity of this King, it will appear, That no Prince in thoſe Times was ſo oblig'd to Heav'n for the numerous Favours beſtow'd upon him. The King and all the Power of *France* were now flying at his Preſence, without one Blow given; the valiant King of *Scotland* was his Priſoner, and the chiefeſt of his Rebels under his Feet; *England* was ſecured, *Scotland* diſmay'd, *Ireland* retain'd, *Wales* ſubſervient to his Arms, *Normandy* in Poſſeſſion, and all the coaſting Regions of *Bretaigne*, *Guienne*, *Gaſcony* and others as far as the Borders of *Spain*, under his Dominions; and the Bleſſing of Peace ſhortly after enſuing upon his own Terms, made him like another *Solomon* to be ſought to by others. His Wiſdom and Magnificence being in ſuch high Credit through the Chriſtian World, that afterwards the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Navarre* choſe him ſole Arbitrator in a Conteſt between them, which he wiſely determin'd to both their Satisfactions; and then at one Time in his Palace at *Weſtminſter* were ſeen together the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor of *Germany*, the Arch-

His Grandeur.

Arch-Biſhop of *Triers*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Earl of *Flanders*, all in great Pomp and Splendor. Moreover he had the Government of *France* for a Time, the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* offer'd to him but refus'd, and two of his Daughters marry'd to the two Kings of *Caſtile* and *Sicily*.

But to return, a Truce was firſt made between the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henry*'s; in which *Richard*, who ſtood out, was left to his Father's Proſecution, who after ſome Shows of Reſiſtances, and great Conflicts with himſelf, threw himſelf upon his Father's Mercy and Affection, and obtain'd full Pardon and Favour. A moſt fatherly and fortunate Act; for *Richard*, melted with this unexpected Goodneſs, never deſiſted 'till he had brought the young King to a final Atonement; and Arms being laid aſide, the chief Heads of the deſired Peace were theſe: 'That *Henry* the young King, with *Richard* and '*Geoffry* his Brothers, freed from all Oaths of Confederation, ſhould return to 'a full Obedience of the King their Father. That the Priſoners on all ſides ſhould 'be ſet at Liberty without Ranſom; except the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of '*Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, and ſuch others as had compounded for their Ranſoms 'before the Beginning of this Treaty. That King *Henry* the Father ſhould take 'Security of Loyalty, either by Hoſtage or Oath of ſuch as were inlarg'd; and 'that King *Henry* the Son ſhould ratifie that Grant which his Father had made 'to his Son *John*, of ſome Caſtles and annual Revenues in *England*. As to the King of *Scotland*'s Ranſom our Hiſtorians differ, but *Hector Boetius*, a Writer of that Nation, ſays it was an hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, one Moiety in ready Coin, and the other at an appointed Time. Beſides which he was oblig'd to do Homage for all his Dominions, to the King of *England*. And for the Performance of all Articles, King *Henry* had a double Security; on the one Side the *Scotch* Biſhops ſwore to put their King and his Land under an *Interdict*, if he broke them; and on the other the King of *Scotland* deliver'd up the Caſtles of *Edenborough*, *Rokesburgh*, *Berwick*, *Gedworth* and *Sterling*. In the mean Time King *Henry* freed nine hundred ſixty nine Priſoners of War, and his Son above an hundred; and having happily eſtabliſh'd all Things, they prepar'd for *England*, where the joyful Letters concerning their Return had produc'd a longing Expectation in the Subjects. In their Journey homewards, their Confidence was ſuch upon this new Reconciliation, that one Room and one Table ſerv'd both, for whom before a whole Kingdom was not large enough. They landed at *Portſmouth* upon *Friday* the twenty ſixth Day of *May*, 1175.

Hoveden. M. Paris. &c.

A Peace concluded.

A. D. 1175. Reg. 21/22.

V. At this preſent Time the State and Face of *England* was like that of a ſerene Sky, and a calm Sea, no Blaſts, no raging Waves, no appearing Sign of Diſcontent; the better to continue which, King *Henry* the Father, accompany'd with the King his Son, omitted no Office of a juſt and prudent Governor, viſiting a great Part of his Kingdom in Perſon, conſulting, ordering and enacting ſuch Laws and Courſes, as might beſt eſtabliſh a laſting Peace. Upon which Account, at *Weſtminſter*, both the Kings were preſent at a Synod, in which *Richard*, lately choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, publiſh'd ſeveral Canons and Decrees for the better Government of the Church of *England*. Among which, this laudable Order was eſpecially enacted both by the Authority of the King and Synod, 'That every Patron of a Benefice taking a Reward for 'any Preſentation, ſhould for ever loſe the Right of Patronage. And the ſame Kings not long after being at *Woodſtock*, in Accompliſhment of ſuch Holy Purpoſes, by the Advice of the Clergy provided Men to ſuch Biſhopricks, Abbies and principal Cures as were vacant; where King *Henry* the Father forgot not his faithful Friend *John* of *Oxenford*, whom he preferr'd to the See of *Norwich*. From hence coming to *York*, he eſtabliſh'd the Affairs of the North, and meeting with *William* King of *Scotland*, ſeveral Matters of Importance were treated between the two Kings: As likewiſe afterwards at *Windſor*, where the King had call'd a grand Council or Parliament; where, at the Suit of the Arch-

Hoveden. Gervaſ.

The King makes many Regulations.

Arch-Biſhop of *Tuam* and other Ambaſſadors from *Ireland*, the chief Monarch *Roderick*, King of *Connaught* was receiv'd into Protection and Favour, and became a faithful Tributary. This King *Henry* choſe, rather than to fiſh with a Hook of Gold; for ſo a War againſt *Ireland* was accounted.

Hoveden. &c. In the following Year, the King held another Parliament at *Northampton*, where by the Advice of all, he divided the Kingdom into ſix Parts or Circuits, and for every Circuit conſtituted three Itinerant Juſtices, either Barons or Knights, cauſing them to ſwear upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to oblige all the King's Subjects inviolably to obſerve the Aſſizes or Ordinances of *Clarendon*, and renew'd at *Northampton*; which were principally againſt Murther, Theft, Robbery, Burnings of Houſes, and Cheats; which Facts if found by the Verdict of twelve Men, the Accuſed were to paſs the Trial of Water Ordeal, and if not acquitted, they were puniſh'd with Loſs of Limbs or Baniſhment, that Age holding the miſerable Life of a Malefactor of a greater Example than Death it ſelf. Theſe ſix Circuits were almoſt the ſame as they are at this Day, only *Eſſex* then belong'd to that of *Norfolk*, which Circuit alſo conſiſted of more Counties than at preſent, having the Addition of *Hampſhire*, *Barkſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*, which are now join'd with *Herefordſhire*, and the reſt of the Weſtern Counties. Yet about two or three Years after, for another Deſign, the King divided the whole Nation into four Circuits, aſſigning five Juſtices to each; not long after which, he appointed the famous *Glanville* to be chief Juſticiary of *England*, by whoſe Wiſdom and Advice the Laws of King *Edward*, which had been before confirm'd by King *William* the Firſt, were again renew'd. As this King took Care for the Security of his Subjects, ſo he took Care of his own, by cauſing the Walls and Caſtles of *Leiceſter* to be demoliſh'd, as likewiſe the Caſtles of *Groby*, *Thresk*, *Maleſart*, and the new Caſtle at *Alverton*, with thoſe of *Framingham* and *Bungey* in *Suffolk*, and indeed almoſt all the Caſtles of *England* and *Normandy*, that had been fortify'd againſt him in the late War.

A. D. 1176. Reg. 22, 23.

He divides the Nation into ſix Circuits.

Trompt. Hoveden. &c. Not long after, King *Henry* in a grand Council made his youngeſt Son *John* King of *Ireland*, by Virtue of the Bull formerly granted him by Pope *Adrian*; by which Title no more was meant than Vice-Roy, or Feudotory King at the moſt, ſince King *Henry* himſelf was never otherwiſe ſtil'd than *Lord of* Ireland. In the ſame Year, the King inlarg'd his Dominions by a Purchace of the Province and Earldom of *Marche* in *France*; for which he gave fifteen thouſand Pounds of *Anjou* Mony, twenty Mules, and as many Palfreys. For four or five Years after, we find not many Tranſactions of Moment, beſides ſome few Regulations concerning the Coin, and ſome other Ordinances. Only in the Year 1179 the Fame of *Thomas Becket* became ſo celebrated abroad, that when the *French* King's Son fell dangerouſly ſick upon the Day of his deſign'd Coronation, his Father reſolv'd to come over into *England* on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of this new Saint, to implore his Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of his Health; or, as our Writers relate, was commanded by St. *Thomas* in a Dream ſo to do. However it was, it is certain that he came into *England*, attended by the Earl of *Flanders*, and divers other Princes and Noblemen; and was met by King *Henry* at *Dover*, and conducted to *Canterbury*, where he ſpent two Days in Prayers at *Becket*'s Tomb, and offer'd a weighty Golden Cup, beſtowing alſo upon the Monks of that Church an annual Portion of an hundred Meaſures of Wine, to be deliver'd without Charge or Duty, and granting that whatever thoſe Monks ſhould buy for their own Uſe in his Kingdom, it ſhould be free from all Tolls and Cuſtoms. Upon his Return home he found his Son perfectly recover'd, by the Mediation of St. *Thomas*, as he and many others believ'd.

A. D. 1177. Reg. 23, 24.

The King of France *comes in Pilgrimage to* Becket's *Tomb.*

Hoveden. Walſing. &c. At length, after a conſiderable Calm, the young King diſcover'd freſh Alienations in his Mind againſt his Father; who diſſembling all, notwithſtanding arm'd himſelf upon the Defenſive, and encreas'd his Garriſons both in *England*

A. D. 1182. Reg. 28, 29.

and *Normandy*, which the ſooner reduc'd the Son within Bounds. But the old King, fearing an Union among his four warlike Sons might prove no better than a Conſpiracy againſt himſelf, is ſaid to have daily promoted Contention between them. However to divert the War from himſelf, he ſatisfy'd his Royal Son *Henry* with an Augmentation of a Maintenance of an hundred Pounds *Anjouen per Diem* for himſelf, and ten for his Wife the Queen. And whereas *Alice*, the *French* King's Daughter, who had been eſpous'd at three Years of Age to his ſecond Son *Richard*, and was now demanded from King *Henry* that *Richard* might enjoy her, the old King, who was juſtly ſuſpected to have deflower'd her, at that Time ſhifted off the Delivery of her Perſon, in ſuch a manner that a Peace was intirely hinder'd by it. But while the young King by his Father's Inſtigation endeavour'd to force his Brother *Richard* to do Homage to him for *Aquitain*, and the Father for the ſame Cauſe commanded his third Son *Geoffry* to be aſſiſting to his eldeſt Brother; while alſo the jealous Father out of his Sons Contentions ſought his own Safety, and in nouriſhing it had by the Treachery of the Sons been twice endanger'd, and at both Times miraculouſly preſerv'd; and while the young King by profound Diſſimulations plotted to reduce both his Father and Brother *Richard* to Subjection, at length the Hand of God, by taking away the young King at *Martell*, put an end to this infamous and intricate Contention. Tho' the Life of this Prince had been rebellious, yet his Death was not inglorious: For finding himſelf paſt Recovery, he deſir'd to ſee his Father, to obtain his Pardon, which his Father freely ſent, with a Ring as a Token of it, not thinking it ſafe to come in Perſon. Upon which he call'd the Biſhops, and other religious Men preſent, and firſt in private, and then in publick confeſs'd his heinous Sin in rebelling againſt ſo indulgent a Father; and after Abſolution, putting on Sackcloath, and a Rope about his Neck, he begg'd of the Biſhops to pull him out of the Bed on to a Couch made of Aſhes, where being laid, and receiving the Euchariſt, he expired, to the exceeding Grief of his Father, who mourn'd for him like *David* for his rebellious Son *Abſolon*. He dy'd in the twenty eighth Year of his Age, after he had born the Name and Title of King about thirteen; being a Prince of excellent natural Qualifications, but firſt ruin'd by his Father's Induſgence, and afterwards by his Severity; not allowing him to be what he himſelf had made him: So that this Prince tho' he was ſolemnly crown'd, yet he never actually reign'd; and his Name was never inſerted in the Catalogue of our *Engliſh* Kings. After his Death, his Wife Queen *Margaret* was ſent back into *France*, and the preſent King's ſurviving Sons were once again reduc'd to Obedience and Reconciliation, not any Enemy daring to appear againſt him.

New Contentions between the King and his Sons.

A. D. 1183. Reg. 29/30.

Young King Henry dies.

VI. It might reaſonably have been imagin'd, That this active Prince ſhould have had Opportunity to end his Days in Peace and Glory; but it was otherwiſe ordain'd by Providence; and ſeveral Writers are of Opinion, that he was principally ſcourg'd, for being drawn by ſeeming Reaſons of State to lay aſide a holy Enterprize, which he had more than once oblig'd himſelf to undertake, and had now a freſh Occaſion offer'd. For *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, induc'd by the reſounding Fame of King *Henry*'s Wiſdom, Riches and Valour, travell'd from thence into *England*; where at *Clerkenwel* by *London*, in a grand Aſſembly of the States purpoſely call'd, the King made known to them, That Pope *Lucius* had by pathetical Letters recommended to him the deplorable State of the *Holy-Land*, together with *Heraclius* the Patriarch. At the ſame Time *Heraclius*, there preſent, mov'd Compaſſion and Tears at the Relation of the tragical Afflictions of the Eaſtern World, and brought with him the Keys of the Places of Chriſt's Nativity, Paſſion and Reſurrection, of *David*'s Tower and the Holy Sepulchre, together with the humble Offer of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, as rightfully belonging to him, who was the Son of *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjou*, whoſe Brother *Fulk* was King of *Jeruſalem*. Nevertheleſs, the King,

M. Paris. Windov. Hoveden. Waſing.

A. D. 1185. Reg. 31/32.

Heraclius *implores the King's Aſſiſtance in the Holy War.*

King, having formally adjured the Lords to adviſe him to what was moſt for his Soul's Health, it was thought fit to aid and promote the Cauſe with Mony, but not to employ his Perſon, nor the Perſon of any of his Sons, which was the Patriarch's laſt Requeſt; thereupon he utterly refus'd the ſaid Kingdom, and, according to our Authors, abandon'd as noble an Occaſion of immortal Renown, as ever any King of *England* had been offer'd. The Patriarch declar'd, *That he had rather have ſuch a Man without the Mony, than the Mony without ſuch a Man*; and ſo departed with great Sorrow and Concern, and not without ſome Imprecations againſt the King's Perſon. However the King gave leave to all his Subjects whatſoever to take the Croſs; upon which the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſeveral Biſhops, with many Earls, Barons and Knights of *England*, and the reſt of the King's Dominions, undertook the *Cruſado*.

Cambrenſ. &c. But King *Henry*'s Mind was more fix'd upon ſetling the Eſtate of his already poſſeſs'd Kingdoms, and therefore ſent his Ambaſſadors to Pope *Lucius*, of whom he deſired many Grants; but the Pope being diſpleas'd at his Behaviour, deny'd all except one, which gave him leave to crown which of his Sons he pleas'd King of *Ireland*. This he not only confirm'd by his Bull, but as a Token of his Approbation and Satisfaction, he ſent the King a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold; reſerving to the *Roman* See the *Peter-Pence*, and all other Rights and Privileges. Accordingly the King ſolemnly knighted his beloved Son *John* at *Windſor*, but deferring his Coronation, he ſent him over into *Ireland*, under the chief Directorſhip of our Author *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, being then near twenty Years of Age. He was ſolemnly receiv'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, and the chief of the State; but by reaſon of his Parſimony towards his Soldiers, he found it convenient to return the ſame Year without performing much, but not without waſting the greateſt Part of his Army by Skirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*. Tho' his Father gave him the Title of King, yet he was but Vice-Roy to him, and in his great Seal for that Kingdom, he is only ſtil'd *Lord of* Ireland.

The King ſends his Son John *into* Ireland.

Hoveden. &c. After a ſhort Calm, King *Henry* was again diſturb'd by his undutiful Sons, particularly the furious Earl *Richard*, who fortify'd himſelf againſt him in *Poictou*, and defeated *Geoffry* Earl of *Bretaign*; upon which he prepar'd a powerful Army againſt him, the Fame and Terror of which ſoon reduc'd *Richard* to Subjection, and by the Order of his Father he ſurrender'd the Earldom of *Poictou* to his Mother *Eleanor*, whoſe Inheritance it was. Not long after Heaven's Vengeance purſu'd the Diſobedience of the ſecond ſurviving Brother *Geoffry*, who in a publick Tournament at *Paris*, was trodden under the Horſes Feet, and miſerably cruſh'd to Death in the twenty eighth Year of his Age. So that the King ſaw half of his rebellious Male Iſſue extinct before him, and by Deaths as violent as their Diſpoſitions: The other two who ſurviv'd him, were no leſs miſerable in their Ends. About theſe Times, all Affairs between the *French* and *Engliſh* ſtood in an unſetled Poſture, ſometimes War, ſometimes Peace, and then War again; occaſion'd chiefly by King *Philip*'s challenging the Guardianſhip of *Arthur*, the poſthumous Son and Heir of *Geoffry* Earl of *Bretaign*, which would by no Means agree with the Ambitious Temper of our King *Henry*. At length a two Years Truce was concluded, after which Earl *Richard*, contrary to his Father's Will, remain'd with the King of *France*; and ſuch a great Intimacy grew between them, that one Table and one Bed uſually ſerv'd for both. This extraordinary Amity rais'd the Jealouſie of King *Henry*, who ſeveral Times ſent for his Son out of *France*; but *Richard* pretending many Grievances, as the unjuſt Detenſion of *Alice* his Spouſe, the Fear of being diſinherited, and other Matters, again ſtood out againſt his Father, and after ſome Time again ſubmitted to him. Upon which King *Philip* again broke out into Arms: And while Affairs ſtood thus, the Weſtern World was fill'd with the afflicting News of the Loſs of *Jeruſalem*, and the

A. D. 1186. Reg. 32, 33.

His Son Geoffry *kill'd in a Tournament.*

A. D. 1187. Reg. 33, 34.

Captivity of *Guido* the King of it, with an innumerable Number of *Chriſtians* beſides, whom Sultan *Saladin* had vanquiſh'd, to the great Grief and Diſhonour of all Chriſtendom.

A. D. 1188. Reg. 34/35.

The Kings of England *and* France *deſign a Cruſado.*

Upon this News, King *Henry* and King *Philip* met, for the Honour of God, and laying aſide their former Diſpleaſure, in the Preſence of *William* Arch-Biſhop of *Tyre*, took upon them the Badge of the Croſs as Soldiers of *Chriſt*; and the better to diſtinguiſh themſelves, it was agreed that the *French* ſhould wear red Croſſes, the *Engliſh* white, and the *Flemmiſh* green. And this Determination was ſeconded by all warlike Preparations, Levies of Mony, Inſtitution of martial Diſcipline, with great Privileges and Indulgences to all who ſhould undertake the War; notwithſtanding which all prov'd of little Effect. For a Breach of this honourable Confederacy aroſe through *Richard*'s Means, who revenging himſelf upon ſome Rebels in *Poictou*, that could not bear his ſevere Government, it rais'd ſuch new Diſturbances, that at length both the Kings of *England* and *France* became Parties to the Conteſt; much againſt the Inclination of King *Henry* who ſeem'd now firmly reſolv'd to revenge the Cauſe of Chriſt upon Sultan *Saladin*; as appears from his Anſwer to the Petitioning Letter of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, in which he told him, *That among other Princes, Himſelf and his Son, rejecting all the Pleaſures and Glories of this World, would by the Favour of God, ſpeedily viſit him in Perſon, with their whole Forces.* And now the State of thoſe Parts requir'd it, *Saladin* having ſlain many of the Knights Templars, and Nobility, and above thirty thouſand Soldiers, beſides innumerable others in Cities and Towns by him ſubdu'd. Which ſo affected the Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois*, and other Princes, that when they were deſir'd to join with one of the two contending Kings, they made anſwer, *That they would not, contrary to their Promiſe made to God, put on Armour againſt any Chriſtian, 'till they had diſcharg'd their Duties againſt* Saladin. In the Treaties therefore between *Henry* and *Philip*, the Demands of the latter on the behalf of *Richard* were ſuch as *Henry* thought unſafe, which was that the Marriage between *Richard* and the Princeſs ſhould be conſummated, and all Subjects ſwear Fealty to him, while his Father was alive. Which Propoſitions being rejected by *Henry*, his Son immediately fell from him, and became a Homager to the King of *France* for *Normandy* and other Places. At a ſecond Treaty, ſet on foot by the Mediation of a Cardinal Legate, King *Philip*'s Demands were harder than before, as that King *Henry* ſhould not only ſettle his Kingdom upon *Richard*, but likewiſe take his Son *John* with him into the *Holy-Land*; otherwiſe *Richard* ſhould ſtay behind, being jealous of his Brother's Favour with the Father. King *Henry* thought himſelf affronted at theſe Propoſitions, and diſdaining to be compell'd by any Man, both Parties betook themſelves to their Arms.

Hoveden, &c.

They fall out.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 35.

King Henry *declines.*

Submits to hard Articles.

The unhappy Effect of this Conteſt was, that the mighty Monarch King *Henry*, being abandon'd by his former good Fortunes, was now diſgrac'd in his declining Age, ſuſtain'd many Loſſes by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, was driven out of *Mans*, his beloved Birth-Place, with the Burning of that City, and at length was conſtrain'd to yield to ſuch diſhonourable Conditions as *Philip* thought fit to propoſe, one of which was That he ſhould pay him twenty thouſand Marks in Silver. *Hoveden* tells us that at the Meeting of theſe two Kings, when the Sky was clear, a dreadful Flaſh of Lightning fell between them and parted them, and coming together again, it thunder'd more terribly, ſo that the old King had fallen off his Horſe, had not his Followers ſuſtain'd him; upon which he durſt not retard the Peace one Moment, but immediately ſubmitted; but to his unſpeakable Affliction, who had been ſo often us'd to give, and not to take Conditions. At his leaving of *Mans*, he in a violent Paſſion declar'd, *That ſince* Richard *had taken that Place from him which he moſt lov'd in this World, he would deprive him of what ought to be moſt dear to a Child, which was his Heart.* But after the Concluſion of the Peace, another

Hoveden, &c.

another Thing touch'd him more nearly; for finding the Name of his beloved Son *John* in the Catalogue of the Confederates againſt him in that Action, overcome with Rage and Grief, he bitterly curs'd the Hour of his Birth, and ſolemnly laid God's Imprecations and his own upon both his Sons; which no Perſuaſions of the Biſhops could cauſe him to revoke: But falling dangerouſly ſick at *Chinon*, finding the Approaches of Death, he caus'd himſelf to be carry'd into the Church before the Altar, where after an humble Confeſſion and Sorrow for his Sins, and an Acknowledgment of the Juſtneſs of this laſt Misfortune, he expired. It is obſervable, that immediately after his Death, his Domeſticks, contrary to Decency and Humanity, rifled him of his Cloaths, and left him ſtript and naked. Nor muſt it be forgotten, That the violent *Richard*, now Heir of all, coming to meet his Father's Body, royally adorn'd for the Funeral, the Corps guſh'd forth Blood, as it were accuſing him of his unnatural Behaviour; at which *Richard*, touch'd with Remorſe, melted into Floods of Tears, in a moſt penitent Manner attending the Remains of his unfortunate Father to the Grave, which was at *Fontevrand*. He dy'd on the ſixth Day of *July*, and in the fifty ſixth Year of his Age, after a troubleſom and pompous Reign of thirty four Years, eight Months, and twelve Days.

He dies with Grief.

This was the End of the greateſt Potentate that had hitherto ſate upon the *Engliſh* Throne, and perhaps the greateſt that was then in the Chriſtian World; a Prince highly celebrated for his Abilities and Qualifications. He was of a robuſt ſound Conſtitution, of a ſanguin Complexion, and of a warm martial Diſpoſition. He had a ſtrong and penetrating Underſtanding, which he daily improv'd by Converſation and Study; was valiant and vigorous in War, and prudent and politick in Peace; magnificent in publick, frugal in private, generous to Strangers, and ſparing to his Domeſticks, ſevere to Oppoſers, and mild to all Compliers. But tho' he had many ſhining Virtues, yet he knew not how to ſet Bounds either to his Ambition or his Luſts; as to the former, he was wont to ſay, *That the whole World was but ſufficient for one great Man*; and the latter were ſo exorbitant as to occaſion the greateſt Calamities in his Reign. He was likewiſe covetous, and no ſtrict Obſerver of his Word; ſo that upon the whole, he had ſuch a Stock of Vices as well as Virtues, natural Perfections and Imperfections, ſo blended together, that he can neither be ſaid to be an exceeding good, nor an exceeding bad Prince; all which were accompany'd with the like Meaſures of good and ill Fortune. Vices in Princes, being more contagious than in private Perſons, ſeldom eſcape God's Vengeance in this World; ſo the Adulteries, and perhaps Inceſts, of this Prince met with their natural Puniſhment from the Fruit of his own Body, whoſe Diſobedience brought him in his latter Years to ſee the Reverſe of his former Fortunes, and all his Laurels to wither on a ſudden. Whereby we find that neither the Number of his Children, the Extent of his Dominions, nor all his eminent Qualities, could make his Proſperity durable; but for want of a Conqueſt over his Paſſions, and a Command over himſelf, he loſt that Empire he had obtain'd over others. Tho' this King never impos'd many Taxes, yet he is ſaid to have left behind him more than ninty thouſand Pounds in ready Coin, beſides Plate, Jewels, Houſhold Goods, and an ample Proviſion for a War. In this Reign the unhappy Diſtinction between the Names of *Normans* and *Engliſh* was in a great meaſure ended. And Doctor *Hody* tells us that in theſe Times, the King's Court of Juſtice was where the King himſelf reſided; and ſince the Courts were fix'd in *Weſtminſter* Hall, our Kings have ſometimes ſat there in Perſon, and not *incognito*, but openly, with their Crowns on their Heads, as they us'd formerly to ſit in the *Curiæ* held on the three great Feſtivals.

His Character.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King RICHARD *the First.*

Containing nine Years, and nine Months.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

I. KING *Henry* left two Sons behind him, *Richard* and *John*; and both theſe ſucceeded him in the Throne of *England*. The former was now about thirty one Years of Age, and obtain'd the Sirname of *Coeur de Lion*, or *Lion's Heart*; a violent and valiant Prince, who from his Father's Death, ſeem'd to have ſet his whole Heart upon the Re-advancement of the Croſs of Chriſt, lately ſo much diſhonour'd by the Infidels in *Aſia*. But firſt he took care to eſtabliſh his Affairs in *Normandy*, and his other Dominions in *France*; and then ſent Letters into *England* to ſet his Mother Queen *Eleanor* at Liberty, whom her Husband had made a Priſoner for twelve, or as others ſay, ſixteen Years; who now ſenſible of others Misfortunes by her own, perform'd many Acts of Mercy and Bounty to thoſe in the like Circumſtances. Yet *Richard* honourably baniſh'd all thoſe from his Preſence and Acquaintance who had abandon'd his Father, and rewarded many others who loyally ſtood for him againſt himſelf in the former Conteſts. And having in a ſhort Time ſetled all tranſmarine Affairs, he paſs'd over into *England*, intending to make a ſhort Stay there; as well to receive all the Rights of Soveraignty, as to take all proper Means and Methods to carry on his intended holy Expedition, together with *Philip* King of *France*, and ſeveral other Chriſtian Pontentates.

Hoveden. Gervaſe.

Richard ſucceeds in the Throne.

Being ſafely arriv'd in *England*, he was by univerſal Conſent crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Baldwin* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; the Particulars of which Solemnity we have from *Hoveden* and *Diceto*, and which in Subſtance were thus. Firſt the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *Roven*, *Triers*, and *Dublin*, with the other Biſhops, Abbots and Clergy, cloath'd in rich Copes and Habits, with the Croſs, Holy-Water and Cenſers born before them, came to fetch Duke *Richard* at the Door of his Privy-Chamber, from whence they led him to the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter* in a ſolemn Proceſſion. In the middle of the Biſhops and Clergy were four Barons, bearing golden Candleſticks and Tapers; and after them came *Geoffry de Lucy* with the Royal Cap, *John* the *Marſhall* with a maſſie Pair of golden Spurs, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* with the Royal Scepter and a golden Croſs at the End of it, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury* with the golden Rod and a Dove on the Top. Then came three other Earls, *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to the King of the *Scots*, *John* Earl of *Mortaign*, Duke *Richard*'s Brother, in the middle, and *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*; each bearing a large Sword upright in his Hand, with the Scabbards richly adorn'd with Gold. Theſe were follow'd by ſix Earls and Barons bearing a checker'd Table, with the *Regalia* upon it; and thoſe by *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albermarle*, bearing a large and rich Crown of Gold; after whom came *Richard* himſelf, between the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Bath*, under a Canopy of State born by four Barons. Then follow'd a noble Train of Earls, Barons, Knights and others as well of the Clergy as Laity, who in a pompous manner accompany'd him to the High-Altar, where ſolemnly laying his Hands upon the Holy Evangeliſts, and the Relicks of divers Saints, he took a formal Oath, '*To obſerve Peace, Ho-*'*nour and Reverence to Almighty God, his Church, and Miniſters, all the* '*Days of his Life; That he would exerciſe Juſtice and Equity towards the* '*People committed to his Charge; and that he would abrogate all evil Laws* '*and unjuſt Cuſtoms, and make, keep and ſincerely maintain thoſe that were* '*good and laudable.* Then the Arch-Biſhop proceeded to anoint him in three Places, the Head, Breaſt and Arms, ſignifying by thoſe Unctions *Glory*, *Fortitude*,

Hoveden. Diceto.

The Manner of his Coronation.

The Oath.

titude, and *Wiſdom*; and before he gave him the Crown he ſolemnly adjur'd him in the Name of the High God, *Not to preſume to take this Dignity upon him, unleſs he reſolv'd inviolably to keep thoſe Vows and Oaths, he had juſt then made*; to which the King anſwer'd, *That by God's Grace he would faithfully perform them all.* Upon which the Arch-Biſhop ſet the Crown upon his Head, deliver'd the Scepter into his right Hand, and plac'd the Rod-Royal in his left; in which manner he was led to his Throne, and after Maſs and the Offertory was over, to his Lodgings, in the ſame ſolemn Proceſſion. This in ſhort was the Form of the King's Coronation, which Solemnity was unfortunately polluted with the Blood of many *Jews*, tho' utterly againſt the King's Will, who preſſing into the Abby Church to ſee the Ceremony, were in a Tumult barbarouſly murder'd by the People.

Hoveden. Deviſes. Shortly after his Coronation, King *Richard* proceeded to all Kind of Methods for the Proſecution of the Holy-War, for which all his Father's vaſt Treaſure, and thoſe great Sums he extorted from *Stephen Turnham* his Treaſurer, were not thought ſufficient. Therefore he ſold many of his Manors and Caſtles to divers Perſons; as to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* the Manor of *Sadbery* for ſix hundred Marks, and ſoon after the Earldom of *Northumberland* to be held with his Biſhoprick, with this Piece of Rallery upon it, *He had made a young Earl of an old Biſhop*; and this not ſatisfying his ambitious Temper, he beſides gave the King one thouſand Marks more to be one of his chief Juſticiaries in his Abſence. Beſides theſe the King ſold many other Manors and Lands to ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as would purchaſe them, they being then the chief mony'd Men in *England*; by which means he rais'd immenſe Sums towards his intended Expedition. He granted to *William* King of the *Scots* the Caſtles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough* for ten thouſand Marks, and releas'd him of thoſe Covenants made to his Father, as extorted from him when a Priſoner, only reſerving to himſelf ſuch Rights as had been allow'd by his Brother *Malcolm* to the former Kings of *England*. Moreover upon ſome Diſpleaſure he impriſon'd the great Lawyer *Glanville*, and forc'd him to purchaſe his Liberty at no leſs Sum than fifteen thouſand Pounds; and even his Favourite *William Longchamp* pay'd three thouſand Pounds to have the great Seal continu'd in his Cuſtody during the King's Abſence; and when he was queſtion'd why he ſold ſo many Places and Manors, he made Anſwer, *That he would ſell* London *it ſelf, if he could find a good Chapman*; ſo earneſtly intent he was upon this plauſible Enterprize. As for Men and Soldiers, the Prelates, Friars and other Preachers excited great Numbers by their various Exhortations in Pulpits and private Conferences, reſounding nothing but the Croſs and Paſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, calling upon the World to revenge his glorious Gauſe againſt all Pagans and Infidels.

The King prepares for the Holy War.

Gervaſe. Hoveden. M. Paris. The main Danger of the State in the King's Abſence was in his Brother *John*, of whoſe Ambition he had reaſon to be jealous, as knowing that his Father, not long before his Death, had deſign'd him his Succeſſor; therefore to conquer his aſpiring Thoughts with Bounty and Munificence, and to remove all Occaſions of Complaint, King *Richard* did in ſome Degree ſhare his Kingdom with him, inveſting him with ſix Earldoms, *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Derby* and *Lancaſter*, beſides Caſtles, Honours, Manors, Foreſts, and Bounties, and finally with the Earldom of *Gloceſter*, and the Heireſs of that County for his Wife; tho' the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* forbad the Nuptials, alledging ſhe was within the Degrees of Conſanguinity. But leſt through ill Nature or Advice, Earl *John* ſhould make a wrong Uſe of theſe great Donations, he laid ſeveral Reſtraints upon him, and intruſted him with no Part of the Regal Power; but laid the main Burthen of the Government upon his Chancellor *Longchamp*, Biſhop of *Ely*, chief Juſticiary, and Legate to the See of *Rome*, who was now inveſted with whatſoever either King or Pope could grant for the Completion of his Authority. So that, as *Paris* ſays, he might well be ſtill'd *Prince* and *Prieſt* of *England*, as being the moſt powerful Subject for the

He wiſely ſettles the Nation.

the Time, that had been known in the Nation; for tho' the King had join'd *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* with him in Commiſſion, for all the Parts beyond the *Humber*, yet *Longchamp* in a ſhort Time eaſily made himſelf ſole Juſticiary, and by his Authority ſilenc'd the Name and Endeavours of his Collegue. Thus the chief Command, and the Soveraign Power it ſelf was in the Chancellor as Vice-Roy, but for the Defence and Execution of his Juſtice, the King prudently aſſociated with his Juſticiaries, *William* Earl of *Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marſhall*, *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, *William Brimere*, *Robert de Whitfield*, and *Robert Fitz-Reinfield*, all Men of Honour, Wiſdom and Authority. To compleat all, King *Richard* took care to provide for the Neighbourhood of *Wales* and *Scotland*; but tho' he did not ſo well ſucceed with *Rees* Prince of the former, yet *William* King of *Scotland* came to the King in *England*, and concluded a firm Alliance with him, which he religiouſly kept, in the greateſt Troubles of King *Richard*, to His and his Nation's Honour; and, as ſome write, ſent his Brother *David* with five thouſand *Scots* to ſerve him in the Holy War.

A. D. 1190. Reg. 1.

He joins with the French *King.*

The Affairs of *England* being thus eſtabliſh'd, King *Richard* croſs'd the Seas to meet King *Philip* in *France*, according to Appointment, that from thence, with Minds and Forces united, they might ſet forwards under the Banner of the Croſs; which after ſome Stay, occaſion'd by the Death of *Philip*'s Queen, they undertook upon theſe Chriſtian and Friendly Terms: 'That each ſhould 'preſerve the other's Honour, and bear Faith to him as to Life, Member and 'wordly Dignity: That neither ſhould fail the other in their Affairs; but the 'King of *France* ſhould help the King of *England* to defend his Land, as he 'would defend the City of *Paris* if beſieg'd; and the latter ſhould help the 'former to defend his, as he would defend the City of *Roven* if beſieg'd. This being committed to Writing, and then ratify'd by Oath, the two Kings ſent it to their Earls and Barons, who ſolemnly ſwore not to treſpaſs againſt their Fealty, nor ſtir up any War in either of the King's Dominions, during the Time of this extraordinary Pilgrimage; and on the other ſide the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops firmly promis'd to execrate and excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould tranſgreſs this Agreement. Thus, after ſome neceſſary Delays, theſe two, the greateſt Monarchs of the Weſtern World, ſet forwards by Land, to the reputed publick Service of Chriſtianity, with ſuch Numbers as they themſelves thought moſt proper; which were ſo great, that having paſs'd the *Rhone* at *Lions*, and receiv'd ſome Loſs by the Breaking of the Bridge, they parted Company for meer Conveniency of travelling. *Philip* paſs'd over the *Alps* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-Coaſt at *Marſeilles*, there to meet with his Royal Navy, which conſiſting of all the capital Ships of *England* and *Normandy*, and his other *French* Dominions, was appointed to attend at that Port. But the Fleet being not arriv'd, King *Richard*, impatient of Delays, after eight Days Continuance there, embark'd with the Attendance of twenty hired Gallies, and ten great Buſſes, and ſet Sail for *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, the Rendezvous of both the Kings and their Armies. In which Paſſage, occaſionally lying at Anchor at the Mouth of the *Tiber*, he was deſired by the Biſhop of *Oſtia* in the Pope's Name to make a Viſit to his Holineſs; but the King freely charg'd the Pope with Avarice and Simony in relation to ſome new advanc'd Biſhops in his Dominions, and therefore utterly refus'd to ſee *Rome*. Thus after ſeveral Accidents and Landings, hearing that his Navy was ſafe, he tarry'd for all, and after that, upon the twenty third Day of *September*, came to Anchor before the City of *Meſſina*, with ſo great a Shew of Power, and Noiſe of Warlike Inſtruments, and other Marks of Grandeur and Majeſty, in the Sight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there aſſembled, that it caus'd a Terror to the Inhabitants, and no ſmall Envy to his Confederates.

Gervaſe. M. Paris. Hoveden.

The two Kings ſet forwards for the Holy Land.

They meet at Meſſina.

Tancred was at that Time King, or rather Uſurper of *Sicily*, after the Death of *William*, who had marry'd *Joan* the Siſter of King *Richard*, and out of

Hoveden. &c.

of Hatred or Policy had impriſon'd that Queen; but upon the Appearance of her Brother, he honourably ſent her to him, and yielded to ſeveral Articles, and to the Payment of large Sums of Mony. And now Fear wrought on both Sides; and *Richard* being among Strangers, and not fully ſure of the *French*, ſeiz'd upon a Fortreſs in the Iſland of a valiant People call'd *Griffons*, and after that by means of an extraordinary Tumult took the City of *Meſſina* it ſelf. From which Time the Spirit of Diſcord ſeems to have been ſown between the two Royal Adventurers; for King *Richard*, fluſh'd with Victory, diſplay'd his Banners, even in thoſe Parts of the City appointed for King *Philip*'s Quarters, which gave great Offence to the other, and occaſion'd many warm Expreſſions. Yet at length by the Mediation of great Men on both Sides, the Conteſt was for the preſent adjuſted; and *Richard* order'd his Enſigns to be taken down, and then deliver'd the Cuſtody of the City to the Knights Hoſpitallers, and Templars, 'till all Things required from the King of *Sicily* were perform'd. After much Deliberation, in anſwer to King *Richard*'s Demands, *Tancred* inſiſted *That he had already paid to his Siſter, late Queen of the Iſland, large Sums of Mony in lieu of her Dowry or Jointure; and concerning the Legacies intended by his Predeceſſor King* William, *to the Father of King* Richard, *he was ready to ſatisfie him, as far as he ought according to the Cuſtoms of his Kingdom.* But to appeaſe that Power he could not reſiſt, he gave to King *Richard* twenty thouſand Ounces of Gold, in Conſideration of his Siſter's Jointure; and further to be acquitted of all other Claims and Pretences, and likewiſe in Conſideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, Nephew and next Heir to King *Richard*, ſhould marry the Daughter of King *Tancred*, he paid a ſecond Sum of twenty thouſand Ounces more: After which, to purchace the Amity of King *Richard* and the Love of the *Engliſh* Nation, as alſo for the greater Aſſurance of Performance of Articles, he voluntarily added a third Sum of twenty thouſand Ounces, and afterwards four great Ships call'd *Urſers*, and fifteen Gallies. On the other Side King *Richard*, that he might not be wanting in any Thing which in Honour and Equity might be expected from him, beſides Letters Patents, he choſe unexceptionable Sureties upon Oath, as two Arch-Biſhops, two Biſhops, and no leſs than twenty Lords and great Men, whoſe Names are upon Record in *Hoveden*. And for a final Confirmation, he offer'd that Pope *Clement* ſhould undertake for the Performance of his Part of the ſaid Agreement; and accordingly wrot Letters to him upon that Subject, freely giving him leave, upon any Failure in him, to put all his Dominions under the ſevereſt Cenſures.

King Richard *gains Advantages in* Sicily.

Tancred *King of* Sicily *gives him large Sums*

Hoveden, &c. The Peace being happily concluded, *Tancred* before he took leave of King *Richard*, diſcover'd to him a foul and diſhonourable Deſign of the *French* King, againſt his Perſon and Safety; which ſhortly after coming to be warmly debated between the two Kings, *Philip* charg'd *Richard* with inventing and promoting of Conteſts; and further added *That unleſs* Richard *marry'd his Siſter* Alice, *according to the ancient Contract, he would be his irreconcilable Enemy.* To which King *Richard*, being urg'd, return'd in Anſwer, *That the Princeſs during her Abode in* England, *had a Child by his Father* Henry, *which he was ready to prove by many Witneſſes then preſent; ſo that he had far more Cauſe than a bare Suſpicion of Incontinency, to refuſe the Marriage.* Upon this ungrateful Diſcovery, and upon certain new Conditions between the two Kings, *Philip* left the other at liberty to chuſe a Wife where he thought fit, and ſeem'd to be reconcil'd to him; yet ſtill *Tancred*'s late Information rais'd ſuch a Diſtruſt and Jealouſie between 'em, that from thence forward they were never true Friends. Not long after, they both parted for the intended holy Expedition. But becauſe Examples of true Chriſtian Humility are too rare among Princes and Potentates, we muſt not paſs by that of this famous General King *Richard*, who about this Time, as *Hoveden* expreſſes it, being inſpir'd with Divine Grace and ſtudying to fit himſelf for this great Enterprize, felt ſuch a Compunction for

A. D. 1191. Reg. 3.

Richard *and the* French *King diſagree.*

his Sins, that he made a ſolemn Confeſſion of all his Exceſſes before his Biſhops, humbly imploring the Mercy of God, and the Abſolution of his ſubordinate Miniſters. Our Author adds that God reſpected him with the Eyes of Mercy, and gave him a penitent Heart, ſo that from thenceforward he prov'd a Man fearing God, and eſchewing Evil. And now addicting his Mind to Contemplation, and the Honour of the Chriſtian Church, whoſe Champion he was, he deſir'd the Conference of a famous Viſionary Abbot in *Italy* call'd *Joachim*, celebrated for his profound Knowledge of the Scriptures, and his prophetical Revelations. This Man preaching before the King upon the Apocalypſe of St. *John*, concerning the coming of *Antichriſt*, freely declar'd That *Antichriſt* was then born, and in the City of *Rome* ſhould be advanc'd to the Apoſtolick See, of whom the Apoſtle ſaid, *he ſhould exalt himſelf above all that is call'd God*; and that the ſeven Crowns were the Kings and Princes of the Earth who obey'd him. This, tho' accidental, adminiſter'd ſufficient Occaſion for Reflexions; by reaſon Kings and Princes were ſuppos'd to be thoſe Gods over whom *Antichriſt* ſhould exalt himſelf: For ſhortly after, *Henry* the Emperor together with his Empreſs *Conſtantia*, at their Coronation in St. *Peter*'s Church ſtooping down to the Ground, receiv'd their Imperial Crowns from between the Feet of the Pope, with which he immediately ſtruck them off their Heads; ſignifying by that Action, That he had Power to throw them out of their Dominions whenever he thought fit.

Richard is very penitent.

The ſame Day that *Philip* and the *French* Forces ſet Sail from *Meſſina*, *Eleanor* King *Richard*'s Mother arriv'd with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouſe, Daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, whom he afterwards marry'd in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a ſhort Stay return'd by *Rome* into *England*, leaving the young Lady with *Joan* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, both which accompany'd the King towards the *Holy-Land*, his whole Navy conſiſting of an hundred and fifty large Ships and fifty three Gallies, beſides thirteen Buſſes, and many Tenders; but we do not find what Number of Soldiers were in the *Engliſh* Army. This Royal Navy, ſailing between the Iſles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, was diſpers'd by a terrible Storm, which turn'd much to the Honour and Advantage of King *Richard*, as giving him an Occaſion of new Conqueſts. For two of the Veſſels being caſt away upon the Coaſts of *Cyprus*, near the Port of *Limezun*, and the Ship that carry'd the Princeſs in great Danger; *Iſaac* the King, or, as he was call'd, Emperor of that Iſland, barbarouſly rifled and impriſon'd thoſe Perſons that eſcap'd, and would not permit the Ladies to enter the Harbour, tho' in great Diſtreſs: Which uncommon Inhumanity, neither Heav'n nor King *Richard* would forgive. For the ſaid inhoſpitable Prince, having thrice refus'd to make Reſtitution of his unlawful Seiſures and Priſoners, was ſoon after enter'd upon and invaded by the *Engliſh*, driven from the Coaſts with great Diſhonour and Slaughter, the City of *Limezun* left a Prey to the Victors, and himſelf beaten out of his Camp, and taken Priſoner. After an Eſcape made by him, his only Daughter and Heireſs was forc'd to yield her ſelf Priſoner, and laſtly himſelf, deſpairing to be conceal'd, came of his own Accord, and was put into Fetters of Silver; upon which the whole Iſland, with all its People, Strength and Riches, became Subject to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter were led into Captivity. In this Iſland King *Richard* was honour'd by the Attendance of *Guido* King of *Jeruſalem*, *Geoffry* his Brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, *Boemund* his Son, and many other Princes, who offer'd him their Service; and here he finiſh'd the Nuptials of his beloved Lady *Berengaria*. *Iſaac* was ſent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, his Daughter committed to the King's Siſter and Queen, and the Iſland intruſted to *Richard Camvile* and *Robert Turnham* his Vice-Roys, with competent Forces and Proviſions; and the Iſlanders were ſuffer'd to enjoy all ſuch Laws and Liberties, as they held in the Reign of *Manuel* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

He removes from Sicily.

He conquers the Iſle of Cyprus.

Hoveden. M. Paris. Wing. &c.

II. During

Hoveden. M. Paris. Nubrigen. II. During theſe proſperous Tranſactions abroad, the State of *England* ſuffer'd extreamly at home under the Government of Biſhop *Longchamp* the Chancellor, who arrogating to himſelf that Authority which belong'd to the reſt of the Commiſſioners in common, acted as he thought fit, and with that Inſolence deported himſelf, that he incurr'd the Hatred of the whole Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity. His Train was ſaid to be ſo great, and his Attendance ſo numerous, that whenever he lay in any religious Houſe but one Night, three Years Revenues would ſcarce recover the Charge. Beſides, being a Foreigner himſelf, and employing only *Frenchmen* about him, he render'd his Actions more inſupportable to the *Engliſh*: Inſomuch that the whole Clergy and Nobility oppos'd his Proceedings; and the King's Brother *John* taking Advantage of their Diſcontents, to render himſelf popular, and to make way for his deſign'd Uſurpation, join'd with the State againſt the Biſhop, as being the Perſon who had ever defeated his aſpiring Attempts; having a particular Eye upon him, as a moſt dangerous Man, in reſpect of the King's Charge and his own Safety. In a ſhort Time he found a fair Opportunity to ruin the Chancellor by means of *Geoffry* the Elect Arch-Biſhop of *York*, natural Son to the late King *Henry*, to whoſe Preferment in *England* King *Richard* was averſe, and therefore had confin'd him to *Normandy* during his Abſence, where after much Difficulty, he had obtain'd Power of the preſent Pope to be inveſted in the ſaid See. *Longchamp* being inform'd of this Perſon's Arrival, order'd him to be apprehended at *Dover*, where he was forcibly drawn out of the Church to which he had retir'd, and ignominiouſly dragg'd from the Altar to the Caſtle in his Pontifical Habit. Upon this Violence, Earl *John* commanded the Chancellor not only to releaſe him, but immediately to anſwer the Matter before the Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Nobility at St. *Paul*'s; where they urg'd againſt him many heinous Actions, committed contrary to his Commiſſion, and the Good of the King and Kingdom. The Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* openly ſhew'd the King's Letters Patents, dated at *Meſſina*, by which they were made equal Commiſſioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom; in which notwithſtanding he would not ſuffer them to be concern'd, but according to his violent Methods govern all himſelf. Upon which he was by the Aſſembly formally depos'd from his Office, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Roven* put in his Place; as alſo the Tower of *London*, and Caſtle of *Windſor* were taken from him, and deliver'd to the Arch-Biſhop. Thus this great Officer, preſuming too much upon his own Power, was thrown down from his Seat, and forc'd to reſign his Legantine Croſs at *Canterbury*, and take up that for the Holy War; and endeavouring to eſcape privately over the Sea, he was in the Habit of a Woman, with a Web of Linnen Cloath under his Arm, taken upon the Shore at *Dover*, and opprobriouſly made a Spectacle to the People, and conducted with all Deriſion to the Caſtle. Whence after eight Days he was releas'd by Earl *John*, and permitted to purſue his intended Voyage; in which, being the Meſſenger of his own Uſage, he had the Advantage of his Adverſaries, and prevail'd againſt them with the Pope, who was highly diſpleas'd to find the Legantine Power ſo vilify'd. In the mean Time Earl *John*, with the Commiſſioners, confirm'd to the City of *London* their common Liberties, and caus'd the Citizens to ſwear Fealty to King *Richard* and his Heir; and if he dy'd without Iſſue, they were then to maintain Earl *John* as their Lord and King, againſt all Men whatſoever.

Troubles in England occaſion'd by the Chancellor.

The Chancellor depos'd.

He leaves the Nation.

Tyrr. &c. Thus forward was Earl *John* in his Attempts upon the Crown of his Brother King *Richard*, while he was paſſing into the *Holy-Land* with the Spoils and Treaſure of three noble Iſlands, *England*, *Sicily* and *Cyprus*, beſides *Normandy*, and other Parts of *France*; in which diſtant Country almoſt all was conſum'd, tho' to the great Renown of himſelf and Nation. And here, for the Reader's clearer Underſtanding of theſe Affairs, it will not be amiſs to take notice, That about ninety two Years ſince, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* and his Aſſiſtants recover'd

A ſhort Account of the Cruſades.

the City of *Jeruſalem*, with the Country of *Paleſtine*, and a great Part of *Syria*, out of the Hands of the *Saracens*, obtain'd the Kingdom, and reigning one Year dy'd, and left his Brother *Baldwin* to ſucceed him; who governing eighteen Years, left the Crown to another of that Name *Baldwin de Borgo*, who reign'd thirteen Years, and left a Daughter, and the Kingom in Diſpute. *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* marrying this Daughter, enjoy'd the Kingdom eleven Years, and left two young Sons, *Baldwin*, who reign'd twenty four Years, and *Almerick* twelve; which laſt left the Kingdom to his Son *Baldwin*, who being ſickly and deſpairing of Iſſue, made his Siſter *Sibill*'s Son *Baldwin* his Succeſſor, and committed the Charge of him, with the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom to *Raynvond* Earl of *Tripoly*, whom *Guido de Luſignan*, having marry'd the Widow *Sibill*, put from that Charge, uſurp'd the Government, and at length the Kingdom, not without Suſpicion of poiſoning the young King. *Raynvond* making War upon him, *Guido* imprudently drew in Sultan *Saladin* of *Ægypt* to his Aſſiſtance, who improving this Opportunity of inlarging his Dominions, ſoon deſtroy'd them both, with their Kingdom, and won the Cities of *Acon*, *Azotus*, *Berytus*, *Aſcalon*, and after one Months Siege, the City of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, eighty eight Years after it had been conquer'd by the famous *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*.

To recover this ruinous State, the two great Kings of *England* and *France* came from far diſtant Countries, with Armies compos'd of different Nations and ſeveral Inclinations, as *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and others, againſt a mighty Prince of an united Power, within his own Territories, acquainted with the Manner of the Fights and the Nature of the Forces of the Chriſtians, and poſſeſs'd of the beſt Parts of the Country. And here they ſucceſſively ſat down before *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, defended by the Power of *Saladin*, which had been before beſieg'd by the Chriſtians for the Space of three Years, and had coſt the Lives of many worthy Princes and great Men of ſeveral Nations, whoſe Names are ſtill in the Records of Fame. And notwithſtanding all the Forces of theſe two Kings, the Garriſon held out four Months after, and then ſurrender'd upon theſe Articles. 1. That *Saladin* ſhould by a certain Day reſtore the Holy Croſs. 2. That he ſhould ſet free fifteen hundred Chriſtian Captives. 3. That the City, and all Things contain'd in it, ſhould remain to the Chriſtians. 4. That the Garriſon ſhould only have their Lives ſav'd, if theſe Conditions were perform'd. 5. That they ſhould pay twenty thouſand Pieces of Gold, towards the Charges of the two Kings. At their Entrance into the City, the Banners of *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, being planted on the Walls, were with great Diſgrace taken down by the Command of King *Richard*, and thoſe of the two Kings erected; which highly incens'd the Duke, who immediately quitted the Service, and afterwards found Means to revenge himſelf. Beſides this, during the Siege, divers Marks of Jealouſie and Diſpleaſure appear'd between the Kings themſelves; and the Competition of Honour made the leaſt Diſproportion of it a Wound beyond Cure. And now that Article formerly concluded of equally dividing their Profits in the Expedition, came to be queſtion'd: The King of *France* claim'd half the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and the King of *England* half the Treaſure and Goods of the Earl of *Flanders*, which the other had lately ſeiz'd; and in this neither were ſatisfy'd. Then appear'd the two Pretenders to the Crown of *Jeruſalem*, *Guido* of *Luſignan*, and *Conrade* of *Montſerrat*; the former pleading Poſſeſſion in right of his Wife *Sibill*, the King of *England* eſpous'd his Cauſe; and the King of *France* join'd with *Conrade*. Theſe Differences created continual Heart-burnings between 'em, and they were ſo much diſtemper'd by their own violent Heats, and the hot Contagion of the Country, that they fell into a moſt dangerous Sickneſs, which occaſion'd the intire Loſs of their Hair. But being recover'd, the *French* King reſolv'd to ſtay no longer, where he ſaw ſo little Probability of Honour or Advantage; and the rather becauſe by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders* he had an Opportunity of enlarging his

Winſauff. Hoveden. M. Paris. &c.

The Kings of England *and* France *take the City of* Acon.

They diſagree.

his Dominions at home; therefore he ſent to King *Richard* for his Conſent to return home. *Richard* fearing to let an offended Lion looſe, would not grant it, 'till he had taken a ſolemn Oath, That he would protect his Dominions and People 'till his Return, and would do no Damage to them, nor ſuffer any to be done by others.

The King of France *returns home.*

Winſauff. Hoveden. &c. The King of *France* thus leaving *Acon*, in the Caſtle of which King *Richard*'s Queen and Siſter were lodg'd, and the Duke of *Burgundy* remaining behind with the *French* Army, and a great Part of his Maſter's Treaſure, King *Richard* the ſame Day ſet forwards upon a new Enterprize: For before, by reaſon of the Diſſention between the Kings which ſhould be greateſt, ſcarce any Thing proſper'd; and *Richard* had juſt Cauſe to complain in his Letters, *That* Philip *to the great Reproach of himſelf and Kingdom, had diſhonourably forſaken his Purpoſe and Vow to God.* When *Saladin* could by no Means obtain a longer Day for the Performance of the ſaid Articles of Compoſition, he barbarouſly cut off the Heads of all his Chriſtian Captives; in Revenge of which King *Richard* brought out his Mahometan Captives, to the Number of two thouſand ſeven hundred, and in the ſight of *Saladin*'s Camp, caus'd them all to be beheaded; the Duke of *Burgundy* doing the ſame to near the ſame Number, by the Walls of *Acon*, only ſeven of the chief being preſerv'd alive by the Chriſtian Generals. King *Richard* vigorouſly proceeding in his new deſign'd Enterprize, march'd towards *Joppa*, in which he was furiouſly ſet upon by *Saladin*, who had juſt before put the Duke of *Burgundy* to flight, and ſlain the valiant *Jaques de Avennes*, who made a noble Reſiſtance with only a few in the Reer; but *Richard* encounter'd him with ſo much Courage and Bravery, that he conſtrain'd him to fly diſhonourably, with the Loſs of three thouſand of his choiceſt Soldiers. About this Time the King met with a remarkable Deliverance from the Hands of the *Saracens:* For one Day diverting himſelf with Hawking, attended by a ſmall Retinue, and being tired with the Exerciſe, he laid himſelf under a Tree to ſleep; of which a Party of the Enemy having notice, they laid an Ambuſcade, and ſent ſome of their Men to ſet upon the King, and provoke him to fight; which when they had done, by a feign'd Flight they drew him into their Ambuſh, and ſuddenly ſurrounded him and his Company. Here he had certainly been taken Priſoner, had not one of his Gentlemen nam'd *William de Pratellis*, out of an uncommon Piece of Generoſity, ſav'd him by cauſing himſelf to be taken in his ſtead, and crying out in the *Saracen*'s Tongue, *I am the King*; upon which they all ſeiz'd upon him, while the King and divers of his Followers made their Eſcapes. Afterwards, the King in Conſideration of this noble Act, gave in Exchange for him ten of the greateſt Noblemen among his Priſoners; manifeſting the Eſteem he had for this brave Man, whom alone he valu'd at the Rate of ten Princes.

King Richard *defeats* Saladin.

A. D. 1192. Reg. 3/4.

Winſauff. M. Paris. &c. Still King *Richard* vigorouſly purſu'd his Deſigns, and after ſeveral brave and important Actions, march'd up within ſight of *Jeruſalem*, where he ſkirmiſh'd with the Enemy, and overthrew the Convoy or Caravan of *Saladin*, which came richly laden from *Babylon*, and was guarded by ten thouſand Men; whom *Richard* valiantly attack'd with five thouſand ſelect Soldiers, put moſt of them to the Sword, took three thouſand Camels and four thouſand Horſes and Mules, and recover'd a noble Booty. After this, and many other great Exploits, as the Relief of *Joppa*, and the Repulſe of *Saladin* from that Place, the King, indefatigable in his brave Attempts, endeavouring to regain *Jeruſalem* and the City of *Baruck*, was abandon'd in that Enterprize by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who is vehemently ſuſpected to have been brib'd by *Saladin:* Upon which he began to hearken to the Knights Templars, and the chief of the Chriſtian Army, who perſuaded him not to refuſe *Saladin*'s Offers for a Ceſſation of Arms; eſpecially conſidering that he deſign'd to return with greater Forces and Treaſure; that his preſent Power, by Diviſions, by Sickneſs and Encounters was much waſted and weaken'd; and that the dangerous State of his own Dominions, by reaſon

He gains a great Booty.

reaſon of undue Practices at home, and the Deſigns of King *Philip* abroad, did now require his own Preſence. At length after ſome Struggles of Honour and Conſcience, the King concluded a Truce with *Saladin* for three Years upon theſe Conditions: 'Firſt that *Aſcalon* ſhould be demoliſh'd, and not fortify'd 'by either Party during the Truce; yet *Joppa* might be poſſeſs'd by the *Chri-* '*ſtians*, and all the Country then in the *Chriſtians* Hands, without Moleſtation 'from the *Saracens*. And then the *Chriſtians* ſhould have free Liberty to go 'in Pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre without Charge, and likewiſe have free 'Commerce through *Saladin*'s Dominions. Upon Concluſion of the Treaty, King *Richard* let *Saladin* know, *That when the Truce was ended, he would return again, and once more endeavour to recover the* Holy-Land *from his Dominions.* To which *Saladin* is ſaid to have return'd this generous Anſwer, *That he had ſo great an Eſteem for King* Richard's *Worth, that if it muſt be his Fate to loſe his Country, he had rather it ſhould be to him, than to any other Prince whatſoever.* Thus this great Cruſade ended with little more Advantage than the taking of one ſingle City; and King *Richard* departed with the Diſpleaſure of having on one Side concluded a diſhonourable Truce, and on the other, with the Satisfaction of having beſtow'd two Kingdoms at his Departure, that of *Jeruſalem* upon the *Count de Champaign* his Nephew, and that of *Cyprus*, which he had conquer'd by his own Arms, upon *Guido de Luſignan*, in whoſe Houſe it continu'd two hundred and eighty Years.

He makes a three Years Truce with Saladin.

He leaves the Holy-Land.

Thus *Richard* having ſetled the Affairs of the Eaſt, and ſent away his Queen and Siſter, with the King of *Cyprus*'s Daughter, under the Conduct of *Stephen Turnham*, he went on board a large Buſs at *Acon*, and ſet ſail in the Beginning of *October* for *Corfu*; where arriving in leſs than a Month, he continu'd his Voyage to *Raguſa* in the Gulf of *Venice*, and landing near that City, reſolv'd to go by Land through *Sclavonia* into *Auſtria*. Where when he arriv'd, tho' he and his Attendants, endeavouring to be unknown, had diſguis'd themſelves like Pilgrims with long Hair and Beards, yet they could not be long conceal'd, by reaſon of their extraordinary Expences; which was alſo confirm'd by the Rumours of the King's being ſomewhere in thoſe Parts. *Richard* had now reaſon to fear the Duke of *Auſtria* whom he had affronted at *Acon*, and becauſe he knew he had a ſecret Hatred towards him, by reaſon of the League he had made with *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, the Emperor's Competitor for that Kingdom; as alſo becauſe of the Aſſaſſination of *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Montferrat* his Kinſman, in which he ſuſpected King *Richard* to have been concern'd. Wherefore fearing to be taken Priſoner, *Richard* privately withdrew from his Retinue, committing the Charge of them to one of his principal Gentlemen that waited on him; and ſo taking Horſe with one ſingle Servant, he travell'd Day and Night 'till he arriv'd near the City of *Vienna*. But coming to a ſmall Village, and lying down on a Bed to repoſe himſelf, while his Servant went out to buy Proviſions, the Man was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Auſtria*; and being ſeiz'd and brought before him, after many Enquiries he was conſtrain'd to reveal where the King was. Upon which the Duke immediately ſent thither, and took him Priſoner as he lay aſleep; of which Prize the Duke was not a little joyful, having now an Opportunity not only of revenging himſelf for the Affront put upon him at the taking of *Acon*, but alſo of inriching himſelf by an extraordinary Ranſom, which he reſolv'd to have for him, before he gave him his Liberty. But ſhortly after the Emperor *Henry* VI. ſent to demand him, alledging, *That the Duke being his Vaſſal, it belong'd to him to have the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon*; whereupon the Duke, being promis'd a large ſhare of his Ranſom, deliver'd him into the Emperor's Hand, who kept him Priſoner about a Year. And thus this great Prince's unfortunate Expedition to the *Holy-Land* ended as inglorioufly, as it was at firſt magnanimouſly undertaken; having conſum'd therein all that mighty Treaſure left him by his Father, and all that he could draw from his Subjects, and others, by violent Extortions, plauſible Promiſes, or ſubtle Practices.

Hoveden. M. Paris. &c.

He goes into Auſtria:

Where he is taken Priſoner by the Arch-Duke,

and ſent to the Emperor.

III. The

Hoveden. M. Paris. Gervaſe.

III. The ſtrange News of King *Richard*'s Impriſonment, after ſo much Valour ſhewn, flying through *Europe*, ſoon diſclos'd who were faithful or perfidious. His careful Mother and beſt Friends, overcome with Grief and Sorrow, put new Oaths to the Nation to be true to him, watch'd the Coaſts, provided for the Security of the State, and fortify'd all the Cities and chief Towns of the Kingdom. On the contrary Earl *John*, being by the cunning Inſinuations of his Brother's Foes, not only put in Hopes of his perpetual Bondage, but alſo incens'd againſt him for deſigning the Crown to his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, enter'd into an unbrotherly Attempt againſt his Soveraign; and after he had allur'd many Perſons by Promiſes, and fortify'd many Places in *England*, paſs'd the Sea, and enter'd into a League with the King of *France*, utterly to put his Nephew *Arthur* from the Hopes the *Britains* had conceiv'd of his Promotion. The *Normans* giving way to his diſloyal Practices, he ſwore Fealty to *Philip* King of *France*, and promis'd to marry his Siſter *Alice*, tho' diſhonour'd by his own Father, and for that Cauſe rejected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* he poſted into *England*, ſoliciting both Peers and People, but met with a very loyal Reſiſtance; yet not ſo diſcourag'd, he labour'd to excite the *Scots* and *Welſh* to join in an Invaſion with him, for which end the *French* and *Flemmings* aſſur'd them that King *Richard* would never be ſet at Liberty: But ſtill *William* King of the *Scots* would never give Conſent or Countenance to ſuch diſhonourable Practices. In this dangerous Time the Valour and Loyalty of the City of *Roven* appear'd in a moſt exemplary Manner: For *Philip* coming before it with a powerful Army, ſolicited the Citizens by the moſt alluring Promiſes to revolt; upon which, ſetting open their Gates, they return'd no other Anſwer but *That he might enter if he pleas'd.* But this vain-glorious King, finding that the very Women and Virgins had poll'd their Heads like Men, and with the reſt of the Inhabitants poured melted Pitch and ſuch like Materials upon the Heads of the Beſiegers, he march'd away in great Confuſion.

A. D. 1193. Reg. 4/5.

His Brother John *proves diſloyal.*

Hoveden. Nubrigen.

During theſe Diſturbances King *Richard*, formerly a Conqueror now a Priſoner, was brought into the Preſence of the Emperor in a publick Aſſembly of the Nobility; where the Emperor to terrifie him charg'd him with many Crimes, eſpecially the Aſſaſſination of the Marqueſs *Conrade* his Coſen. But the King knowing his own Innocency, anſwer'd all the Emperor's Allegations with ſo much Eloquence and Courage, that he not only gave full Satisfaction to all preſent, but mov'd the covetous Emperor to compaſſionate his Misfortunes, and to reverence his Perſon; but not to that Degree as to make him willing to diſcharge him without a great Ranſom. Not long after the King ſent Letters to the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, Clerks and Free-Tenants of *England*, wherein he deſired all the Clergy and Laity to raiſe ſuch a Sum as might procure him his Liberty. The Emperor wrot to the ſame Purpoſe, and the Pope, who threaten'd the Kingdom with an Interdict, unleſs the King were ſpeedily ſet free, alſo wrot to the King of *France* that he would anathematize his Kingdom, unleſs he forbore diſturbing *Richard*'s Territories while he was a Priſoner. Upon the Receipt of the King's Letters, and upon their Authority, the Queen-Mother and the Lords Juſtices determined that all Clerks and Laicks ſhould contribute the fourth Part of their Revenues that Year for the Redemption of the King; and that they ſhould add ſo much more out of their moveable Goods, as their Soveraign might at his Return own it as an Obligation. To this they added twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, and order'd That the Abbies of the *Ceſtertians*, and Houſes of the Order of *Semplengham*, ſhould contribute all their Wool of that Year, and that all the Gold and Silver in the Churches ſhould be brought out and deliver'd to that purpoſe. Thus a vaſt Sum was rais'd in *England*, and receiv'd by the Emperor's Envoys at *London*, in part of the King's Ranſom; and not long after the Emperor and King

King Richard *anſwers before the Emperor.*

Great Sums rais'd in England *for his Ranſom.*

King came to a final Agreement upon theſe Conditions. 1. 'That the King 'ſhould pay an hundred thouſand Marks to the Emperor, and fifty thouſand 'more to the Duke of *Auſtria*. 2. That the King ſhould marry his Nephew '*Arthur*'s Siſter to the Duke's Son, and deliver up the Captive King of *Cyprus* 'and his Daughter. 3. That the hundred thouſand Marks ſhould be brought 'into the Empire at the Peril of the King of *England*, and Hoſtages to be gi-'ven for the reſt. But to colour over this unprincely Extortion, the Emperor by a particular Charter gave to King *Richard* the Country of *Provence* in *France* with ſeveral other large Territories, containing five Archbiſhopricks, and thirty three Biſhopricks, which had been long out of the Emperor's Poſſeſſion; and crown'd him King of them all, and wrote magnificent Letters into *England* upon that Occaſion.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 5. Still King *Philip* us'd all Methods to hinder *Richard* of his Liberty, and finding that the Emperor and he were agreed, he ſent Meſſengers to Earl *John*, adviſing him *To look to himſelf, for the Devil was now let looſe*, and urg'd him to uſurp the Kingdom of *England*. Now when King *Richard* expected his Liberty at a general Diet held at *Spires*, where were preſent the three Arch-Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Cologn* and *Saltzburg*, the three Biſhops of *Worms*, *Spires* and *Liege*, the three Dukes of *Suabia*, *Auſtria* and *Lovain*, the *Count Palatine of the Rhine*, and ſeveral others, who had undertaken for the Emperor, whoſe Officers had already receiv'd the greateſt Part of the Ranſom; his Buſineſs was unfortunately obſtructed by the Arrival of Envoys from King *Philip* and Earl *John*, who offer'd fifty thouſand Marks from the King, and thirty thouſand from the Earl to the Emperor to keep *Richard* Priſoner 'till *Michaelmaſs* following; or if the Emperor thought fit, they would give him a thouſand Pounds a Month, as long as he ſhould keep him Priſoner; or elſe the King of *France* would give him an hundred thouſand Marks, and Earl *John* fifty thouſand to deliver him Priſoner into their Hands, or at leaſt to keep him one whole Year. Theſe great Proffers had ſuch an Effect upon the Emperor's corrupt Diſpoſition, that he immediately deferr'd the Day of ſetting *Richard* at Liberty, which almoſt reduc'd that Prince to Deſpair; but the above-nam'd Heads of the Empire, freely reprov'd the Emperor for his exceſſive Avarice, and his diſhonourable Treatment of a crown'd Head, and ſo far prevail'd, that upon the fourth Day of *February*, he was by the Arch-Biſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologn* reſtor'd after fifteen Months Impriſonment into the Hands of his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who with all there preſent receiv'd him with Tears as well as Tranſports of Joy. Yet ſo prevalent is the Power of Mony, that ſome Writers report, that after this the Emperor repented of his Releaſe, and ſent Meſſengers after in order to ſeize him; but the King being inform'd of this Deſign, haſten'd on Shipboard, and happily landed at *Sandwich* on the thirteenth Day of *March*. In *England* he was receiv'd in a triumphant Manner; and coming near *Rocheſter*, *Hubert* the new Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been with him at the Siege of *Acon*, met him in a pompous Solemnity; whom when the King ſaw, he immediately diſmounted, and having bow'd his Knee, fell upon the Earth, which in like Manner was done by the Arch-Biſhop, 'till at length both riſing up, run into each others Arms, with the higheſt Marks of Pleaſure and Satisfaction.

Hoveden. Nubrigen.

After much Difficulty, he is freed.

He arrives in England.

And here moſt Writers take Notice of the Vengeance of Heav'n upon the covetous Duke of *Auſtria* and the Emperor; that the former was puniſh'd with ſeveral Plagues and Calamities in his Country, of which he was ſo far from being ſenſible, that he preſs'd more earneſtly for the Payment of the reſt of King *Richard*'s Ranſom, threatning the Hoſtages with Death, if it was not ſpeedily diſcharg'd. Upon which one of them call'd *Baldwin de Betune*, was by Conſent ſent over into *England*, to remind the King of his Articles; and he compaſſionating the Caſe of his Hoſtages, immediately diſpatch'd this *Baldwin* with his Niece *Eleanor*, to be marry'd to the Duke of *Auſtria*'s Son; but before their Arrival

Puniſhments upon the Duke of Auſtria *and the Emperor.*

M. Paris. &c.

Arrival the Duke by a Fall from his Horſe broke his Leg, and brought himſelf to a tedious and miſerable End. Finding his Death certain, in a penitent Manner he commanded the Hoſtages to be diſcharg'd, and the Remainder of the Mony to be remitted; to which his Son not being willing to comply, the Clergy of that Country would not permit the Duke's Body to be bury'd, 'till he had perform'd his Father's Will. As to the Emperor, he to carry on an evil Deſign, did afterwards remit ſome Part of the Ranſom; yet he was purſu'd by many Troubles, and by the Pope excommunicated upon King *Richard*'s Account. At length falling into a great Fit of Sickneſs in *Sicily*, he ſent his Chancellor a Biſhop to King *Richard*, to deſire his Pardon, promiſing Reſtitution of what he had taken for his Ranſom: But before he could arrive and deliver his Meſſage, the Emperor dy'd under that Sentence at *Meſſina*. Nor were the King of *England*'s Afflictions unprofitable to him; for they gave him Occaſion to reform his Life, taking home his Queen *Berengaria*, whoſe Society he had a long Time neglected, tho' ſhe was a virtuous, wiſe and beautiful Lady, who for the Love of him had ventur'd her Perſon with him through the World.

Hoveden. M. Paris. Nubrigen. IV. King *Richard* having happily recover'd both his Liberty and Kingdom, repair'd to the great Abby of St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, where in performance of his Vow he offer'd up the rich Imperial Standard, taken from *Iſaac* King of *Cyprus*. From thence he march'd into ſeveral Parts of the Nation, and took in by Surrender ſuch Caſtles as the Adherents of his Brother *John* had held out againſt him; but for *Henry de Pomeroy*, who had fortify'd St. *Michael*'s *Mount* againſt him, finding that the King was certainly return'd, he dy'd with Grief and Fear. And now the forty Days of Summons being expired, which were allow'd to Earl *John*, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Coventry*, and others, for making their Appearance, to anſwer to ſuch hainous Crimes as were alledg'd againſt them; and they not appearing, *John* in particular was caſt by the Peers and States of *England*, and not only diſinherited of all his Lands he then held in *England*, but alſo of all Honours which he expected to enjoy after the King's Deceaſe: The Biſhop of *Coventry* and others met with Cenſures according to their Offences, and the Uſage of thoſe Times. After which King *Richard* proceeded to draw in Mony more voraciouſly than was agreeable to ſo great a Man; particularly by reſuming thoſe Crown Lands he had formerly ſold to others, pretending that they were only mortgag'd and not ſold outright; in which, ſays *M. Paris*, he is rather to be pardon'd than accus'd, ſince he then wanted a powerful Army againſt the *French*. But firſt of all to wipe away the Sorrow and Contumely of his late Reſtraint, he caus'd himſelf to be crown'd again at the City of *Wincheſter*; which Solemnity was honour'd by the Preſence of *William* King of the *Scots*, who bore the Sword before the King of *England*. From whence aroſe a great Affection between theſe two Princes; and *Richard* granted to the other, and his Succeſſors of *Scotland*, a fix'd Penſion, and ſeveral other Allowances and Princely Attendants, from the firſt Day of their Friendly Entrance into *England* 'till their Return. The King likewiſe caus'd a new Broad Seal to be made, requiring that all Charters granted under his former ſhould be confirm'd by this, which rais'd great Sums to the Exchequer; ſubſcribing ſuch renew'd Charters thus, *This was the Tenor of our Charter under our firſt Seal, which becauſe it was loſt, and in the Time of our Captivity in the Power of another, we cauſe to be chang'd*, &c. Some have obſerv'd, as *Richard* was the firſt *Engliſh* King who bore Arms on his Seals; ſo he was the firſt who carry'd in his Shield three Lions paſſant, born ever after for the Royal Arms of *England*.

Earl John *depriv'd of his Inheritance.*

The King crowned a ſecond Time, at Wincheſter.

Walſing. M. Paris. The King having been about two Months in *England*, and at Dinner Time receiving News that *Vernvil* in *Normandy* was belieg'd by the *French* King, *Walſingham* tells us, that the King ſwore *he would never turn his Face 'till he had gotten over to the* French *Army*; and accordingly caus'd the Wall to be

He goes into France. cut through, never reſting 'till with a hundred great Ships he paſs'd the Sea into *Normandy*, where the Fame of his Approach caus'd the *French* King to raiſe the Siege, and without Sight of his valiant Enemy, retire with Shame and Loſs. Nor was this King's Clemency leſs than his Courage, as appears from his *Earl* John *reſtored.* ready receiving Earl *John* into Favour, thorough the Mediation of his Mother *Eleanor*, and his generous ſaying to him, *I wiſh I may as eaſily forget your Offence, as I doubt you will my Pardon of it.* Afterwards he reſtor'd him to all his Honours and Poſſeſſions; and *John* was ſo mindful of the King's Admonition, that he ever after ſerv'd him faithfully and valiantly in all his Wars againſt the King of *France.*

After ſeveral Skirmiſhes, Burnings of Towns, Taking of Priſoners, and inferior Acts of Hoſtility, the two main Armies drew near to each other at *Vendoſme*; where early in a Morning King *Philip* ſent a Meſſage to our King, *That he would give him a Viſit with his Army that Day*; to which *Richard* return'd Anſwer *He would expect him, and if he did not perform his Promiſe, he would the next Morning return his kind Intentions, and make the Viſit to him.* Notwithſtanding this Overture, the *French* King thought fit to retire, which he did with ſuch Precipitation and Fear, that great Numbers of his Men were kill'd and taken Priſoners by the *Engliſh*, and all the Waggons and Baggage, with a great Treaſure fell into their Hands. The King's portable Chappel was alſo taken, and the Charters of all thoſe Vaſſals of the King of *England* who had confederated with King *Philip* and Earl *John*; to which *Mezeray* adds, that this Prince carrying with him the ancient Records of the Crown, they were all taken by the *Engliſh*, and loſt, to the great Damage of the King's Affairs, as well as the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. This Victory produc'd a Year's Truce; before the Expiration of which, King *Philip*, to ſave the Effuſion of Blood, by Ambaſſadors propos'd *To decide the Controverſie between them by five ſelect Combatants on each Side, and the vanquiſh'd Party to ſubmit to the Terms agreed on before they began.* To which Propoſal King *Richard* reply'd, *That he well approv'd of it, provided the King of* France *would be the fifth Man on one Side, and he himſelf would be ſo on the other:* Which Meſſage being carry'd to King *Philip*, he would not agree to it, ſo the Propoſal became ineffectual. As theſe Paſſages ſhew the Courage, ſo another ſhews the Piety of this Prince: About this Time he was admoniſh'd by a poor Hermit to remember the Subverſion of *Sodom*, and to abſtain from unlawful Luſts; which at firſt the King ſlighted, as coming from a deſpicable Perſon, but at length being viſited with a great Sickneſs, he ſent for ſeveral Religious Men, and freely confeſs'd himſelf guilty of that unnatural Impurity. And after his Recovery he betook himſelf to his Queen, became very charitable, and bountifully reliev'd the Poor at his Court, and reſtor'd all the Gold and Silver Veſſels which for his Ranſom had been taken from the Churches.

Hoveden. &c.

Richard *obtains a great Victory over the* French *King.*

A. D. 1159. Reg. 6/7.

His Anſwer to the French *King.*

His Piety.

England *infeſted with Robbers* In the mean Time *England* was extreamly infeſted by Robbers, Thieves and Outlaws; for the ſuppreſſing of whom, *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and chief Juſticiary of the Nation, was very diligent and ſerviceable. Among theſe we are told of a famous Man call'd *Robin Hood*, accompany'd with another call'd *Little John*, and a hundred ſtrong Bow-Men, who in *Yorkſhire* moleſted all Paſſengers upon the High-Way. Some ſay he was of a great Family, and made no leſs noble than an Earl for ſome conſiderable Service; but having waſted his Eſtate in riotous Courſes, Penury forc'd him to ſerve his Neceſſities in robbing others: Yet in this he was generouſly rapacious; for he never hurt either Man or Woman; ſpar'd the Poor, and made a Prey only of the Rich; 'till Proclamations being iſſu'd out againſt him, he fell ſick at a Nunnery in *Yorkſhire* call'd *Birkleys*, and deſiring to be let Blood, was betray'd and bled to Death. About the ſame Time the City of *London* was exceedingly afflicted by the ſeditious Behaviour of a Citizen, vulgarly call'd *William Longbeard*, who by his natural Eloquence, his popular Arts, and his Undertaking the Cauſe of the

Hoveden. Dicето. &c.

A. D. 1196. Reg. 7/8.

the Poor, had procur'd a mighty Veneration from great Numbers of the ordinary Sort. After ſeveral turbulent Practices, he rais'd ſuch a Tumult about a Tax, which he pretended was unequally laid, that in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard many were ſlain, and the whole City was in great Danger; 'till at length by the Care and Management of Arch-Biſhop *Hubert*, *William* and his chief Accomplices were forc'd to fly into *Bow*-Church, where they fortify'd themſelves for ſome time; but being driven out by Fire and Smoke, he and eight of his Companions were executed at *Tyburn*, and hung up in Chains, which put an end to the Sedition. *A Sedition in* London.

Hoveden. M. Paris. But to return to King *Richard*, and his Affairs beyond Sea, there paſs'd ſeveral Interchanges between the *Engliſh* and *French*, ſometimes of Wars with Plunderings and Devaſtations, and ſometimes of Truces with Interviews and Parlies; in one of which the Lady *Alice*, King *Philip*'s Siſter, was reſtor'd according to the Treaty of *Meſſina* to her Brother, who immediately marry'd her to *John* Earl of *Pontif.* In the mean Time both the Kings ſought to augment the Number of their Friends; but King *Richard* by his Munificence, and other Methods, drew from the *French* King a great Party of his neareſt Neighbours, as *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Raimund* Earl of *Tholouſe*, to whom King *Richard* gave his Siſter *Joan* Queen of *Sicily*. So that King *Philip* was oblig'd to truſt wholly to his own Power and Intereſt; for tho' he had lately marry'd the Siſter of the King of *Denmark*, purpoſely to uſe the *Daniſh* Shipping againſt the *Engliſh*; yet immediately after his Marriage, upon Pretence of Conſanguinity, ſhe was divorc'd, and the Benefit of the Alliance loſt. In one of theſe military Actions the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, who was alſo an Earl and of Royal Blood, was taken Priſoner by King *Richard*'s Party; and being long detain'd in that Condition, he ſent Letters to the Pope complaining, That he was made Priſoner by the King of *England*, and loaded with Irons, contrary to his Order and Dignity. Upon which the Pope wrote to King *Richard*, expoſtulating with him, *Why he detain'd his dear Brother and Son the Biſhop?* The other in anſwer immediately ſent to the Pope the Biſhop's Armour in which he was taken, and likewiſe a Letter with this Paſſage in it, *Holy Father, will you be pleas'd to ſee whether this is your Son's Coat, or not?* Upon this the Pope return'd the Biſhop a long Letter to this Effect; '*That he had put on the Armour* '*of a Soldier, inſtead of the Habit of a Prieſt:* And tho' the King of *France* 'had been bound by Oath to do no Damage to the King of *England*'s Dominions during his Pilgrimage, yet he had ſhamefully, againſt his Faith and Oath, 'taken his Towns and waſted his Territories; the Equity of whoſe Cauſe fought 'for him againſt the Arrogance and Injuries of the *French* King. That he, the 'Biſhop, was not only a imprudent Adviſer, but an inſolent Actor in this 'unlawful Conteſt: Concluding thus, *That he could only ſupplicate the King of* 'England *in his Behalf, for in ſuch a Caſe he neither could, nor ought to com-* '*mand.* The Biſhop finding no Aſſiſtance from the Pope, was conſtrain'd in the following Year to give ten thouſand Marks for his Liberty. *Several Actions in* France. A. D. 1197. Reg. 8/9. *The Pope writes to King* Richard. *His Anſwer.*

Hoveden. M. Paris. Gervaſe. While theſe ſeveral Hoſtilities paſs'd between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, the King of *England* increas'd his Party by new Confederates, as *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, the Duke of *Lovain*, with the Earls of *Guienne*, *Bulloign*, *Perche* and *Blois*, and ſeveral others; and *Hoveden* tells us of the *French* King's being three ſeveral Times in a ſhort Space repuls'd with Loſs and Diſhonour by King *Richard*; having alſo the Misfortune to loſe St. *Omers*, *Air*, and other Towns taken by *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, beſides the Waſte of the *French* Dominions by ſeveral Invaſions. But the greateſt of the three Victories was the ſecond, which King *Richard* gain'd between *Curcel* and *Giſors*, where the King of *France* himſelf in great Hazard of his Life fell into the River *Ept*, the Bridge breaking under him with the Weight of the Multitudes that fled before the *Engliſh* Lion. This was a glorious Victory; for beſides a long Catalogue of great Names extant in Authors, there were taken above a hundred Knights with their A. D. 1198 Reg. 9/10. *A great Victory over the* French

Horſes, Footmen without Number and other inferior Soldiers, two hundred great Horſe, of which one hundred and forty had Barbs and Caparisons arm'd with Iron. King *Richard* in his own Perſon did Wonders, and by the Force of his own Lance overthrew three valiant Knights, *Matthew Monmorancy*, *Alan de Ruſci*, and *Fulk de Giberval*, and took them Priſoners. The ancient Motto of *DIEU ET MON DROIT* is attributed firſt to this King, who in his Letters aſcrib'd this Victory not to himſelf but to *God and his Right*. The War continuing ſtill, many virtuous Men labour'd to make a final Agreement; and the new Pope *Innocent*, having proclaim'd a new *Cruſado*, ſent a Cardinal to reconcile the two mighty Kings of *France* and *England*. At length Articles of Peace were drawn up; but *Richard*, having the Advantage in the Field, was not in haſte to conclude them; therefore deferr'd it 'till his Return from *Poictou*, whither he went to chaſtiſe ſome Rebel Subjects, tho' ſome ſay he did then conclude the Peace. At this Enterview or Treaty, King *Philip*, the perpetual Sower of Diſcord, ſhew'd a Writing to King *Richard*, implying That his Brother *John* had come over to the *French* Party; upon which *Richard* in a great Paſſion, order'd him to be diſſeiz'd of all his Territories. Which when Earl *John* underſtood, and the Reaſon of it, he immediately ſent two Knights to the *French* Court, who bravely undertook to defend his Honour and Innocence againſt all Accuſers; but when neither that King, nor any other would undertake the Cauſe, King *Richard* for the future put more Confidence in his Brother, and gave leſs Credit to the *French* King's Inſinuations.

King Richard's *Valour.*

A. D. 1199. Reg. 10.

A Treaty between the two Kings.

Not long after this Treaty the King's Avarice was the Occaſion of his Death; for *Vidomar* Vicount of *Limoſin*, having found a great Treaſure of Gold in his Land, ſent a large Part of it to the King; but not being content with that, he demanded the whole as *Treaſure Trove*, and his Prerogative. The Vicount not yielding, the King in a Rage march'd with a ſtrong Army, and beſieg'd his Caſtle of *Chaluz*, in which he ſuppos'd the Treaſure was hid: But tho' the Knights and others in the Caſtle went out to him, and offer'd to ſurrender it, provided they might have their Lives, Limbs and Arms, yet the King would not conſent, but ſwore he would take the Caſtle and hang every Man; at which the Knights return'd much confounded, reſolving to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. Upon the ſame Day, the King taking a view of the Caſtle, a certain Croſs-Bow Man ſhot at him from the Wall, and gave him a deſperate Wound in the Shoulder, joining to the Neck; upon which he immediately return'd to his Quarters, and order'd *Marchade* and his Army never to leave ſtorming the Caſtle 'till they took it, and then to hang up every Man, except him who had wounded him. The King was put into the Hands of an unskilful Surgeon, who as he ſtrove to pull out the Arrow, left the Head in the Fleſh, which he ſo grievouſly mangled, that it turn'd to a Gangreen; and lying thus eleven Days in great Torment, and finding no Hopes of Recovery, he by his Will bequeath'd *England* and all his other Dominions to Earl *John* his Brother; leaving him three Parts of his Treaſure, and the fourth to be divided between his Servants and the Poor. A little before his Death, after great Devotion, he caus'd *Bertram*, who had given him his Death's Wound, to be brought before him, demanding of him *What Injury he had done him, that he ſhould kill him?* To whom the other roughly reply'd, *That he had kill'd his Father and his two Brothers with his own Hand, and was endeavouring to kill him, therefore he might take what Revenge he pleas'd; He was willing to endure any Torments, ſince he had ſlain him who had done ſo much Miſchief in the World.* The King, notwithſtanding this deſperate Anſwer, caus'd him to be ſet free, and not only gave him his Life, but a hundred Shillings beſides; but *Marchade*, after the King's Death, caus'd him to be flead alive, and hang'd. The King deceas'd upon the ſixth Day of *April*, and the forty firſt Year of his Age, after a magnificent and tumultuous Reign of nine Years and nine Months. His Body was interr'd at *Fonteverard* at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Roven*, and his Bowels

Hoveden.

The King wounded.

His Death.

Bowels at *Charron* in *Poictou*, as he had appointed himſelf, declaring *That he had diſpos'd of the firſt to teſtifie his Repentance, for offending his Father; by the ſecond he ſhew'd his Eſteem for his valiant and loyal* Normans; *and by the third, the ſmall Value he had for the inconſtant and diſaffected* Poictovins.

This was the fatal End of the bold and magnanimous *Richard*, from his Qualities firnam'd *Cœur-de-Lion*; a Prince who had ſomewhat of the Fierceneſs and Brutality, as well as Courage and Bravery of that Creature; whoſe Diſloyalty to his Father was puniſh'd with innumerable Troubles in his Reign, and whoſe voracious Temper met with Death it ſelf. As to his Perſon he was very tall, of a fair and comely Viſage, his Eyes blue and ſparkling with Fire, his Hair between red and yellow, his Limbs ſtrait, of a noble and majeſtick Mein, that ſeem'd worthy of Empire. His Courage and Proweſs was great beyond Exception; and ſo formidable to the *Saracens*, that it is ſaid they were wont to ſtill their crying Children, by telling them, *That King* Richard *was coming for them*; but withal he was fearleſs, violent and impetuous. He was very witty and eloquent, but with too great a Mixture of Pride and Arrogance; magnificent and liberal to exceſs, which occaſion'd him at other times to be as covetous and rapacious. He was noted for *Pride*, *Avarice* and *Luxury*, which were call'd his three Daughters; and being once urg'd to part with them, he in Rallery declar'd, *He would diſpoſe of the firſt to the Templars, the ſecond to the Monks, and the third to the Prelates.* Tho' he had many noble Qualifications, yet *England* ſuffer'd ſeverely under his Government, through the conſtant Occaſions he had for Mony, and the great Rapacity of his Juſticiaries, during his Abſence from *England*, where he never ſpent above eight Months of his whole Reign; ſo that his Subjects felt all the Inconveniences of his Courage, without being much the better for that, or his other good Qualities in Time of Peace. It is obſervable, that he who had reviv'd the Uſe of that fatal Engine, the Croſs-Bow, and had himſelf diſpatch'd ſo many with it, now himſelf periſh'd by the ſame Inſtrument. In this King's Reign the City of *London* began firſt to receive the Form and State of a Common-wealth, and to be divided into Companies and Corporations as at this Day.

His Character.

London divided into Companies.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King JOHN.

***Containing** 17 Years, 7 Months, and 13 Days.*

Hoveden. I. THE valiant King *Richard* being thus ſuddenly remov'd, Earl *John* his ſole ſurviving Brother, now about thirty three Years of Age, immediately us'd all his Intereſt with *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and others of the Nobility, to preſerve the Peace of *England* 'till he could come over; and with all Expedition went to *Chinon* in *Tourain* to ſecure his Brother's Treaſure, then in Cuſtody of *Robert de Turnham*, who upon his Arrival deliver'd it up to him, together with the ſtrong Caſtles of *Chinon* and *Saumur*. But his Affairs did not ſo well ſucceed in other Parts; for the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Tourain* and *Main*, in a general Aſſembly of their chief Men firmly adher'd to his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretaign*, as their Soveraign Lord, declaring it *to be the Cuſtom of thoſe Territories to prefer the Elder Brother's Son before the Younger Brother.* In Compliance to which Determination, all the Towns in thoſe Provinces were ſurrender'd to *Arthur*'s Uſe, except ſome few which Earl *John* had ſecur'd at firſt: Upon which the Lady *Conſtance*,

A. D. 1199. Reg. 1.

Earl John *endeavours for the Crown.*

His Nephew Arthur *ſets up againſt him in* France.

ſtance, Mother to young *Arthur*, carry'd him to the City of *Tours*, and deliver'd him in the thirteenth Year of his Age to the Cuſtody of the *French* King, who ſent him to be educated with his Son *Lewis* at *Paris*; and at the ſame Time poſſeſs'd himſelf of all his ſtrong Places and Caſtles, reſolving to make the young Heir ſubſervient to his ambitious Deſigns. Which unwelcome News caus'd Earl *John* immediately to march with a ſtrong Force into the Province of *Main*; where he ſoon took the City of *Mans*, and to ſhow his Revenge, and to be a Terror to other Places, he demoliſh'd the Walls of the City and Caſtle, with all the Store-Houſes, and carry'd away the Citizens Priſoners, becauſe contrary to their Fealty ſworn to him, they had receiv'd *Arthur* for their Lord. From thence he went to *Roven* in *Normandy*, where on the twenty fifth Day of *April*, in the Cathedral Church he was girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and a Coronet adorn'd with golden Roſes was put upon his Head by the Arch-Biſhop of that City; after which, in the Preſence of the Clergy and Laity, he took an Oath upon the Holy Goſpels and Relicks of the Saints, '*To preſerve the Holy Church, with all her Privileges, and Dignities, 'to adminiſter true Juſtice, to abrogate evil Laws, and to ordain ſuch as 'were good.*

John *made Duke of* Normandy.

While theſe Affairs were tranſacting beyond Sea, *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* the Earl-Marſhal, caus'd all the Free-Men of the Kingdom of *England*, both of Cities and Boroughs, as alſo the Earls, Barons and Free-Tenants, to ſwear Fealty to *John* the Son of King *Henry* againſt all Men: Yet ſtill all the Biſhops, Earls and Barons who had Caſtles, fortify'd and ſtor'd them with Victuals and Ammunition; being either not well ſatisfy'd with Earl *John*'s Title, or elſe ſuſpecting the Effects of his changeable and imperious Humour. Upon Notice of this, the Arch-Biſhop, with the Earl-Marſhal and chief Juſticiary met at *Northampton*, and there ſummon'd thoſe of the Nobility they moſt ſuſpected, whom they ſatisfy'd by aſſuring them, *That Earl* John *would certainly reſtore to every one their Right*; upon which Condition or Agreement, the Earls and Barons renew'd their Oaths of Fealty to *John*, and engag'd to ſerve him faithfully againſt all Oppoſers. In the mean Time the Earl, now lately become a Duke, reſolv'd to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, and landing in *Suſſex* on the twenty fifth Day of *May*, he immediately came up to *London* in order to his Coronation, where appear'd a noble Concourſe of Biſhops, Earls and Barons, who in moſt ſolemn Proceſſion attended him to the Abby Church in *Weſtminſter*. Here before the Solemnity was perform'd, *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, having requir'd the Attention of his Audience, according to *M. Paris* made this Speech. *No Man has a Right to ſucceed in this Kingdom, unleſs, after ſeeking the Holy Spirit, he be firſt unanimouſly elected for the Excellency of his Manners by the general Body of the Kingdom, and anointed King after the Example of* Saul, *whom God ſet over his People, tho' he was neither a King's Son, nor deſcended of Royal Blood; and after him* David *the Son of* Jeſſe; *the one becauſe he was valiant and brave, the other becauſe he was pious and humble; ſo that he who ſurpaſs'd others in Valour and Virtue, might exceed them in Dignity and Power. Therefore if any one of the Family of the deceas'd King excels the reſt, we ought moſt readily to conſent to his Election; and this we ſpeak in favour of the noble Duke* John *here preſent, Brother to our illuſtrious King* Richard, *who dy'd without Iſſue of his Body: This Duke being prudent and valiant, as well in reſpect of his Merits as of his Royal Blood, with the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, we do unanimouſly elect King.*

Hoveden. M. Paris.

The Peers of England *acknowledge* John.

John *comes to be crown'd in* England.

The Arch-Biſhop's Speech.

Here our Author obſerves, that the Arch-Biſhop was a Man of a deep Foreſight, and ſo eminent for Conſtancy and Wiſdom, that none durſt diſpute what he ſaid, knowing that he had not without good Cauſe thus determin'd the Matter; with which Speech Duke *John* and the reſt acquieſc'd, and all unanimouſly electing and receiving him for their King, cry'd out, *Long may the King live!*

M. Paris. Hoveden.

John *is elected King.*

But

But the Arch-Biſhop being afterwards ask'd why he made ſuch a Speech, anſwer'd, *That he was fully aſſur'd by certain remarkable Preſages, that King* John *would bring the Kingdom and Crown into great Confuſion; therefore to put ſome Reſtraint upon his Temper, he had affirm'd, That he ought to come in by Election, and not by Hereditary Succeſſion.* This Election being over, the Arch-Biſhop plac'd the Crown upon the King's Head with the uſual Ceremonies, notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Durham* appeal'd againſt it, becauſe of the Abſence of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*. Then the Coronation Oath was adminiſter'd, conſiſting of theſe three Heads, '*That he would cheriſh the Holy* '*Church, and all the Clergy, and preſerve her from the Violence of her Ene-* '*mies; That all evil Laws being abrogated, he would eſtabliſh ſuch as were* '*good; That he would exerciſe true Juſtice throughout the Kingdom of* England: And he was further adjured by the Arch-Biſhop, *That he ſhould not preſume to undertake this Dignity, unleſs he reſolv'd to fulfil what he had now ſworn*; to which he anſwer'd, *That he would by the Aſſiſtance of God obſerve all thoſe Things he had promis'd*; and on the next Day, having receiv'd the Homage and Fealties of the Nobility, he went to pay his Devotion at St. *Alban*'s Shrine. On the ſame Day, to reward thoſe who had lifted him into the Throne, he made *William Mareſchal* and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Earls of *Pembroke* and *Eſſex*, and the Arch-Biſhop Lord High Chancellor of *England*; who ſeeming to glory in this Addition of Honour, was told by the Lord *Bardulf*, *That the Height of the Archiepiſcopal Dignity was ſuch, that it was ever reputed a great Advancement for a Chancellor to be made an Arch-Biſhop, but none for an Arch-Biſhop to be made a Chancellor.*

and crowned.

M. Paris. Hoveden. The King's Enemies now found Opportunities to diſturb his Affairs abroad, while he was ſetling thoſe at home; for the *French* King eaſily ſurpriz'd the City of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and recover'd the County of *Main*, while the *Britains* regain'd the City of *Angiers*, with many other ſtrong Places. The News of which caus'd King *John*, after ſetling ſome Preliminaries with the *Scotch* King, to haſten into *Normandy*, where his Army was ſo much encreas'd by Friends and Volunteers, that King *Philip* was content to accept of a Truce for fifty Days; upon the expiring of which an Interview was agreed on to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace. But for ſecuring his Deſigns, *Philip* the very Day before the Meeting, knighted Earl *Arthur*, and receiving his Homage for *Bretaigne*, *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourain*, and *Main*, faithfully promis'd to yield him all Aſſiſtance for the acquiring thoſe Territories. On the other ſide King *John* ſtrengthen'd himſelf with the Alliance and Homage of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; and after the ſixteenth Day of *Auguſt* treated with the *French* King two Days by Commiſſioners, and on the third in Perſon, between the Towns of *Butivant* and *Gaillon*. At this Treaty *Philip* demanded all the *Norman Veuxin* for himſelf, alledging, That *Geoffry*, Father to King *Henry* II. had given it to *Lewis* the late King of *France*, for his Aſſiſtance in gaining *Normandy* from King *Stephen*; and further demanded, that *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Tourain* and *Main* might be deliver'd to Earl *Arthur*; and made divers other unreaſonable Demands, to which the King of *England* could not in Honour condeſcend, ſo that their intended Amities ended in more hoſtile Defiances. But *Philip*'s Demands for young *Arthur* were only Compliments to that Earl, as his own Words diſcover'd, when being afterwards ask'd *Why he entertain'd ſuch an Averſion to King* John, *who had never injur'd him*, his Anſwer was, *Becauſe he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of* Normandy, *and the other Territories, without firſt asking him Leave, or offering Homage to him:* So much did King *Philip* now aſſume to himſelf, above what any of his Predeceſſors had done before.

The King of France *ſets up Earl* Arthur *againſt him.*

Hoveden. M. Paris. The Flames on both Sides breaking out the ſtronger for being ſo much ſtifled, many Earls and Barons of *France* who formerly adhered to King *Richard*, now became Homagers to King *John*, ſwearing never to return to King *Philip* without

out his Conſent, and he ſwearing never to make Peace without including them in the Articles. In the Heat of the Conteſts, a chief Adherent of the Earl of *Flanders*, being Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, fell into the Hands of the *French* King, and at the ſame Time *Philip* Biſhop of *Beauvois* was detain'd Priſoner by King *John*; and neither of theſe Kings being willing to releaſe their miter'd Champions, *Peter* of *Capua* the Pope's Legate interdicted *France* for the one, and *Normandy* for the other. Yet King *John* obtain'd the Favour of the Pope to require ſix thouſand Marks from his Prize, with an Oath never to bear Arms againſt Chriſtians. In *October* the King of *France* ſeiz'd the Caſtle of *Balun*, and demoliſh'd it; which was highly reſented by Earl *Arthur*'s General *William de la Roche*, who expoſtulating with him, as being contrary to Covenants with his Maſter, *Philip* ſcornfully reply'd, *That his Lord* Arthur's *Diſlike ſhould not hinder him from doing what he thought fit with ſuch Places as he had taken*; and then went and beſieg'd *Lavardin:* But hearing the King of *England* was coming to relieve it, he left the Siege, and march'd to *Mans*; King *John* follow'd him, and he alſo quitted that Place. In the mean Time, Earl *Arthur*'s General finding that his Maſter was only made a Mask for *Philip*'s Ambition, by Subtelty got him out of his Cuſtody, and reconcil'd him to his Uncle King *John*, to whom he alſo deliver'd the City of *Mans*, of which he was Governor. Yet ſtill this Deſign prov'd unſucceſsful, for ſome of *Philip*'s Party infus'd ſuch needleſs Terrors of Impriſonment into *Arthur* and his Mother, that being overcome with jealous Apprehenſions, they fled together with many other Noblemen, to the City of *Angiers*, and from thence return'd again to the King of *France*, ſo that *Arthur* being neither ſure to *John* nor *Philip*, was now in danger of being cruſh'd between both thoſe powerful Monarchs.

Several Hoſtilities between the Kings of France *and* England.

The Breach between theſe two Kings ſeem'd the more dangerous, becauſe King *John*'s Nephew *Otho*, juſt now advanc'd to the Empire, promis'd him great Aſſiſtance, if he would defer making Peace with the *French* King. Yet ſtill *Peter*, the Pope's Legate, who had formerly procur'd a five Years Truce between King *Richard* and *Philip*, by his aſſiduous Mediation ſo far prevail'd, that the ſame Truce ſhould continue 'till the Feaſt of St. *Hillary*. After which King *John* through his Weakneſs was led into a diſadvantagious and diſhonourable Treaty, in which it was agreed, That *Lewis* the *French* King's Son ſhould marry King *John*'s Niece *Blanche*, Daughter to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*; that King *John* ſhould give for her Dowry the City and County of *Eureux*, with ſeveral ſtrong Places in *Normandy*, beſides thirty thouſand Marks of Silver; ſwearing alſo not to aſſiſt his Nephew *Otho* either with Men or Mony towards his Eſtabliſhment in the Empire; and further promiſing, if he dy'd without Iſſue, to leave to *Lewis* all the Territories he held in *France*. All which Articles were formally engroſs'd, and afterwards finally concluded about Midſummer, between *Butavant* and *Gulatun*, two Caſtles belonging to either King; when the Places were actually ſurrender'd to King *Philip*, the Lady *Blanche* marry'd to his Son *Lewis*, and Earl *Arthur* yielded up, and made a Servant and Homager to King *John* for his own Dominions, whom yet his Uncle was ſatisfy'd to leave with King *Philip*, who had only ſupported him for his own Advantage. In theſe Matters King *John* prov'd more firm to King *Philip*, than either *Philip* to him, or he himſelf to *Otho* the Emperor, who ſending his two Brothers *Henry* and *William*, to demand ſome Territories, with ſuch Treaſure and Jewels as King *Richard* had given him by Will, King *John* deny'd all, only in Regard of his Oath he had ſworn to *Philip*, that he would yield no Aſſiſtance to the Emperor. And further, to preſerve a moſt intire Amity with *Philip*, by his Advice he divorc'd his Wife *Aviſe*, upon Pretence of Conſanguinity, and marry'd *Iſabell*, Heireſs to *Aymer* Earl of *Engoleſme*, a beautiful young Lady, but contracted to the Earl of *Marche*, who afterwards prov'd a dangerous and implacable Enemy to him.

Hovden.
Trivet.

A. D. 1200. Reg. 1.

A Treaty between them.

II. This

Hoveden. Wendov. &c.

II. This Agreement with *Philip*, who now acknowledg'd King *John* rightful Heir to his Brother *Richard*, gave him Leave and Opportunity to reduce all Oppoſers in his tranſmarine Dominions, and ſoon after to return and inſpect the Affairs of his Kingdom of *England*, from which he had been ſomewhat too long abſent. Yet in the Heat of the foreign Imployments, he on occaſion had recourſe thither to ſettle his State Affairs and Crown Revenues, to enact Laws for Trade and Commerce, to raiſe a Tax for his Niece's great Dowry, and military Occaſions; which Tax, being three Shillings upon every Plough-Land, occaſion'd great Heats and Prejudices, tho' it was the only Subſidy ſince his coming to the Crown: And this chiefly by the Means of his natural Brother *Geoffry* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who being ſwell'd with the Greatneſs of his Family and Preferment, directly forbad the Collectors to come within his Precincts; and being alſo requir'd by the King to attend him in *France*, to conclude the Peace and celebrate the Nuptials of his Niece, he undutifully deny'd his Service. The King juſtly mov'd with theſe diſloyal Actions, caus'd all his Temporalties to be ſeiz'd by his Sheriff, whom the Arch-Biſhop ſolemnly excommunicated, offer'd Violence to the King's Officers, and proceeded ſo far as to interdict the whole Province of *York*. Notwithſtanding this, not long after, upon the King's Return, and *Geoffry*'s Submiſſion, he was reſtor'd to Favour at a very ſolemn Time, which was at the Coronation of King *John*'s Queen *Iſabella*, with whom the King himſelf was a ſecond Time formally crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

Taxes rais'd.

The King crowned a ſecond Time.

Hoveden. &c.

This Solemnity being over the King reſolv'd to end a depending Controverſie between him and *William* King of *Scotland*, who had claim'd the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* as his ancient Right of Inheritance; and accordingly he ſent an honourable Embaſſie of ſeveral of the Nobility to conduct him ſafely to the City of *Lincoln*, where both Kings met upon the twenty firſt Day of *November*, with all the Marks of Civility and Courteſie. The next Day to promote his Temporal Affairs by ſpiritual Devotions, King *John*, tho' diſſuaded by the ominous Pretenſions of ſome about him, undauntedly enter'd the Cathedral Church, and there offer'd a Golden Chalice on St. *John*'s Altar, which, according to our Author, no King before him durſt do. Theſe Devotions ended, the two Kings with great Pomp and Magnificence aſcending that high Hill on the North Side of the City, ſince call'd *Bore-Hill*, ſwore Amity and faithful Alliance upon the Croſier of Arch-Biſhop *Hubert*, in the Preſence of three Arch-Biſhops, thirteen Biſhops, the King of *South-Wales*, with a Multitude of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *French* and *Iriſh* Nobility. This Spectacle ſo ſplendid to the Beholders was ſucceeded by another no leſs honourable to King *John*, occaſion'd by the Arrival of the Corps of the pious Prelate *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Perſon ſo juſtly honour'd by his Majeſty, that when his Body was brought to the Gates of *Lincoln*, he and all his Regal Train went forth to meet it: And to ſhow his Reſpect and Humility, he with the two Kings and their Allies bore the Coffin upon their Shoulders, from whom the great Peers receiv'd it, and carry'd it to the Entrance of the Cathedral, whence the three Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops convey'd it to the Quire, and interr'd it the next Day with all anſwerable Solemnities. Nor did the King reſt here in ſhowing his Reſpect and Kindneſs to Eccleſiaſticks; when twelve Abbots of the *Ciſtertian* Order, whoſe whole Society had highly offended him in refuſing the late Tax, now came to *Lincoln*, and all proſtrate at his Feet begg'd his Mercy and the Removal of the Puniſhments laid upon them; this Sight of theſe venerable Suppliants ſo affected his Heart, that he fell at their Feet, deſir'd their Forgiveneſs, reſtor'd them to his Favour, and after that founded an Abby for their Order in *Hampſhire* call'd *Beaulieu*, deſigning to be enſhrin'd there himſelf, and making it a Refuge and Aſylum for the greateſt Offenders.

He goes to Lincoln.

Treats with the King of Scotland.

The first Breaches between the King and Clergy.

Notwithstanding all outward Kindness and Obligations, a dangerous Breach now began to be open'd between the King and the Clergy, occasion'd by the increasing Power of the latter, who being supported by the mighty Authority of the Pope, insisted upon Exemption from Regal Commands, and daily retrench'd the Royal Prerogative. This he found in a short Time; for when he came to nominate a Successor to *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, according to the Usage of his Ancestors, he was with peremptory Affronts withstood by the Canons of that Church, who as long as they had the Pope in their Interest, little regarded the Commands of their Prince. Likewise *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, being now disappointed, and repenting that he had advanc'd *John* to the Crown, as Legate to the Pope held a general Synod of all the Bishops and Clergy at *Westminster*, notwithstanding the positive Prohibition of the King's chief Justiciary; which is one of the first Examples of that independant Power, the Arch-Bishops and other Legates from the Pope, ever after usurp'd 'till the Reformation, of holding Ecclesiastical Synods, and making Canons by their sole Authority, without the King's Licence or Confirmation. Nor did *Hubert* cease here, but shortly after endeavour'd to outvy with his Soveraign in Magnificence; for understanding that the King design'd to keep the Feast of *Christmass* with his Queen at *Guilford* with great Pomp and Solemnity; he, whose Palace usually for Splendor, Attendants, and Entertainments exceeded that of some Princes, thought this a proper Time to manifest his great State and small Regard to his King's Favour, by equalling his own Sumptuous Preparations to his, with his rich Habits and munificent Gifts bestow'd upon his Attendants at *Canterbury*. The King mov'd with no small Indignation, concluded this Prelate had too much Riches, or too little Discretion; and therefore to diminish the one, and add to the other, after a Journey into the North to raise Mony, he resolv'd to go to *Canterbury*, and keep his *Easter* at the Charge of *Hubert the Rich*. Here he encreas'd that great Expence with a greater, which was his and his Queen's solemn crowning again on *Easter* Day, in the Cathedral Church; where in lieu of the Expence, *Hubert* had the Honour to set the Crown upon the King's Head, but not the Favour to sit near his Heart.

M. Paris. Hoveden. &c.

A. D. 1201. Reg. 2/3.

The King crown'd a third Time.

The first Breaches between the King and the Lay Peers.

Such were the first Contests between the King and the Clergy, which afterwards broke out into a more dangerous Flame; which the Lay Peers were so far from extinguishing, that they made it fiercer than before. For misliking either his Title or his Temper, they resolv'd upon the first Opportunity to shew their Resentments: which happen'd in a short Time after his last Coronation, when the King had occasion for their Service against the *Poictovins* in *France*, who had rebell'd and besieg'd their Governors in their Castles. The King having summon'd them to appear with their Arms at *Portsmouth* by *Whitsontide*, the whole Body of the Nobility held a solemn Assembly at *Leicester*, and after a formal Consultation, sent this Message to the King, *That they would not go over with him, unless he would first restore to them their ancient Rights.* Which so provok'd the King, that instead of complying with their Demands, by the precipitate Advice of some, he impolitickly demanded of them their Castles as Pledges of their Fidelity, particularly he took the Castle *Beavoir* into his Hands, with the Children of some of them. Yet it appears that most of them were at last prevail'd upon to go with him, and being assembled at *Portsmouth*, he took Mony of the greatest Part of them to be excus'd, and permitted them to return home; *M. Paris* says it was two Marks out of each Knight's Fee. In the mean Time the King sent *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Roger Lacy*, with two distinct Bodies of Men into *Normandy*, to repel the Enemy on the Borders of that Province; and also intrusted *Hubert de Burgh* his Chamberlain with another Body to defend the Borders of *England* and *Wales*. And that he might give no Cause of Discontent to the Clergy, and prevent all Obstructions in raising of Mony, he fully reconcil'd himself to *Geoffry* Arch-Bishop of *York*, restor'd all his Manors, and by a Charter confirm'd all the Privileges and Immunities

Hoveden. Wendov. &c.

nities of that Church. Having ſetled his Affairs in *England*, he paſs'd over into *France*, where King *Philip* agreed to a perſonal but private Parly; in which each gave and receiv'd ſuch reciprocal Marks of Satisfaction, that not only the former Bonds of Amity ſeem'd inviolable, but were alſo more ſtrengthen'd with a new Aſſociation, wherein ſeveral great Peers were made Sureties under Hand and Seal, with this Condition, that when either of the Kings broke the Articles, all his cautionary Lords ſhould be freed from their Allegiance, and join with the other. And that the World might take notice of their combin'd Friendſhip, they both agreed to contribute the fortieth Part of their whole Crown Revenues to the Holy Wars; ſending their Letters throughout their Dominions, to incourage all their Nobles and People to follow their Examples. With theſe Intercourſes and other Compliments, three Days were ſpent between them; and King *Philip* the further to inſinuate himſelf into the other's good Opinion, deſir'd the Favour of his Company, firſt to St. *Denis*'s Palace, where he enter'd with a pompous Proceſſion of the Clergy, and was royally lodg'd by King *Philip*; and the next Day he enter'd *Paris*, where he was receiv'd with very noble Preſents from the City, and great Applauſes of all Sorts, to ſee ſuch Marks of Affection between two ſuch great Princes, ſo lately mortal Enemies. Here the *French* King betaking himſelf to a more private Manſion, left his own Palace to honour and accommodate the King of *England*; and after ſome Days Continuance in magnificent Diverſions and Entertainments, King *John* royally attended out of the City, took his leave of King *Philip*, with ſuch Signs of mutual Satisfaction, that nothing could have appear'd more laſting than their Alliance and Amity.

A new Treaty between the Kings of England *and* France.

King John *highly complimented.*

Hoveden. Wendov. M. Paris. But theſe fair Proſpects prov'd but of a ſhort Continuance; for while King *John* was paſſing his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Argenton*, in the beloved Company of his fair *Iſabell*, *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, to whom that Lady was firſt promis'd, inflam'd with Love and Revenge, perſuaded ſeveral of the *Poictovin* Nobility, ***That he was unworthy to be a King, who had thus injur'd him, and was ready to do the like by any of them.*** Upon which young *Arthur*'s Hopes, which were grown cold, were now rekindled by theſe Incendiaries; the *Britains*, then faſcinated with his ominous Name, reſolv'd to raiſe him to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur; and King *Philip* who ſecretly hated King *John*, and continually graſp'd at his *French* Territories, deſign'd not to be backwards in their Aſſiſtance. Thus Earl *Hugh* out of Love, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King *Philip* out of Avarice, and all out of Hatred, were conſpiring King *John*'s Ruin; while he himſelf was furtheſt from Suſpicion, when neareſt the Danger. But the Miſchiefs were ſoon diſclos'd in a ſecond Interview between the two Kings, near the Caſtle of *Guleton*; where *Philip* forgetting all former Compacts, and pretending ſome imaginary Wrongs, peremptorily requir'd *John* immediately to reſtore all his tranſmarine Dominions to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*; otherwiſe, as Soveraign Lord of thoſe Countries, which *John* held by Homage, he expreſly cited him to appear perſonally at *Paris* fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, there to anſwer what ſhould be laid to his Charge, and to abide the Judgment of the Court. King *John*, amaz'd at this ſtrange Propoſal and Alteration, diſdain'd both his Citation and Commands, as unworthy for *England*'s King to accept, or the *French* to offer. After this, we are told that King *John* for his Non-appearance was actually adjudg'd by the Peers of *France* to loſe his Territories in the Continent; however it is certain that upon his Refuſal of the *French* King's Demands, that Prince immediately invaded the King of *England*'s Territories, firſt levelling the ſtrong Caſtle of *Butavant*, and then taking the Town of *Ougi*, with the Caſtle of *Lymis*, and many other Places. He alſo beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Radford* eight Days, but hearing of King *John*'s Approach, he retir'd, and turn'd all his Forces againſt *Gorney*, where breaking down the Head of a large Pool above the Town, a great Part of the Walls were overthrown by the violent Fall of the Water, ſo that the Garriſon retiring, the King took the Town without any conſiderable Oppoſition.

A. D. 1202. Reg. 2/3.

The French *King break with him.*

Hoſtilities begin.

After theſe Advantages, *Philip* returning to *Paris*, appointed certain Tutors or Governors for Duke *Arthur*, and aſſign'd him two hundred Horſemen for his Guard, who were order'd to march with him into *Poictou*, to reduce thoſe Parts; but as he was marching thither in a mighty military Pomp, he was inform'd that the old Queen *Eleanor* was in *Mirabel*, which was but a weak Garriſon. Therefore knowing the Advantage of ſuch a Prize, he turn'd all his Forces thither, and inveſted the Place, ſoon forcing the outward Caſtle to ſurrender: But the Queen and ſome of the principal Soldiers retiring into a ſtrong inward Tower, there made a valiant Defence. This occaſion'd almoſt all the Noblemen and Knights of *Poictou*, and principally the Earl of *Marche*, King *John*'s inveterate Enemy, to come to Duke *Arthur*'s Aſſiſtance; ſo that they all together made a powerful Army, and reduc'd the Queen to great Straits. This being underſtood by her Son King *John*, he march'd with the utmoſt Expedition, Day and Night, and arriv'd ſooner than could be expected. The Effect of his Appearance was, that the *French* and *Poictovins* left the Siege to give him Battel, which prov'd highly ſucceſsful to King *John*, who after a great Slaughter put them to flight, and ſo cloſely preſs'd upon them, that he enter'd the outward Caſtle with them, where the Conflict was ſoon ended by the Valour and Bravery of the *Engliſh*. This was a glorious Victory, by the gaining of which two hundred *French* Knights were taken Priſoners, with Duke *Arthur* himſelf, the Earl of *Marche*, and moſt of the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Anjou*; who being put into Fetters, were ignominiouſly ſent away in Carts, ſome into *Normandy*, and others into *England*, there to be kept cloſe Priſoners. Duke *Arthur* was ſent to *Falaiſe*, and kept under a ſtrong Guard; and his Siſter *Eleanor*, call'd the *Beauty of Bretaign*, was committed to *Briſtol* Caſtle, where ſhe liv'd near forty Years with very honourable Uſage. King *John* returning his Thanks to Heav'n, ſent his Letters to all his Nobility in *England*, inciting them to *render all Praiſe to God for ſo wonderful a Work, and ſo gracious Aſſiſtance*; and the *French* King who had for fifteen Days batter'd the Walls of the Caſtle of *Arches*, was ſo confounded at this News, that he immediately rais'd the Siege, and return'd to *Paris*, without any further Action that Year.

M. Paris, Æmilius, &c.

King John *obtains a great Victory.*

Duke Arthur *made Priſoner.*

Shortly after this Victory, King *John* going to *Falaiſe*, caus'd his Nephew *Arthur* to be brought before him, us'd many kind Expreſſions to him, and promis'd him great Honours, if he would totally relinquiſh the King of *France*, and adhere to him as his Lord and Uncle. But notwithſtanding he now lay at his Mercy, he anſwer'd him diſdainfully, and with plain Threats demanded the Kingdom of *England*, and all the Dominions enjoy'd by King *Richard*, as his Right by Inheritance, adding by an Oath, *That he ſhould never enjoy Peace 'till he had reſtor'd them.* King *John* inrag'd at theſe high and unexpected Demands, immediately ſent him to *Roven* to be kept in ſtricter Cuſtody than before in the new Tower, under the Care of *Robert de Viepont*. Some Writers affirm, that before he was brought to *Roven*, the Nobility of *Bretaign* and *Anjou* ſhew'd ſo much Zeal for him, that the King's Friends adviſ'd him to deprive him of his Eyes and Genitals, to render him uncapable of Government or Procreation, to which cruel Propoſal he conſented, but was diſappointed by the three Perſons deſign'd to be Agents in it: One of whom, out of a publick Experiment ſpread a Report of his Death, which inſtead of appeaſing, rais'd new and greater Exaſperations among the Inhabitants of *Bretaign* and *Anjou*. Upon which the King, to prevent future Diſturbances, remov'd him to a ſafer Priſon at *Roven*; where in a ſhort Time he quite diſappear'd, and was never ſeen after; but by what Means, there is ſtill a great Uncertainty. All ſuppoſe and believe it was by a violent Death; and the King's Friends reported, that endeavouring to make his eſcape out of the Priſon, he was accidentally drown'd in the River *Seyne*, upon which the Caſtle ſtood: But moſt Writers preſs hard upon the Memory of *John*, and ſay that by his Orders he was privately and baſely

M. Paris, Coggeſhal, Æmilius, &c.

He is ſuppos'd to be privately murder'd.

baſely murder'd; and ſome more expreſly tell us, that he himſelf came ſecretly in a Boat by Night, and cauſing his Nephew to be brought before him, without all Pity ſlew him with his own Sword, and caus'd his Body to be thrown into the *Seyne* ſome Leagues below the Town. But of this black and difficult Affair, we can ſay nothing poſitively.

M. Paris. Æmilius. III. King *John* being now freed from his Rival, for his better Security, caus'd himſelf to be a fourth Time crown'd at *Canterbury*, on the fourteenth Day of *April*, by *Hubert* the Arch-Biſhop; but upon his Return into *Normandy*, he ſoon found that it was but an Introduction to greater Troubles than ever. For the Report of the Murder was ſoon ſpread in all Parts, to the great blackning of the King's Name; for tho' very few could know how the young Prince came by his Death, yet all had too much reaſon to conclude that it could not have been brought about without the King's Orders. Upon which the Lady *Conſtance*, Mother to the Deceas'd, repair'd to King *Philip*, and made violent Complaints of the unheard of Barbarity of King *John*; which caus'd *Philip* to aſſemble all his Peers and Nobility, who immediately ſummon'd King *John*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appear before them, and anſwer this Accuſation, at an appointed Day. King *John* readily ſent *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely* and *Hubert de Burgh*, as his Ambaſſadors, to let that King know, *That he would willingly appear at his Court, provided he might have ſafe Conduct for his Going and Returning*; to which *Philip* anſwer'd with a ſtern Look, *He may come in Peace*; but when the Biſhop ask'd, *Whether he might return ſo*, his only Anſwer was, *Yes, if the Sentence of his Peers would permit him.* The Ambaſſadors ſtill inſiſting upon a ſafe Conduct for their Maſter, King *Philip* in a Rage ſwore by all the Saints of *France*, *That it ſhould not be otherwiſe than the Judgment of his Court.* Then the Biſhop began to lay open the Dangers that might happen to his Maſter by his Appearance, and now urg'd, *That the Duke of* Normandy *could not attend his Court, ſince the ſame Perſon was alſo King of* England; *and the Baronage of that Nation would not permit it, tho' he himſelf ſhould conſent to it, ſince there was ſo much Danger either of his Death or Impriſonment.* To which the King reply'd, *Pray, my Lord Biſhop, what is that to me? It is well known that the Duke of* Normandy *is my Vaſſal, and if he thought fit to conquer* England, *and ſo acquire a higher Title, ought his Soveraign Lord to loſe any Thing by that?* No Anſwer being given to this, and King *John* not appearing at the appointed Time, the Court proceeded to condemn him for Treaſon and Murther, and *P. Æmilius* has recorded the Sentence to this Effect, 'That *John* Duke of *Normandy*, being un- 'mindful of his Oath to *Philip* his Lord, had murder'd his elder Brother's Son, 'an Homager to that Crown, within the Soveraignty of *France*; whereupon 'he is judg'd a Traitor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of *France*, to forfeit 'all his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry be made by 'Force of Arms. Thus by a partial and undue Sentence, the King and Peers of *France*, at a Time whilſt they were in open Hoſtility with King *John*, condemn'd him, tho' abſent, unhear'd, without either confeſſing, or being convicted of the Crime, and without any legal or equitable Cognizance of it.

The King crown'd a fourth Time.

He is ſummon'd by the Court of France.

and condemn'd unheard.

M. Paris. However the *French* being then very powerful, ſoon began to put this Sentence in Execution, while King *John*, free from the Noiſe and Thoughts of War, feaſted magnificently with his Queen at *Caen*, and lay in Bed with her every Day 'till Noon. At the ſame Time the *French* King took many of his Caſtles, kept the ſtrongeſt, and demoliſh'd the reſt; and when King *John* was told what the Enemy had done, he only reply'd, *Let him alone, whatever he takes now, I will ſoon recover again.* But when the *Engliſh* Earls and Noblemen heard this, and obſerv'd his inſuperable Sloath, they begg'd leave to return home; and ſo left but a very few Knights or military Men to tarry with him in *Normandy*. In the mean Time, *Hugh de Gourney* ſurrender'd the ſtrong Caſtle

A. D. 1203. Reg. 4/5.

He loſes many Places in France.

Caſtle of *Montfort* to the *French* King, with the entire Honour belonging to it, while King *John* continu'd ſecurely at *Roven*; inſomuch that the People ſaid, *Sure he was inchanted*, being ſtill as pleaſant and unconcern'd as if nothing had befallen him. The *French* King ſtill proceeded further, and with a powerful Army ſat down before the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Ruil*, within the Territory of *Roven*; and *Fitz-Water* and *De Quincy*, in whoſe Cuſtody it was, ſhamefully deliver'd up that important Place, as ſoon as he appear'd before it. But King *Philip* abhorring their Cowardice, generouſly commanded them to be kept cloſe Priſoners, and to be loaded with Fetters, 'till they could pay their Ranſoms. *Normandy*, and the King's other Dominions being thus left naked and defenceleſs, the *French* King paſs'd through divers Provinces without any Oppoſition, and reduc'd ſeveral Caſtles to his Obedience. He alſo about that Time beſieg'd that ſtrong Caſtle on the Rock of *Andeli* on *Seyne*, which King *Richard* had built from the Ground, and call'd it *Caſtle Galliard*; but that being defended by the admirable Valour and Fidelity of *Roger de Lacy*, King *Philip* could gain ſo little Advantage againſt it, that he was forc'd to turn his Siege into a Blockade: In which Juncture ſome *Normans* revolted from the King of *England*, while others outwardly adher'd to him.

He returns into England.

King *John* at length ſeeing his own Weakneſs, and that he was left without any Forces, took ſhipping, and landed at *Portſmouth* on the ſixth Day of *December*; and immediately after his Arrival he turn'd his Reſentments againſt his Earls and Barons, alledging, *That they had deſerted, and left him among his Enemies beyond Sea, and through their Neglect he had loſt his Caſtles and Territories there*; wherefore by way of Puniſhment he forcibly took from them the ſeventh Part of their Moveables. Neither did he ſpare in this Tax even the Conventual or Parochial Churches, for, as *Paris* tells us, he had ſuch as ſeverely executed his Rapines, *viz.* *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, upon the Clergy, and *Fitz-Peter* the Juſticiary, upon the Laity, who ſpared no Perſon in this Impoſition. At the ſame Time the *French* King taking advantage of King *John*'s Abſence, march'd with a ſtrong Force before ſeveral other Cities and Caſtles of his Dominions, politickly declaring to the Inhabitants, *That King* John *had cowardly deſerted them, and he being chief Lord over thoſe Countries, ſtood oblig'd in that caſe to preſerve the Fee from Injury and Damage; therefore he amicably requir'd them to receive him for their Soveraign, ſince they had no other: But if they refus'd this fair Propoſal, and after Reſiſtance were ſubdu'd, he declar'd by an Oath, he would either hang or flea them all alive.* At length, after many Diſputes and Conſultations, they unanimouſly conſented to give Hoſtages for one Year's Truce; *and if the King of* England *reliev'd them not within that Time, they would recognize him for their Lord, and ſurrender their Cities and Caſtles to him.* Yet, as *Trivet* better informs us, many of the chief Cities of *Normandy*, as *Falaiſe*, *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, and others, being by Force or Treachery ſoon reduc'd to the *French* King's Power, King *John* had nothing left there, beſides the City of *Roven*.

M. Paris, &c.

He loſes more in France.

A. D. 1204. Reg. 5/6.

Upon the ſecond of *January* King *John* and all the great Men of *England* met in a grand Council or Parliament at *Oxford*; where was granted to the King a military Aid of two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee; nor did Biſhops, Abbots, or Eccleſiaſticks depart without promiſing the ſame. But notwithſtanding this great Aid, we do not find that he made any better uſe of it than to ſpend it in an unactive and luxurious Life. However he found it convenient after *Midlent* to ſend the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Norwich*, and the Earl-Marſhal and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, as Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to ſound his Inclinations to a Peace, and to propoſe ſome new Terms of Agreement, if he would receive them. But King *Philip*, ſwell'd with his former Succeſſes, would agree to none of them; but finding that Duke *Arthur* was really dead, he demanded *Eleanor* his Siſter to be given in Marriage to his younger Son, with all the Territories in *France*, deſigning

M. Paris. Ann. Hib.

A Treaty propos'd, but ineffectual.

deſigning to make a further Advantage of her, as the true Heireſs to the Crown of *England*. But this being thought an unreaſonable Demand, the Embaſſie became ineffectual. About the ſame Time King *Philip* ſent a valiant Champion to juſtifie by Combate before the States of *England*, what his Maſter had done in *France* againſt their King; and tho' it was not thought fit to hazard a Title of that Moment on the Arms and Fortune of one Man, yet it was reſolv'd that this bold Challenger ſhould not paſs unanſwer'd. Accordingly the King fix'd on *John Curvy*, Earl of *Ulſter*, now a Priſoner in the Tower, a Man of a Gigantick Body and undaunted Fierceneſs, who when the King ask'd him Whether he would combate in his Cauſe, anſwer'd *No, not in thy Cauſe, nor for thy Sake, but for the Kingdom's Right I will fight to the laſt Moment of Life.* While with vaſt Eating he repair'd his decay'd Limbs and Nerves, the *French* Champion hearing of his exceſſive Feeding, and his proportionable Strength, and dreading him as a Monſter of Nature, he retir'd ſecretly into *Spain*, not daring to viſit *France* again. Of this Earl *Curvy* we are further aſſur'd, that afterwards when the two Kings met upon a Truce in *France*, King *Philip* hearing he was in the *Engliſh* Camp, deſir'd King *John* to let him ſee ſome Experiment of his fam'd Strength. Whereupon an Helmet of excellent Proof, full fac'd with Mail, was ſet upon a wooden Block; when the Earl firſt looking round with a moſt dreadful Aſpect, lift up his mighty Sword, and cleft ſo deep through the Steel into the knotty Wood, that none preſent but himſelf could draw it out again, which he did with Eaſe. Then being ask'd by the King, *Why he look'd ſo fiercely before he ſtruck*, he anſwer'd, *That if he had fail'd of his Blow, he then reſolv'd to have kill'd them all, both Kings, and other Spectators.* Both Kings made him large Preſents, and *John* freely reſtor'd him to his Earldom of *Ulſter*.

The French *King ſends a Champion to juſtifie him.*

who privately retires.

M. Paris, &c. But what King *Philip* could not perform by one Champion in *England*, he effected in *Normandy* by many, where after great Succeſs he took the chief City of *Roven*, by the Surrender of the Citizens, and that after a long Siege, and merely for want of ſending them timely Aſſiſtance. It was ſurrender'd upon honourable Terms and divers advantagious Articles, the chief of which were, That the City ſhould enjoy all its ancient Franchiſes and Privileges; but as *Mezeray* well obſerves, This Precaution prov'd as feeble againſt abſolute Power, as Paper is againſt Iron; for as ſoon as he became Maſter of it, he utterly demoliſh'd all its noble Walls, and forbad them ever to be built again. After this the Caſtle on the Rock of *Andeli* was taken, partly by undermining, and partly by Famine, after it had been beſieg'd almoſt a Year; but before the Enemy could enter, when they had ſcarce Proviſions left for one Meal, the valiant Governor *Roger Lacy*, ſcorning to make Conditions for himſelf, and reſolving to make the Prize as dear as poſſible to the Enemy, he couragiouſly with Sword in Hand, together with divers of his brave Companions mounting their Horſes, ſally'd out, and killing great Numbers of the *French*, maintain'd a noble Fight, before they were taken. After the Surrender of the Caſtle, *Roger* was carry'd into *France*; yet for the great Courage and Bravery he ſhew'd in the Defence of it, the King commanded that he ſhould be Priſoner at large; this Prince having ſo much Generoſity as to make a wide Diſtinction between this gallant Man, and ſuch Cowards as *Fitz-Water* and *De Quincy*, beforemention'd; and indeed this unfortunate Gentleman was worthy to have ſerv'd a better and more vigilant Maſter. Not long after, the *French* King having taken the Caſtles of *Arches* and *Vernevil*, became compleat Maſter of all *Normandy*. And thus was that Dukedom, the nobleſt Jewel in the *Engliſh* Diadem, which had been diſmember'd from *France* for three hundred and twenty Years, and govern'd by twelve ſucceſſive Dukes of the *Norman* Race, now torn from it, and made ſubject to another Maſter; ingloriouſly to him who loſt it, unjuſtly by him who got it, and in a great Meaſure perfidiouſly by ſuch as ſhould, and might have kept it.

Roven *ſurrender'd to the* French.

All Normandy *loſt from* England.

Nor-

Normandy was not the only Country that was loſt, for almoſt all the reſt of the tranſmarine Dominions ſuſtain'd the ſame Fate: And the Cities and Caſtles ſubject to the King of *England*, being now reduc'd to great Streights, ſent over to let him know their Condition, *That the Time of the Truce was almoſt expir'd, and that they muſt either deliver up their Fortreſſes, or ſuffer their Hoſtages to be deſtroy'd.* Whereupon the King anſwer'd their Meſſengers, *That they muſt expect no Aſſiſtance from him, and therefore they might act as they thought fit.* Thus for want of Relief, likewiſe all *Main*, *Tourain*, *Anjou* and *Poictou*, came under the Dominion of the *French* King, except *Rochel*, *Toarz* and *Niors*; and thus was King *John* treated by the ſame Perſon, with whom he had ſo perfidiouſly join'd againſt his own Father and Brother. Yet ſtill the King ſpent his Time with his Queen wholly in Pleaſures, as if in her he had enjoy'd all the World; only *Trivet* does in ſome degree excuſe him, alledging, That King *John* diſcourag'd by ſo many Diſaſters, could not raiſe an Army ſufficient either to defend his Territories, or to recover what was loſt; for his own Subjects being now generally diſcontented, refus'd to fight for him, and ſo he learnt by unhappy Experience, That all the real Power of Princes conſiſts in the Love of their People. About this Time the King's Mother, Queen *Eleanor*, dy'd very aged, a Princeſs of an high and active Spirit, who had been Wife to two mighty Kings, and Mother to three; who after ſhe had met with all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, liv'd juſt long enough to ſee moſt of her own hereditary Dominions loſt to a prevailing Conqueror.

M. Paris. M. Weſt. &c.

with Main, Tourain, Anjou *and* Poictou.

The Death of Queen Eleanor.

A. D. 1205. Reg. 6/7.

IV. King *John*, being reduc'd to ſmaller Dominions than any of his Predeceſſors ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, began now to be ſenſible of his Foreign Diſhonours, and his Domeſtick Affronts; and by the Advice of his beſt Friends, he gather'd together a powerful Army and a mighty Navy, reſolving to revenge his Wrongs, and repair his Loſſes. But all his Deſigns were ſuddenly blaſted, chiefly by the means of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Pembroke*, who, when he was ready to take Shipping at *Portſmouth*, came to him and diſſuaded him from this Expedition; alledging many Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs, uſing many Intreaties, and likewiſe threatning to detain him by Force. At length being overcome by their Importunities, he by their Advice ſent his Brother the Earl of *Salisbury* with a conſiderable Force to *Rochelle*, whither his natural Son *Geoffry* had been ſent before, and ſo diſmiſs'd the greateſt Part of his Noblemen and Knights; who having been put to vaſt Charges, in Expectation of an honourable Campain, ſolemnly curs'd the Authors of this Advice; and more eſpecially the Mariners, who to the Number of fourteen thouſand, for this Deſign brought their Ships from the utmoſt Parts of the Kingdom. As this prov'd a ſevere Diſappointment to many, ſo moſt of all to the King himſelf, who being reſtleſs and uneaſie, put to Sea with a ſmall Force; but after two or three Days wafting backwards and forwards, he found it convenient to return and land at *Warham* in *Dorſetſhire*. Immediately after he extorted a vaſt Sum of Mony from his Earls, Barons, Knights and Clergy, for refuſing to follow him beyond Sea to recover his loſt Dominions: Which was the ſecond Time he had rais'd Mony upon the Nation without the People's Conſent; and was one of thoſe Grievances which afterwards caus'd the Barons to take up Arms againſt him, and one of the particular Heads provided againſt by his great Charter.

M. Paris. Ceſſhal.

The King defeated in his Deſigns.

Arch-Biſhop Hubert's *Death.*

About the ſame Time Arch-Biſhop *Hubert* dy'd, and the King in Perſon at *Canterbury* ſeiz'd upon all his Wealth and Poſſeſſions, ſhewing himſelf highly ſatisfy'd, That he was freed from him whom he ſuſpected to have held private Intelligence with the *French* King, declaring, *That he was never a King 'till now, by reaſon of* Hubert's *preſumptuous croſſing his Royal Reſolutions, as of late he did.* But this Joy and Expectation of happier Days, was ſoon ſtifled and bury'd in the ſame Tomb with the Arch-Biſhop; out of whoſe Aſhes ſuch a Fire-

M. Paris. &c.

Fire-brand was produc'd, as exceedingly inflam'd and embroil'd the Affairs of King *John*, and the whole Nation. For immediately after his Death, the junior Monks of *Canterbury*, too little valuing a declining King, and too much eſteeming a rewarding Pope, proceeded to an unprecedented Action, and at Midnight choſe *Reginald*, the Sub-Prior of their Convent, for their Arch-Biſhop, without the leaſt Knowledge of the King. And obliging of him to the ſtricteſt Secrecy, they ſent him away to *Rome* with the utmoſt Expedition, not doubting but his Holineſs out of Intereſt would confirm their Election. But this vain-glorious Monk, being got into *Flanders*, divulg'd the Secret in all Parts, declar'd himſelf Arch-Biſhop, and ſhew'd the Inſtrument of the Convent under their Seal: Of which when the reſt had notice, and that he had broke his Oath of Secrecy, they were highly incens'd, and to prevent the King's juſt Diſpleaſure, they now ſubmitted themſelves to his Majeſty, humbly deſiring his Licence to chuſe a new Arch-Biſhop. This was freely granted by the King, but with this Intimation, *That if they would chuſe* John Gray, *Biſhop of* Norwich, *they would do him an acceptable Piece of Service*; upon which the Monks unanimouſly choſe him in due Form, and the King and he went immediately to *Canterbury*, where the next Day the Prior in the Preſence of them and the Convent, declar'd the ſaid *John* duly elected Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. After which the Monks plac'd him with great Solemnity in the Archiepiſcopal Throne; and the King with no leſs Ceremony put him in Poſſeſſion of the Temporalties belonging to the Archbiſhoprick, to the general Satisfaction of all Men.

which was the Beginning of King John's *Troubles.*

M. Paris. Thus the King's Affairs ſeem'd to ſucceed well in *England*, and not worſe in *France*, where his Majeſty landed with a powerful Army at *Rochell*. Upon which the *Poictovins*, glad of his Arrival, came in chearfully to him, and promis'd their Aſſiſtance; and after he had ſubdu'd a conſiderable Part of *Poictou*, he ſat down before the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mont-Auban*, and battering it fifteen Days with his Engines, took it on the firſt of *Auguſt*, which Place *Charles* the Great could not take with a ſeven Years Siege. Upon this Succeſs the King wrote to his Juſtices, Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, how many great illuſtrious Priſoners, and what Horſe and Arms, and what innumerable Spoils he had taken. But the religious Perſons of thoſe Parts mediating between the two Kings, they procur'd a two Years Truce; and ſo King *John* return'd into *England*, ſoon loſing all the Advantages he had gain'd. And now his Troubles began to fall heavy upon him from the Pope, who by his Artifices endeavour'd to make both the late Elections void; miſliking the Abilities of *Reginald*, as well as the Principles of *Gray*. When the King ſent ſome of the Monks of *Canterbury* to *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of *Gray*, at the ſame Time the Suffragan Biſhops of that Province, alſo ſent their Proctors to *Rome*, who highly complain'd to the Pope, *That the Monks had preſum'd to chuſe an Arch-Biſhop without them, when they of common Right and ancient Cuſtom ought to have been preſent, and have join'd to the Election*; for which they alledg'd divers Decrees and Precedents, produc'd Witneſſes and Teſtimonials, *That the Biſhops together with the Monks had choſen three Arch-Biſhops.* The Monks on the other ſide affirm'd, *That by ancient and allow'd Cuſtom, and by ſpecial Privilege of divers Popes, they us'd to make Elections without the Biſhops*, which they offer'd to prove by ſufficient Witneſſes: And thus the Proceſs continu'd 'till the following Year.

A. D. 1206. Reg. 7/8.

The Pope the main Cauſe of them.

M. Paris. Wendov. In the mean Time King *John* proceeded by his grand Council to raiſe a new Tax of the thirteenth Part of all Mens Moveables; but while he endeavour'd for theſe Sinews of War, he more and more loſt the Bands of Peace, the Hearts of his People. And hence aroſe the Beginnings of a miſerable Breach between the King and his Subjects, being both out of Proportion, and disjointed in thoſe juſt Ligaments of Command and Obedience that ſhould hold them together; the reducing of which into due Form and Order, coſt many Years Toil, and more noble Blood, than all the foreign Wars ſince the Conqueſt. One of the greateſt Incendiaries was *Geoffry* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who ſolemnly execrating

A. D. 1207. Reg. 8/9.

all the King's Receivers within his Province, fled ſecretly out of the Land. In theſe violent Proceedings the Clergy have been blam'd by ſome Writers who were even Enemies to King *John*; eſpecially ſince they patiently permitted *Florentinus* the Pope's Legate, not long before to carry away vaſt Sums from them to his Maſter's Coffers at *Rome*. Yet ſtill theſe Domeſtick Troubles took away nothing from the King's Care, nor his good Hopes, which were much encreas'd by the Preſence of his Nephew the Emperor *Otho*; who in Perſon arriving in *England* to project for his own and his Uncle's Wars, was with great Joy met by the King, and conducted through *London* by Night, where all the City was ſeen in her Glory, and the Streets adorn'd with the richeſt Hangings, beautified with the Luſtre of pendant Crowns, and ſhining Lamps. After ſome Days Continuance, and magnificent Entertainments, the Emperor departed, not unfurniſh'd with Helps to carry on his Wars.

In the mean Time the Troubles and Miſchiefs began now to ſhow themſelves from the See of *Rome*; where at length there was a ſolemn Hearing before the Pope concerning the double Election at *Canterbury*. After which, thoſe who ſtood for *Reginald* the Sub-Prior, preſented him to his Holineſs, as being firſt and duly elected, while the other Party offer'd to prove the firſt Election void, as being made by Night without the King's Conſent, and chief Part of the Convent; ſo that after long Diſputes, the Pope proceeded to an unprecedented Action, and publickly judg'd both theſe Perſons Uncanonical; and by the Advice of his Cardinals null'd them both, abſolutely forbidding either Party to enter upon the Archiepiſcopal Dignity. And to eſtabliſh his Intereſt and Power at once, he nominated *Stephen Langton*, an *Engliſhman* and Cardinal, for their Arch-Biſhop, urging the Monks to chuſe him: At firſt they alledg'd, *That they could make no Canonical Election, without the Conſent of the King and their Convent*; but the Pope reply'd, *That they had in themſelves the full Power of the Church of* Canterbury; *and that in Elections at the Apoſtolick See, the Conſent of Princes was not expected*; and then he commanded all preſent, *by vertue of their Obedience, and upon pain of a Curſe, to chuſe him Arch-Biſhop, whom he had appointed for their Father and Paſtor*. Upon this poſitive Command, the Monks, dreading the Pope's unbounded Power, all except one *Elias de Brantfield*, with great Reluctance gave their Conſents; and ſo Cardinal *Langton* was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop by the Pope himſelf at *Viterbo*, on the ſeventeenth Day of *June*, contrary to common Law and Equity.

Coſſat. Wendov.

The Pope nominates a new Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

The Pope being ſenſible that King *John* would deeply reſent this arbitrary Proceeding, ſent over his Nuntio with four extraordinary Rings, ſet with rich Stones of four different Colours; and alſo a ſubtle inſinuating Letter, ſetting forth the wonderful Miſteries contain'd in the Roundneſs of the Rings, and their various Colours, which ſignify'd, as he ſaid, the four cardinal Virtues, with ſeveral Divine Graces; and concluding with an earneſt Exhortation to follow each of thoſe Virtues thus ſignify'd. Yet the Pope would not rely upon the King's good Pleaſure, but alſo politickly wrot other Letters, in which he exhorted the King *to receive and acknowledge* Stephen Langton, *a Native of his own Kingdom, and a Cardinal well ſkill'd in all Sorts of Learning, ſince his exemplary Life and Converſation would be of great Advantage both to his Body and Soul.* But ſtill to ſecure all, he alſo ſent his peremptory Command to the Prior and Monks, to receive and obey him as their Arch-Biſhop, as well in Temporals as Spirituals. The King receiving his Letters, and hearing of all Proceedings, in a great Rage charg'd the Monks of *Canterbury* with Treaſon; remonſtrating, *That in Prejudice to his Prerogative, they had firſt choſen their Sub-Prior without a Licence, and then to make ſome feign'd Amends, elected the Biſhop of* Norwich; *and that tho' their Journey to* Rome *was at his own Expence, yet, as an Aggravation to their firſt Offence, they had preſum'd to chuſe* Stephen Langton *his declared Enemy, and had caus'd him to be conſecrated Arch-Biſhop.* For which cauſe the King, in the Heat of his Fury, ſent

M. Paris. &c.

He endeavours to paciſie the King.

who is greatly enrag'd.

two

two cruel and ill-natur'd Knights, with ſome other Officers, to drive the Monks of *Canterbury* out of *England*, as Criminals of the higheſt Nature: And theſe, in purſuance of the King's Orders, entering the Monaſtery with drawn Swords, commanded the Prior and Monks, in the Name of the King, immediately to depart out of the Nation, *or elſe they would certainly burn them, and their Monaſtery together*. The Monks being greatly terrify'd, without further Conſideration left their Monaſtery, and all their Goods to be confiſcated; and paſſing into *Flanders*, were kindly receiv'd in the Abby of St. *Bertin*, and in other adjoining Monaſteries.

M. Paris. &c. King *John*, not thus ſatisfy'd, ſent Meſſengers to the Pope with expoſtulary Letters, ſetting forth, *the Injury done him in vacating the Election of the Biſhop of* Norwich, *and conſecrating* Stephen Langton *without his Conſent; a Perſon wholly unknown to him, educated in* France, *and a Correſpondent of his open Enemies; all this to the Prejudice and Subverſion of the Rights and Prerogatives of his Crown: Declaring he would immutably ſtand by the Election of the Biſhop of* Norwich; *remembring him, That* Rome *receiv'd more Profit from* England, *than from all the* Tranſalpine *Regions; and threatning, if he could not have a favourable Hearing at* Rome, *he would preclude all Perſons from paſſing thither, by ſhutting up his Ports: For ſince he had Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops and Prelates, abounding in Learning, in his own Dominions, if he were forc'd to it, he would neither ſeek for Juſtice nor Judgment in foreign Countries.* To which the Pope, after ſome Reſpite, return'd a cunning and plauſible Anſwer, in which he firſt mildly blam'd the King *for giving ſo rough an Anſwer to his humble and obliging Letters*, and next juſtify'd *the Election of Cardinal* Langton, *as one who had long ſtudy'd in the Univerſity of* Paris, *and had merited to be made a Doctor both in the liberal Arts, and Theology:* Further aſſuring him, *That tho' at Elections made at the Apoſtolick See, the Conſent of Princes was not requiſite, yet notwithſtanding, two Monks had been ſpecially deputed to gain his Aſſent; but being detain'd at* Dover, *they were not able to perform what was enjoin'd them.* Then juſtifying the Election as agreeable to the Canons of the ancient Fathers, he concluded with a threatning Advice, *That ſince his Father and Brother had abjur'd that evil Cuſtom, he ought to ſubmit to his good Pleaſure, which would be much for his Honour, and not to reſiſt God and the Church in this Cauſe, for which that bleſſed Martyr and glorious Arch-Biſhop* Thomas Becket *had ſhed his Blood.*

The King expoſtulates with the Pope.

who returns him a ſubtle Anſwer.

M. Paris. Theſe laſt were terrible Words to a King whoſe Father had been ſo great a Sufferer; which were ſucceeded by a new Command from the Pope to the Biſhops of *London, Ely* and *Worceſter, to argue the Affair with the King, and if they found him contumacious, to declare that his Kingdom ſhould be interdicted; and if he ſtill perſiſted, that his Holineſs would lay a heavier Hand upon him.* Upon which theſe Biſhops immediately repairing to the King, entreated him with Tears *to recall the Arch-Biſhop and Monks to their Church, and honour and love them with perfect Charity, that he might avoid the Scandal of the Interdict*; but while they were proceeding in their Speech, the King, ſenſible of theſe numerous Indignities, fell into a violent Paſſion, and by a ſolemn Oath declar'd, *That if any ſhould preſume to interdict his Territories, he would ſend all the Prelates and Clergy of* England *to the Pope, and confiſcate their Goods; and if he found any* Romans *within his Dominions, he would deprive them of their Eyes and Noſes, and ſend them to* Rome, *that they might be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe of other Nations:* And he further commanded the Biſhops immediately to depart his Preſence, *as they valu'd their preſent Safeties.* The King was further provok'd by the Behaviour of *Simon Langton*, who about the ſame Time, before divers Biſhops, adviſ'd him to receive his Brother *Stephen* as Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and when the King ſpoke to him of preſerving his Royal Dignity in this Affair, he inſolently re-

A. D. 1208. Reg. 9. 10.

ply'd, *That he could do nothing in his Majeſty's Behalf, unleſs he would wholly throw himſelf upon his Brother's Mercy.* The above-mention'd Biſhops, finding no Signs of Compliance, abandon'd the King, and on the twenty ſecond Day of *March*, they ſolemnly interdicted the whole Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, in Obedience to the Pope's Commands; upon which there was a Ceſſation of all Divine Service, except Confeſſion, Baptiſm of Infants, and Adminiſtration of the Euchariſt to dying Perſons; ſo that the Bodies of the Dead were carry'd out of the Cities and Towns, and without any Ceremony like Beaſts were tumbled into Pits and Ditches.

The Pope interdicts the whole Kingdom.

The King fearing the Conſequence of the Interdict, and his Subjects Hatred, proceeded to violent Methods, ſent to his Sheriffs and other Miniſters, and commanded with dreadful Threats all Prelates and their inferior Clergy forthwith to depart the Kingdom, and repair to the Pope, requiring him to do the King Juſtice for this Injury. He alſo put all Biſhopricks, Abbies and Priories under the Cuſtody of Lay-Men, commanding all the Church Rents to be confiſcated, and their Goods to be ſeiz'd: The Concubines of the Prieſts and Clerks throughout *England* were impriſon'd by the King's Officers, and forc'd to pay great Compoſitions for their Liberty: The Monks and Men in Orders, while travelling upon the Road, were thrown off their Horſes, and robb'd and abus'd by the King's Soldiers: Alſo the Relations of the Arch-Biſhop and thoſe Biſhops who pronounc'd the Interdict, were by the King's Command rifled of their Goods, and caſt into Priſon. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Evils, *M. Paris* tells us, 'That the foreſaid Biſhops remain'd beyond Sea, living in all manner 'of Delights, not oppoſing themſelves as a Wall of Defence for the Lord's 'Houſe; but when they ſaw the Wolf coming, they left their Sheep and fled. After theſe general Seiſures, the King in a ſhort Time reſtor'd the Lands and Goods of all ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as celebrated Divine Service, adminiſter'd the Sacraments, and refus'd to obey the Interdict; but retain'd the Eſtates of all the reſt. And for the Security of ſuch as obey'd him, he iſſu'd out his Precept, that no Man againſt his Peace ſhould abuſe them either in Word or Deed; which if they did, they ſhould if purſu'd be hang'd upon the next Tree. But theſe were all immediately condemn'd by the See of *Rome*: And this was the preſent State of the Clergy of *England*; ſuch as oblig'd the King were ſuſpended by the Pope, and ſuch as obey'd the Pope were depriv'd by the King.

M. Paris. &c.

For which the King proceeds againſt the Clergy to the utmoſt Violence.

A. D. 1209. Reg. 10/11. Such irregular Proceedings in the King, and ſuch Perplexities in the People could not but occaſion great Hatred and Murmurings; therefore to prevent the Effects of ſuch Diſcontents, the King requir'd of his Nobility new Oaths of Allegiance, and Pledges of ſuch as he moſt ſuſpected, as alſo Homage of all Freeholders, even from twelve Years of Age, all whom he diſmiſs'd with the Ceremony of a Kiſs of Peace. Miſdoubting alſo the Pope's further Intent to abſolve his Subjects from their due Allegiance, after the Example of his Father *Henry*, he gather'd together a powerful Army for all Exigencies. The Terror of which he firſt diſplay'd in the North, being diſoblig'd at *William* King of *Scotland*, for receiving ſome Out-laws fled out of *England*, and for marrying his Daughter to the Earl of *Boloigne* without his Conſent. But upon his Approach to the Borders of *Scotland*, King *William* deſir'd Peace, and by the Mediation of Friends to both Nations, they made up the Breach upon theſe Terms, That the King of the *Scots* ſhould pay King *John* eleven thouſand Marks of Silver, and that his two Daughters ſhould be deliver'd as Pledges for the Security of the Peace between them. The Dread of the King's Power paſs'd ſo ſwiftly out of the North into the Weſt, that upon his Return, the Princes of *Wales*, and others, rich and poor, came to him at *Woodſtock* to do him Homage. But all theſe Ties of Allegiance were in Danger of being diſſolv'd by a new Sentence from *Rome* of an Excommunication of the King's Perſon, with ſtrict Injunction for all Men to abandon his Preſence: Which being ſent to be pronounc'd by the Biſhops and Prelates in *England*, all of them for Fear or Favour of the King,

M. Paris. Wigmor.

The King excommunicated by the Pope.

King, neglected the Pope's Commands, and let the Apoſtolick Proceſs eſcape without Execution. However the Sentence was ſo well known, that it became the Subject of all Mens Diſcourſe; particularly of *Geoffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who in the Exchequer declar'd to his Aſſociate, *That it was not ſafe for benefic'd Men to continue in the Service of an excommunicated King*, and ſo retir'd without leave. For which the King commanded him to be put in Irons in a cloſe Priſon, and a leaden Cope to be put upon him, the Preſſure of which much haſten'd his Death: But the greater and wiſer Sort, both of the Nobility and others, continu'd their Attendance on the King's Court and Perſon, without Regard of the Cenſure.

An. Hib. M. Paris. In the mean Time the King, raiſing great Sums of Mony, to ſhow his Power, with a mighty Army paſs'd over into *Ireland*, which Country had been too long neglected; and arriving at *Dublin*, he was there met with more than twenty petty Kings and Princes of that Country, who dreading his Arms, paid him Homage and Fealty. All the neighbouring Parts readily ſubmitted; but to the reſt, the King march'd with his Forces, took many ſtrong Places from the Enemy, ſubdu'd the Province of *Connaught*, and took *Cuthol* the King Priſoner. Having reduc'd all Parts, be impriſon'd the *Engliſh* Fugitives, took Pledges both of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Inhabitants, puniſh'd Malefactors with Death, turbulent Perſons with Ranſoms, eſtabliſh'd all their Laws, Coin and Officers according to the *Engliſh* Form, and deputed a wiſe and upright Governor over them, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, Competitor to Cardinal *Langton*. Thus he eſtabliſh'd on that barbarous Iſland ſuch an exact and well order'd Face of Government, as was its Stay in thoſe tumultuous Times, and a Pattern for more peaceful Ages to imitate; by which ſpeedy Conqueſt and Reformation, he juſtly merited the Title given him of *Lord of Ireland*. As he was ſucceſsful in theſe Parts, ſo was he no leſs in *Wales*, both in this and the following Year: For after he return'd from *Ireland*, and laid ſuch vaſt Fines upon the Eccleſiaſticks as amounted to a hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, he with a powerful Army march'd into the farthermoſt Parts of *Wales*, as far as *Snowdun*; ſo that the petty Princes, and Nobles ſubmitted without any Oppoſition. Then to ſecure their future Subjection, he took twenty eight Hoſtages of them, and ſo return'd in Triumph, as Conqueror of *Wales*.

A. D. 1210. Reg. 11/12.

The King is ſucceſsful in Ireland.

which Kingdom he happily reduces.

M. Paris. &c. V. The Nation had now laid under an Interdict near three Years and an half, which prov'd highly dangerous to the King, as well as intolerably grievous to the People. So that at length the King finding the Pope inflexible, and inſenſible of the Burden of ſo many Chriſtians, he began to relent and recede from his former Reſolutions, hoping to ſettle his own and Subjects Tranquility, tho' with great Indignity to himſelf. In his Return from *Wales*, he was met at *Northampton* by two Nuntio's from the Pope, *Pandolf* a Sub-Deacon, and *Durand* a Knight Templar, who were ſent purpoſely into *England* to make Peace between the King and the Eccleſiaſticks. Being met together, after a long Debate, the King freely aſſur'd them, *That the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Monks, and all the proſcrib'd Biſhops might return in Peace and Security to their own Palaces; and that the Holy Church ſhould have all the Franchiſes it enjoy'd in the Reign of* Edward *the Confeſſor*. But becauſe the King would not, or indeed could not, make full Satisfaction for the Goods of the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops formerly confiſcated, and for the Damages they had ſuſtain'd, the Treaty became wholly ineffectual, and the Nuntio's return'd into *France*. But before they departed, they denounc'd that Execration againſt the King's Perſon, which the Biſhops had wholly declin'd, and ſo incens'd the Pope againſt him, that in the latter end of the Year, he proceeded to greater Contumelies than ever, and abſolv'd all his Subjects, High and Low, from their Faith and Obedience to him; ſtrictly enjoining all Perſons *under pain of Excommunication, to avoid him in Private and Publick, at his Table, Council, and*

A. D. 1211. Reg. 12/13.

The Subjects of England *abſolv'd from their Allegiance by the Pope.*

and common Converſation. For, as our Author tells us, the King had at the Time of the Interdict, divers Councellors about him, as well of the Clergy as Laity, whom he names; who ſtriving to pleaſe him in all Things, were ſuppos'd not to adviſe him according to Law or Reaſon, but his own Humour.

A. D. 1212. Reg 13/14. Notwithſtanding theſe ſtrict Prohibitions, in *Lent* following the King had a noble Feaſt in *Clarkenwell*, where he knighted Prince *Alexander*, only Son and Heir to the King of the *Scots*, who return'd home with the Applauſe and Congratulations of both Kingdoms. Not long after, the *Welſh* having made ſeveral hoſtile Incurſions and Devaſtations in *England*, the King highly provok'd, levy'd a great Army, reſolving to ravage all *Wales*, and extirpate the Inhabitants; and for a preſent Revenge he hang'd up all the twenty eight Hoſtages deliver'd to him the Year before. But in this, as in moſt other Actions, he met with unexpected Obſtructions; for being ready for his Expedition, he receiv'd Letters from the King of the *Scots* and others of a Traiterous Conſpiracy form'd againſt him, which at firſt he ſlighted, and march'd forward to *Cheſter*. But there receiving Letters again to the ſame Effect, that he ſhould either be ſlain by his Noblemen, or deliver'd up to his Enemies, and now underſtanding that the great Men of *England* thought themſelves diſcharg'd from their Obedience to him, he disbanded his Army and return'd to *London*. From whence he diſpatch'd Commiſſioners to all ſuſpected Perſons of Quality, obliging them to ſend Pledges of their Fidelity; upon which many out of Fear ſent their Sons, Nephews and neareſt Relations, to appeaſe his Indignation; but *Euſtace de Veſcie*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, being accus'd of Treaſon, fled one into *Scotland*, and the other into *France*. Theſe Defections were much promoted by the pretended Predictions of one *Peter* a Hermite of *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, who propheſy'd that by the next *Aſcention* Day, *John* ſhould no longer be King. As the King took care to ſecure this Perſon, ſo he was not backwards in any ſevere Methods with others: And here our Author *M. Paris* adds, That being a Prince of inſatiable Luſt and Cruelty, he had now highly provok'd divers of the Nobility by debauching of their Wives and Daughters, by baniſhing their Relations, or by reducing them to Poverty by his illegal Exactions; ſo that he had made himſelf almoſt as many Enemies as there were Noblemen in the Kingdom. He further adds, That when they knew themſelves to be abſolv'd from their Fidelity by the Pope, they rejoic'd exceedingly; and if common Fame might be credited, they had each of them ſign'd and ſeal'd a certain Charter which they had ſent to the *French* King, aſſuring him he might ſafely come into *England*, obtain the Kingdom, and be crown'd with Honour.

M. Paris. Windov.

The King marches towards Wales, *but in vain.*

The Nobility highly diſoblig'd by him.

Theſe were proper Times for the Pope to make his utmoſt Advantage; who being both inflexible and inſatiable, now reſolv'd to effect his Deſigns, tho' with the Confuſion of Chriſtendom. A fair Opportunity was now offer'd him by the humble Supplications of Arch-Biſhop *Langton*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, *That he would vouchſafe, out of his pious Compaſſion, to ſupport the* Engliſh *Church, then at the Point of Ruin.* Upon which Pope *Innocent* by the Advice of his Cardinals and others, reſolv'd to diſplay his utmoſt Power, and by a ſolemn Sentence decreed, *That King* John *ſhould be intirely depos'd from his Kingdom, and that his Holineſs ſhould provide a more worthy Perſon to ſucceed him.* Accordingly he wrote to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him *To put this Sentence in Execution*; promiſing him, *To grant him Remiſſion of all his Sins, together with the Kingdom of* England *in perpetual Right, when once he had dethron'd the preſent Poſſeſſor.* That he might not be wanting in any Thing, he wrote to the Potentates, Knights and Warriors of divers Nations, exciting them *To ſign themſelves with the Croſs, to follow the King of* France *as their General in this Expedition againſt King* John, *and endeavour to vindicate the Injury done to the Catholick Church:* Decreeing further, *That whoever contributed either Mony, or other Aſſiſtance, towards the ſubduing of this contumacious King, ſhould be ſecure not only in their Goods and Perſons, but alſo*

M. Paris.

The King depos'd by the Pope.

England *given to the* French *King.*

alſo as to their Souls, through the Prayers of the Church; and they ſhould enjoy the ſame Privileges with thoſe who viſiſted the Sepulchre of our Lord. With this ample Commiſſion, the Pope ſent *Pandolf* his Nuntio with the *Engliſh* Biſhops for *England*; firſt giving them Inſtructions, that every Thing ſhould be punctually put in Execution, according to his Order. The Legate having ask'd him privately, *What he ſhoud do, if King* John *repented and made Satisfaction to God and the* Romiſh *Church*; the Pope thereupon preſcrib'd certain Conditions of Peace, *to which if the King would aſſent, he might yet obtain the Favour of the Apoſtolick See.*

M. Paris. The *French* King likewiſe receiving from the Arch-Biſhop and his Aſſociates the Apoſtolick Sentence, became very fond of that Imployment, to which his own ancient Malignity, and the Diſloyalty of the *Engliſh* Barons had prompted him; both which he was now willing to mask with the ſpecious Pretext of Juſtice and Devotion. Under which Colours he ſummon'd all his Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights and Soldiers to appear at *Roven* upon pain of the higheſt Puniſhments; ſo that in a ſhort Time he had a mighty Army at that City, as well as a powerful Navy at the Mouth of the River *Seyne*. A Preparation ſo formidable could not be long hidden from King *John*, who meeting with an Oppoſition both domeſtick and foreign, redoubled his Care, and immediately commanded all his Officers both for Sea and Land, under the ſevereſt Penalties, to prepare both a Navy and an Army ſufficient to give a check to ſuch a powerful Invaſion. By which Means ſuch infinite Multitudes throng'd to *Dover*, and other Harbours, that the Commanders, for want of Proviſions, diſmiſſing the reſt, encamp'd at *Barham-Downs* only with ſixty thouſand ſelect and valiant Men; who, as our Author obſerves, had they been hearty and unanimous, no Prince in the World could have withſtood the King of *England*; ſo well appointed were his Forces by Land, and ſo well prepared were his Fleets by Sea. But the great Misfortune was, That the Clergy were incens'd againſt him by reaſon of the Interdict, and the Power he exercis'd over them; and the Laity no leſs, for his Taxes, and Arbitrary Proceedings. A. D. 1213. Reg. 14/15. *who prepares to obtain it.*

M. Paris. Wendov. &c. While both Shores of the Sea were overſpread with the Armies of the two great Kings, the one waiting for the Enemy, and the other for fair Winds and more Forces, *Pandolf* the Pope's Legate, obtaining a ſafe Conduct from King *John*, arriv'd at *Dover* to put thoſe ſecret Inſtructions in execution, which his Maſter had expreſly preſcrib'd. He there repreſented to the uneaſie King *the great Miſchiefs he was to expect from that vaſt Fleet and Army the King of* France *had compleatly furniſh'd for the entire Conqueſt of his Kingdom; in which all the Biſhops, Clergy and others, unjuſtly baniſh'd the Land, were reſolv'd to come over; and which was ſtill more dangerous, the* French *King had receiv'd Charters and Aſſurances from moſt of the great Men of* England, *that they were ready to become his Subjects: Therefore his only Security remaining was penitently to ſubmit to the Apoſtolick See, under which Shelter, he might be ſafe from this impending Storm.* Theſe Straits and Difficulties were undoubtedly very dreadful to a diſhearten'd Prince, who ſaw ſo many mortal Enemies abroad to attack him, and ſo few faithful Friends at Home to defend him; which drove him into this melancholy Apprehenſion, that his wavering Nobility would either abandon him in the Field, or betray him to the Sword of his Enemies. Thus thinking it better to yield to the Times, with an Aſſurance of his Crown and the Pope's Favour, than deſperately to hazard the Loſs of all, he reſolv'd to redeem his Safety on ſuch Conditions as Neceſſity and the Pope now laid upon him; and at length with a bleeding Heart, and a Flood of Tears, he ſubmitted to the Form of Peace as it was ready drawn up by the Pope, in which he took a ſolemn Oath, 'To obey the Commands of his Holi- 'neſs in all Things for which he had been excommunicated, and to make full 'Reſtitution, for all Things which had been taken from the Clergy or Laity 'by reaſon of the Interdict or depending Conteſt, for which he was to lay down 'eight

King John *agrees to the Pope's Propoſitions.*

'eight thouſand Pounds in part; and to pardon and receive into Favour not 'only the proſcribed Biſhops, but alſo the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, and 'all other Clerks or Laicks concern'd in it. That he would confirm theſe 'Things by his Letters Patents, and cauſe as many Biſhops and Barons, as 'ſhould be choſen by the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops, to ſwear, and give their 'Letters Patents for the Security of the Peace. And that if he, or any other 'by his Order ſhould violate this Agreement, then thoſe Biſhops or Barons, on 'behalf of the Church, ſhould adhere to the Pope's Commands againſt them, 'and that he would for ever loſe the Cuſtody of vacant Churches. Next that 'he would ſend all theſe Letters of Security, for the Performance of all, to the 'Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops before their Return into *England*. Finally that he 'would utterly diſclaim his Right to out-law any Clergy-Man, or any Lay-Man, 'ſo far as it related to this Matter.

As the King ſwore to obey the Commands of the Pope in all Things relating to this Conteſt, ſo he ſoon found with a more afflicting Dejection of Mind what theſe Commands were; for his Crimes were accounted ſo great againſt God and the Church, that there could be no Expiation without a Reſignation of his Crown. Accordingly two Days after, which was the Period of the Hermit's Prophecy, King *John* at *Dover*, by the Commands of the Pope preordain'd at *Rome*, taking off his Crown from his Head, humbly ſurrender'd it into the Pope's Hands by his Attorney *Pandolf*; at whoſe Feet he alſo laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword, Ring, and all the Royal Enſigns. After which he ſubſcrib'd to another Charter, Whereby he reſign'd his Kingdoms to the Pope, profeſſing he did it *neither out of Fear, or Conſtraint, but of his own free Will, and in the Common Council of his Barons, as having no other Way to make Satisfaction to God and the Church for his Offence; and that thenceforward he would hold his Crown as a Feudatary of the Church of* Rome *paying an annual Penſion of a Thouſand Marks for both the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland. *And if he or any of his Succeſſors deny'd Submiſſion, without Repentance, he ſhould forfeit his Right to the Kingdom.* Whereupon the King in the Preſence of all did Homage to the Pope, as his ſupreme Lord, repreſented by *Pandolf*, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and abject Manner; and delivering ſome Mony as an earneſt of his Subjection, the Legate proudly trod it under his Feet, to manifeſt his Maſter's Greatneſs. That theſe Things were tranſacted in the Preſence of ſome Peers, who gave no Conſent to them, appears by *Henry* Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, the chief Man in that Aſſembly, who both inwardly griev'd at it, and openly diſclaim'd againſt it.

M. Paris. &c.

He reſigns his Dominions to the Pope.

V. King *John* had now debas'd himſelf to a lower Degree than any King before him, which render'd him the Object of the Nation's Contempt, as well as Hatred: And while he was parting with his Crown to the Pope, King *Philip* was buſily preparing his Head to wear it, and his Fleets and Armies to win it. Upon which the Legate, after five Days Poſſeſſion, re-deliver'd the Crown, but not releas'd the Cenſures 'till all Conditions were perform'd, and then haſtned into *France*; where he immediately exhorted King *Philip* to disband his Forces and deſiſt from the deſign'd Expedition againſt King *John*, *who was now an obedient and reconcil'd Son to the Church.* King *Philip*, who like the Pope regarded *John*'s Kingdom more than his Repentance, was highly incens'd at this Propoſal, alleging, *That he had already expended more than ſixty thouſand Pounds in his Preparations, and had undertaken the Enterprize by the ſpecial Commands of his Holineſs, and for the Remiſſion of his Sins; therefore no new Cenſures ſhould deter him from his Deſigns.* In which Reſolution calling a Council of his Nobles and Feudataries, all join'd with him except *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*, who freely declar'd *That the Expedition was both unjuſt and impracticable, and that the King ought rather to think of reſtoring the tranſmarine Countries he unjuſtly detain'd, than of invading a Country to which*

M. Paris.

The Pope diſſuades the French *King from his Expedition.*

which he had no Right at all; and therefore he abſolutely refus'd his Aſſiſtance. This occaſion'd the *French* King to direct the Courſe of his Arms, firſt againſt this Earl, to prevent future Inconveniencies from him; and accordingly commanded his grand Fleet to ſail towards *Flanders*; whilſt he by Land endeavour'd to ſubdue that Country. King *John* having Intelligence of his Friend's Diſtreſs, immediately ſent out his Navy under the Conduct of three brave Commanders, his natural Brother the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Holland*, and the Earl of *Bulloign*; who happily ſurprizing the *French* Fleet at the Port of *Damme*, took three hundred of them loaden with Proviſions, Arms and other valuable Things, and burnt and ſunk above a hundred more; ſo that the *French* King was ſo greatly diſappointed, that he ſhortly after return'd to *Paris*.

His Fleet is worſted at Sea by the Engliſh.

M. Paris. King *John* ſwoln with this Succeſs, was now elevated with the Hopes of regaining all his loſt Countries, and the more becauſe he had the Promiſe of Aſſiſtance both from the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*; and to this End he gather'd a powerful Army to *Portſmouth*. But in the midſt of this hopeful Proſpect, he met with his uſual Diſappointment; for being ready to take Shipping, the great Men and Barons directly deny'd their Attendance, *unleſs he was firſt abſolv'd from his Excommunication*; which had been deferr'd 'till the Arrival of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Upon which the King immediately ſent over an honourable Embaſſie, and Letters of ſafe Conduct to the Arch-Biſhop and the reſt of the Exiles, to return and receive Satisfaction according to the Articles with the Legate. Accordingly the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln* and *Hereford*, with the other Clerks and Laicks then in Baniſhment by reaſon of the Interdict, arriv'd at *Dover* on the ſixteenth Day of *July*, and went to wait on the King at *Wincheſter*; who hearing of their Coming, went forth to meet them, and throwing himſelf at the Feet of the Biſhops, with a Flood of Tears beſeech'd them *to have pity on him and the Kingdom of* England. Upon which, ſeeing his great Humility, they lifted him from the Ground, and with Tears likewiſe led him to the Chapter-Houſe at *Wincheſter*, where before he was abſolv'd, he took an Oath, '*That* '*he would to the utmoſt of his Power love, defend and maintain the Holy* '*Church*; *That he would re-eſtabliſh the good Laws of his Anceſtors, eſpeci-* '*ally thoſe of King* Edward, *and deſtroy ſuch as were wicked*; *That he would* '*judge all his Subjects according to the juſt Judgment of his Court, and re-* '*ſtore to every Man his Right*. He alſo ſwore, *That he would make full Sa-* '*tisfaction to all concern'd in the Interdict, for what had been taken from* '*them, and that before next* Eaſter; or elſe his Sentence of Excommunication was to be renew'd. Moreover he ſwore Fealty and Obedience '*to Pope* Inno-' cent, *and his Catholick Succeſſors, as it was contain'd in his late Charter*. Then the Arch-Biſhop, abſolving him, carry'd him into the Church, and there celebrated Maſs; from whence the Prelate went and din'd at the ſame Table with the King, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the People.

King John *abſolv'd from his Excommunication.*

Ibid. The King now began to entertain freſh Hopes of Succeſs abroad, and accordingly repair'd again to *Portſmouth* in order to paſs into *France*; but as ill Fortune generally attended him, ſo he was again diſappointed by his great Men, Knights, and ſuch as held by Military Tenure, who complain'd *That they had attended ſo long for this Expedition, that all their Mony was ſpent; and unleſs he would furniſh them out of his own Treaſury, they could not go with him*. The King refuſing this, took Shipping himſelf with his private Family, and after three Days arriv'd at *Jerſey*, while his Lords and great Men return'd home; ſo that ſeeing himſelf deſerted, he ſail'd back to *England*, without any further Progreſs in this Deſign. But being highly incens'd, at his Return he rais'd a powerful Force to chaſtize them whom he accounted as Rebels to the Performance of their wonted Duty and Service; but while he was marching to reduce them, the new Arch-Biſhop ſtopp'd him at *Northampton*, declaring

He is diſappointed by his Nobility.

That to make War againſt any Perſon, without the Judgment of his Court, was a Violation of his late Oath. Upon which the King anſwer'd in a violent Tone *That he would not lay aſide the Buſineſs of his Kingdom for one Clerk, who had nothing to do with Lay-Matters*; and the next Morning march'd towards *Nottingham.* The Arch-Biſhop follow'd him, and threatned, That unleſs he immediately deſiſted, he would anathematize all thoſe, beſides himſelf, that took up Arms againſt any Man before the Relaxation of the Interdict; by which means he caus'd the King to give over proſecuting the Barons by Force, and by his Aſſiduity obtain'd a competent Day for them to anſwer in his Court.

Upon the twenty fifth Day of *Auguſt*, a Council or Synod met at *London* to compoſe all Differences between the King and the Barons; at which Time the Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, and ſeveral Barons, being aſſembled in St. *Paul*'s Church, Arch-Biſhop *Stephen*, after an Indulgence granted to Churches to chant over their publick Prayers with a low Voice, drew ſome of the chief Men aſide, and reminded them, *That when he abſolv'd the King, he caus'd him to ſwear 'That he would aboliſh all unjuſt Laws, and eſtabliſh ſuch as were good 'throughout the Kingdom:* And further inform'd them, *He had found a Charter of King* Henry *the Firſt, by which, if they thought fit, they might aſſert their ancient Liberties ſo long loſt.* Then producing the Charter it ſelf, which we have already mention'd in the firſt Year of that King's Reign, he caus'd it to be read publickly before them, where it was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction; and all ſwore in the Preſence of the Arch-Biſhop, *That upon a convenient Opportunity, They would contend even to Death it ſelf for thoſe Liberties.* On the other ſide the Arch-Biſhop promis'd them his faithful and utmoſt Aſſiſtance; and ſo the Confederacy being firmly concluded, the Conference or Parliament was diſſolved: This being the firſt League or Confederacy made by the Barons of *England* of the *Norman* Extract againſt the King, in Defence of their ancient Rights and Liberties. This was ſhortly after ſucceeded by the Death of *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Juſticiary of *England*, who had been the chief Stay and Support of the Kingdom; yet his Death was ſo pleaſing to his Soveraign, that upon the News of it he ſwore *That now at length he was King of* England, and with great Joy ſaid to ſome Lords about him, *When this Man comes to Hell let him ſalute the Arch-Biſhop* Hubert, *whom certainly he will find there.* And from this Time he took upon him a more abſolute Power of contradicting his Oaths and Contracts, and of ſetting himſelf free from the Agreement he had lately made.

The Nobility ſtand up for the Privileges of the Nation.

M. Paris.

And now finding his Nobility and others to bear hard upon him, he began to take Shelter under the Power of the See of *Rome*, whoſe Intereſt it was at preſent to vindicate all his Actions. To put an end to his Troubles, he was now viſited by a Legate from his Holineſs of a higher Form than *Pandolf*, which was *Nicolas* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, and a Cardinal, who arriv'd at *London* about *Michaelmaſs* in a ſolemn and pompous Manner. The open and profeſs'd Deſign of his Coming was to relax the Interdict, in order to which he firſt endeavour'd to reconcile the King and Prelates upon Covenants of Reſtitution; towards which, tho' the King offer'd a hundred thouſand Marks, yet the Prelates, condemning the Legate of Partiality for approving it, choſe rather to ſuffer the whole Land to groan under the Burden of the Interdict, than to recede from any Part of their covetous Demands. This gave a fair Occaſion to the Pope's Agent to diſcover to the King the more ſecret and principal Cauſe of his Embaſſie, which was for effecting a more valid and unexceptionable Conveyance of his Kingdoms to the *Roman* See; for which he alledg'd, *That the King could never be ſecure and eaſie, but under the powerful Protection of the Apoſtolick Wings.* King *John* finding himſelf ſurrounded with Difficulties, and that he had created many Enemies, at length ſervily comply'd; and having a ſolemn Aſſembly in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s, he before the great Altar,

The King ſeeks for Shelter from the Pope.

M. Paris. Wendov.

tar, in the Sight of the Clergy and Laity, renew'd his infamous Subjection of the Crown and Kingdom of *England*, with the Lordſhip or Dominion of *Ireland* to the Pope; and the King's Charter, which was formerly ſeal'd with Wax, and deliver'd to *Pandolf*, was now ſeal'd with Gold, and deliver'd to the Legate, for the Uſe of the Pope and the *Roman* Church. At the ſame Time, we are told That the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſtept forth, and in the Name of the whole Clergy and Kingdom, boldly and ſolemnly preſented at the ſame Altar his Appeal and Proteſtation againſt that Charter, as execrable to the whole World. *and confirms his Reſignation to him.*

Ibid. As the Arch-Biſhop now began to ſet himſelf againſt the Intereſt of the Pope, formerly his great Benefactor, ſo the Pope eaſily found Means to revenge himſelf, by ordering his Legate to fill up all the Vacancies in the Church, contrary to his Will and Conſent. And when he made a formal Appeal to the See of *Rome* againſt his Legate, for not only diſpoſing of all Spiritual Dignities to ſuch as were Favourites to the King, but alſo to his own *Italians*, and Kinſmen, tho' abſent, unknown, inſufficient, unworthy, yea and to ſome unborn; he could meet with no Redreſs. For the Legate had before ſent *Pandolf* to *Rome*, where he did not a little blaſt the Credit of the Arch-Biſhop with the Pope, and ſo much extoll'd the King that he affirm'd, *That he never heard of a more humble and modeſt Prince*, ſo that he obtain'd great Favour with his Holineſs: And tho' *Simon Langton*, Brother to the Arch-Biſhop, was purpoſely ſent to oppoſe *Pandolf*, yet ſince he now brought over the King's Charters, containing the Subjection and Tribute of his Kingdoms, *Simon* could not be heard in what he offer'd againſt him. *Pandolf* alſo affirm'd, *That the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops were too rigid and covetous in their exacting Reſtitution; and that they had beyond all Equity depreſs'd the King himſelf, and the Liberties of the Kingdom.* All which Allegations occaſion'd the Pope to haſten the Relaxation of the Interdict, contrary to the Deſire and Expectations of ſome Men; and the Conditions were that the King only ſhould pay forty thouſand Marks in all, and by ſeveral Portions, in lieu of all Reſtitution whatſoever. Which being agreed and eſtabliſh'd, the Legate on the twenty ninth Day of *June* publickly releas'd the Sentence of Interdict, after it had continu'd ſix Years, three Months, and fourteen Days. For this extraordinary Benefit *Te Deum* was ſolemnly ſung by the Clergy; and the whole Nation highly rejoic'd, that they were now reſtor'd to the free and publick Exerciſe of religious Duties. But as to Matters of Reſtitution, none but the rich Biſhops and ſome Abbies receiv'd any Benefit, while the poorer Monaſteries, and inferior Clergy, receiv'd no Satisfaction for all their Loſſes. A. D. 1214. Reg. 15 16. *Great Abuſes from the Pope's Legate.* *The Interdict, after ſix Years, is releas'd.*

M. Paris. Æmilius. In the mean Time King *John*, having paſs'd into *France*, was once more trying his Fortunes in that Country; and entering *Poictou*, his Succeſs was ſo great, that he ſoon ſubdu'd the greateſt Part of it, which gave great Hopes that his other Provinces would follow. From whence he preſs'd with the like Victories into *Bretaign*; but being juſt ready to give Battel to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, his ever faithleſs *Poictovins* ſuddenly forſook him, and oblig'd him to abandon his Deſign. But the greateſt Blow to his Hopes was the total Defeat of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperor, at the famous Battel of *Bovines*, where *Philip* ſtrucken from his Horſe by the Earl of *Boloign*, had there with his Life ended the Conteſt, had not a faithful Soldier cover'd him with his own Body; who thereupon recover'd his Footing, and gain'd ſuch an effectual Victory, that no Prince was for the future able to withſtand him. This melancholy News oblig'd King *John* to deſire a five Years Truce of the *French* King, by which all Things and Perſons were to remain in the ſame State as they were in at the Time of the Ratification. This being concluded, King *John* return'd into *England* on the nineteenth Day of *October*, after ſome Advantages gain'd: And this was the laſt Expedition that ever he made into Foreign Parts. *King* John's *laſt Expedition in Foreign Parts.*

VII. King *John*, tho' he had neither retriev'd his Honour, nor recover'd his Territories, now ſeem'd to have ſurmounted thoſe Difficulties, as might have made him eaſie the reſt of his Reign; but his former Carriage had laid ſuch a Foundation for Diſcontents, that inſtead of Reſt, he ſoon found himſelf plung'd into greater Troubles and Misfortunes than ever he had felt before. For about the Time of his Return, the Earls and Barons, under a Pretence of a Pilgrimage, met at St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, where after long and private Conſultations, the Charter of King *Henry* I. was produc'd, which they had lately receiv'd from the Arch-Biſhop, containing, as our Author ſays, the Laws and Liberties that King *Edward* had granted to the Holy *Engliſh* Church, and the great Men of the Kingdom, with ſome other Liberties added by King *Henry* himſelf. Here they took a ſolemn Oath at the High Altar, *That if the King refus'd to grant them their demanded Liberties, they would withdraw their Obedience, and make War upon him, 'till he ſhould by a ſeal'd Charter reconfirm them:* And further they agreed to go after *Chriſtmaſs* and demand his Confirmation of the ſaid Liberties, and in the mean Time to provide themſelves with Horſe and Arms, that no Compulſion might be wanting, if Occaſion ſo requir'd. Accordingly at the appointed Time they repair'd to the King at *London*, all in very pompous military Accoutrements, where they deſir'd, *That the Laws and Liberties of King* Edward, *with other Privileges granted to the Kingdom and Church of* England, *might be confirm'd, as they were contain'd in the Charters of* Henry *the Firſt:* Further alledging, *That at the Time of his Abſolution, he promis'd by his Oath to obſerve thoſe very Laws and Liberties.* The King ſtartled at their Demands, and dreading their Preparations, calmly deſir'd Time 'till the Cloſe of *Eaſter* to return them a poſitive Anſwer, and ſo ſatisfie them for the preſent: But the better to ſecure himſelf, he immediately caus'd all Perſons to renew their Homages, and to ſwear Allegiance to him againſt all others; and further took upon him the *Cruſado*, that he might be more ſafe under the Protection of that Badge; but ſtill without Effect. For in *Eaſter* Week, the great Men met at *Stanford*, conſiſting of moſt of the Nobility of *England*, and making up a powerful Army, in which were no leſs than two thouſand Knights, beſides other Horſe and Foot, arm'd with divers Weapons; and Arch-Biſhop *Langton* was their principal, tho' private Adviſer. At the ſame Time the King at *Oxford* expected their coming thither; but hearing of their Numbers and Preparations, he ſent ſome of his chief Courtiers to know of them *What Laws and Liberties they deſir'd.* Upon which the Confederate Earls and Barons deliver'd them a Schedule, containing principally the ancient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom; declaring, *That if the King would not immediately grant and confirm them under his Seal, they would compel him by ſeiſing his Caſtles and Poſſeſſions.* Upon the ſight of theſe, the King falling into a violent Paſſion, ask'd *Why the Barons did not with theſe Exactions demand his Kingdom?* Declaring *That they were all fooliſh and groundleſs*, and with a ſolemn Oath proteſted, *That he would never grant ſuch Liberties as would make himſelf a Slave.*

M. Paris. An. Wav.

The Nobility combine againſt him about the Charter of Liberties.

A. D. 1215. Reg. 16 17.

The King rejects their Propoſals.

The Beginning of the Barons Wars.

Thus began an unhappy War, call'd the *Barons War*, occaſion'd by the Nobilities poſitive inſiſting, and the King's obſtinate refuſing to confirm the Laws of King *Edward*, and the Liberties and Privileges of other preceding Kings, as the Author of the Annals of *Waverly* judiciouſly obſerves. To which he adds, That thoſe Laws had been much corrupted and infring'd, during this King's Father's Reign; but chiefly in his own, who had diſpoſſeſs'd ſeveral great Men without any Judgment of their Peers, condemn'd others to cruel Deaths, and violated their Wives and Daughters, inſomuch that his tyrannical Will ſtood inſtead of a Law. The Barons having defy'd the King, and renounc'd their late Homage, choſe the Lord *Fitz-Water* for their General, calling him *The Marſhal of the Army of God, and of the Holy Church*; and immediately

An. Wav. M. Paris. Wendov.

mediately march'd to *Northampton*, and beſieg'd the Caſtle fifteen Days, but without Succeſs. Upon which they rais'd the Siege, and went to *Bedford* Caſtle, where they were kindly receiv'd by the Maſter *William Beauchamp*. Here receiving ſecret Intelligence that they might now poſſeſs themſelves of the City of *London*, they immediately march'd to *Ware*, and on the twenty fourth Day of *May*, early in the Morning enter'd the City at *Algate*, by the Favour of ſome of the rich Citizens. Having obtain'd this great Advantage, they beſieg'd the Tower, and by their threatning Letters to all Oppoſers ſoon caus'd a very great Defection, in all Parts both among the Commonalty as well as the Gentry. The King for a while kept himſelf upon the Defenſive, but now ſeeing himſelf deſerted, and fearing they would ſeize his Caſtles, he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* and other faithful Meſſengers to them, to let them know *he would grant them the Laws and Liberties they deſir'd*, allowing them to appoint a Day and a Place to meet and conclude this Affair. This is ſuppos'd to have been a deceitful Meſſage on the King's Part, yet the Barons were tranſported with it, and joyfully appointed the King to meet him on the fifteenth Day of *June*, in a Meadow between *Stanes* and *Windſor* call'd *Runnemede*; which ſignifies the *Mead of Council*, becauſe from ancient Times Treaties for the Peace of the Kingdom had been often held there.

The King complies.

M. Paris. &c. In this Place the King appear'd with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops, with ſome few Lords; but on the Barons Side the Nobility were not eaſily to be number'd: So that the King finding himſelf much over-power'd, without any ſeeming Difficulty granted them the Laws and Liberties in two Charters, becauſe being ſo many, they could not be contain'd in one Schedule. The firſt and chief is call'd *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*, the *Charter of Liberty* or the *Great Charter*; and the ſecond *Charta Foreſta*, the *Charter of the Liberties of the Foreſt*. In the great Charter, among other Matters it was decreed, 'That the *Common Pleas* ſhould not follow the Court, 'but ſhould be fix'd in one certain Place: That Itinerant Juſtices ſhould be ſent 'through every County once a Year, to hold Aſſizes in each County, together 'with the Knights of the reſpective Diviſions; and ſuch Things as they could 'not determine in the proper Counties, ſhould be determin'd in ſome other 'Place in their Circuit; and if any Difficulty aroſe, ſo as they could not deter-'mine it, it ſhould be referr'd to the Juſtices of the King's Bench. That Earls 'and Barons ſhould not be amerc'd but by their Peers: That no Tax ſhould be 'rais'd without the Conſent of the Parliament, excepting only for the Redemp-'tion of the King's Perſon, if Neceſſity requir'd it, or for Knighting his eldeſt 'Son, or for the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter: In either of which three Ca-'ſes he might levy a moderate Tax by his own Authority. If on other Occa-'ſions he wanted a Subſidy, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and 'greater Barons ſhould be ſummon'd ſingly by different Writs; and all others 'in general who held of the King *in Capite*, ſhould be ſummon'd by the She-'riffs and Bailiffs, to meet at a certain Day and Place; and that the Summons 'ſhould be iſſu'd out forty Days at leaſt before the Time of Meeting; and in the 'Writ of Summons, the Cauſe of their being ſummon'd ſhould be ſpecify'd. 'And becauſe not only the King, but his great Men uſually tax'd their Sub-'jects at Pleaſure, it was alſo provided, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould tax 'his free Tenants, except only in the three fore-mention'd Caſes. The King not only ſign'd this Charter, but ſwore to it; and by the Charter it ſelf twenty five Barons were appointed to be choſen by the whole Baronage, to take care upon Oath to ſee it well obſerv'd. To any four of which all Perſons might complain of any Breach of it, and they were to admoniſh the King of it; and if the Grievance were not redreſs'd within forty Days after, then thoſe four Barons were to refer the Matter to the whole Body: For whom it was lawful, together with the *Commons* of the Land, to take Poſſeſſion of the King's Caſtles and Poſſeſſions, and to oppreſs him all manner of Ways, ſaving only his own Perſon,

Magna Charta, &c. *confirm'd by the King.*

Twenty five Perſons appointed for Security.

Perſon, and the Perſons of his Queen and Children, 'till according to their Will the Grievance was redreſs'd: And all Perſons on ſuch an Occaſion were allow'd to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Barons. And to confirm all, the King ſent his Letters Patents to all the Sheriffs of *England*, commanding them to oblige Perſons of all Conditions within their Interdictions to ſwear, That they would obſerve theſe Laws, and, if Need requires, to compel the King alſo to obſerve them.

All Things now ſeem'd to be in a quiet and ſetled Condition, and all Men rejoic'd, hoping that God had touch'd the King's Heart, and that *England* ſhould now be freed from the Servitude which had ſo long afflicted it: But all theſe Affairs in a ſhort Time prov'd contrary to Expectation; for the King's mercenary Soldiers, deſiring War more than Peace, were by their Leaders continually whiſpering in his Ears, *That he was now no longer a King, but the Scorn of other Princes; and that it was more elegible to be no King, than ſuch a one as he.* By daily adding freſh Fewel to the Flame, the King at length quite alienated his Affection from his own natural Subjects, and confided wholly in Theſe; ſo that in a little Time he became very reſerv'd and melancholy, often walking alone, and giving divers Signs of inward Rage and Diſcontent. Then giving Orders to the Governors of his Caſtles to fortifie, Man and victual them, he privately retir'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, where he began to pull off his Mask, and reſolv'd both by the Spiritual as well as Temporal Sword, to free himſelf from his Obligations. To begin with the former, he ſent *Pandolf* with others to the Pope, that he might by his Apoſtolick Authority make void what the Barons had done, and fruſtrate all their Deſigns; and for the latter, he ſent ſome Biſhops and Noblemen to all the neighbouring Nations, to procure foreign Aſſiſtance, promiſing large Poſſeſſions and Sums of Mony to ſuch as would arm themſelves in his Cauſe; and if it were needful, they might make Deeds of Gift to ſuch as were willing to come, for the greater Security of their military Stipends. For near three Months the King continu'd privately in the Iſland, without any Court or Regal Appearance, ſometimes plying about the Sea-Coaſts, and converſing only with Seamen; which gave Occaſion for ſtrange and various Reports, as that he was turn'd a Fiſherman, ſometimes a Merchant, and other Times a Pirate; tho' he only waited for the Return of his Meſſengers from *Rome*, and the Arrival of his mercenary Forces.

M. Paris, &c.

The King relapſes.

and retires to the Iſle of Wight.

At *Rome* he met with what Succeſs he could deſire, where all the Tranſactions with the Barons were fully repreſented to the Pope, and the Charter of Liberties ſhown him in writing: Which when he had carefully perus'd, he with a furious Look cry'd out, *What! do the Barons of* England *endeavour to dethrone a King, who has taken upon him the Holy Croſs, and is under the Protection of the Apoſtolick See; and would they force him to transfer the Dominions of the* Roman *Church to Others? By St.* Peter, *this Injury muſt not paſs unpuniſh'd.* Then debating the Matter with the Cardinals, he by a definitive Sentence damn'd and caſſated for ever the Charter of Liberties, and ſent the King a Bull containing that Sentence at large. As the King was ſucceſsful at *Rome*, ſo he met with fair Proſpects from his Foreign Aſſiſtance, conſiſting of very numerous Troops drawn from *Poictou*, *Gaſcony*, *Brabant*, *Flanders* and other Parts; all deſperate Adventurers, whoſe miſerable Fortunes at home, eaſily drew them to any Miſchiefs abroad. Theſe were to be rewarded with large Poſſeſſions in *England*, if they ſucceeded againſt the King's Subjects; and had not *Hugh de Boves*, at his ſetting forth from *Calice* with forty Thouſand Men, Women and Children, been by a ſudden Tempeſt all drown'd in the Sea, King *John* had made an univerſal Conqueſt of his own Kingdom, far more miſerable than that by the *Normans*.

Ibid.

Magna Charta condemn'd by the Pope.

The King begins a War upon his Subjects.

However with theſe Forces he began the Siege of *Rocheſter* Caſtle, which held out ſo long, that when he took it, he would have hang'd all the Men in it, had not *Savery de Malleon* diſſuaded him from ſuch a cruel Attempt. After which

M. Paris. W. Covent.

which he began to meet with greater Succeſs; for dividing his great Army into two Parts, with the one he march'd Northwards, where he victoriouſly ſubdu'd all Places, while the Earl of *Salisbury* with the other Foreigners did the ſame Southwards. At which Time all Things were in a deplorable State; and in the greateſt Confuſion; Fathers ſet againſt their Sons, Brother againſt Brother, Kinſmen and Allies againſt their neareſt Friends, attacking, ſurprizing, purſuing, burning, ravaging, tormenting and murdering; all the Kingdom by the Combuſtion of ſo univerſal a War, becoming like a general Shambles, or Place of infernal Deſolation. And now it appear'd ſtrange that thoſe Barons, and their adhering Impugners of the King, whoſe Pretext formerly was, that they durſt not obey the King becauſe of the Papal Curſe, being now themſelves by vertue of the ſame commanded to obey and aſſiſt him, could without any Scruple contemn both it and him, pretending *it concern'd them not, becauſe not particularly nam'd.* And the Arch-Biſhop himſelf, who had made the World believe, that the Pope's Cenſure, and his own too, were ſufficient to deprive the King of all Soveraign Command, now being in Name, and under the ſame Penalty, requir'd by the Pope to denounce the ſame againſt the King's Oppoſers, he without any regard to it told the Meſſengers, *He would not do it for any Cauſe whatſoever, 'till he had conferr'd with his Holineſs in Perſon.* For which Contempt, *Pandolf* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſolemnly denouncing the Curſe themſelves againſt the Barons, did likewiſe ſuſpend him from all Epiſcopal Authority. Shortly after the Arch-Biſhop was oblig'd to appear at *Rome* in a grand Council, where the Pope excommunicated all, either *French* or *Engliſh*, who oppos'd King *John*; and here he was accus'd and convict of Treaſon againſt the King, and of Contempt againſt the Pope and Church's Cenſures. For which the Pope fully reſolving to depoſe him from his See and Dignity, by the Cardinals earneſt Interceſſion for him, he was intreated to uſe him ſomewhat milder; but yet by a publick Sentence he confirm'd his Suſpenſion, and commanded by his Letters all Suffragan Biſhops to withdraw their Obedience from him. And for a further Revenge, whereas *Simon Langton*, his Brother, had by his Procurement been elected into the See of *York*, the Pope not only vacated his Election, and made him incapable of any Epiſcopal Dignity, but alſo plac'd in that See *Walter Gray*, a true Friend to King *John*, and a profeſs'd Enemy to the Family of the *Langtons*.

The Pope joins with him.

M. Paris. Caxtonſhal. To ſecure the *Roman* Power, not long after the Pope proceeded to excommunicate all the diſloyal Barons by Name, and interdicted all their Lands, together with the City of *London*, where they had their chief Reſidence: Which tho' it gave a dangerous Blow to their Faction, yet ſtill ſtanding upon their Guard at *London*, they ſo little regarded theſe Cenſures, that they decreed That neither themſelves nor the Citizens ſhould obſerve them, nor the Prelates denounce them, alledging *That they were obtain'd by falſe Suggeſtions, and therefore not valid; That it did not belong to the Pope to direct and govern in Lay-Matters, ſince St.* Peter *only receiv'd an Eccleſiaſtical Power from our Saviour: Why therefore ſhould they be govern'd by the Avarice and Ambition of the* Roman *Biſhops? Who are rather the Succeſſors of* Conſtantine; *without reſembling St.* Peter *either in their Piety or Authority.* While they were thus complaining, and daily declining, King *John* rang'd through all Parts with his cruel Mercenaries, who, as *M. Paris* aſſures us, ſpar'd neither Age nor Sex, ſuffering none to eſcape their Barbarities: And he further relates, That they took Prieſts from the very Altar, with the conſecrated Hoſts in their Hands, and then wounded, tortur'd and robb'd them; and that to extort Mony from Perſons of all Conditions, they hang'd ſome by the Privities, others by the Legs and Feet, ſome by their Arms, Hands or Thumbs, injecting Salt and Vinegar into their Eyes; and others they laid upon Trivets and Grid-irons over burning Coals, and then put their parch'd Bodies under Ice to cool them: So that now all Commerce ceas'd, and no Markets were held but in Cœmitaries and Church-Yards.

A. D. 1216. Reg. 17 18.

Great Cruelties by the King's Army of Mercenaries.

The

The Barons finding their Eſtates given to Strangers, their Wives and Daughters violated, and their Fortunes ruin'd, began now to curſe the Pope, who had formerly moſt ſhamefully encourag'd them to withſtand their Soveraign; and to recover all, they reſolv'd upon a deſperate Project, agreeable to their former Actions, which was to deliver the Kingdom of *England* into the Hands of *Lewis* the *Dauphine* of *France*. Accordingly they ſent ſome of their chief Friends to *France* with their Letters of Allegiance, to implore King *Philip*'s Favour for ſending his Son, and his Son's, for the Acceptance of the Crown; and upon the Delivery of twenty five *Engliſh* Hoſtages, they receiv'd a preſent Supply of *French* Soldiers, with the Promiſe of the ſpeedy Arrival of their new Soveraign. The Pope having Intelligence of the Deſigns of the *French* King, immediately ſent his Legate Cardinal *Wallo* with his Apoſtolick Commands to King *Philip to prevent his Son from entring St.* Peter's *Patrimony*, denouncing the great Curſe againſt all Men combining with the excommunicated Barons. To which *Philip* return'd anſwer, *That* England *was no Patrimony of St.* Peter's, *for* John *having been convict of Treaſon againſt his Brother* Richard, *was never a lawful King; or if he were ſuch, he now ſtood condemn'd for the Death of his Nephew* Arthur: *That no King could diſpoſe of his Kingdom without the Aſſent of the Barons, who are bound to defend it; and if the Pope would inſiſt upon this Error, it would prove a pernicious Example to all Civil States.* Then all the great Men of *France* unanimouſly declar'd, *They would maintain this Point even to Death, That no King or Potentate, by his ſingle Authority, had power to give away, or transfer his Kingdom, and thereby enſlave his Nobility.* At the ſame Time *Lewis* begg'd of his Father, *Not to hinder him of that which he had not given him, and for which he was reſolv'd to ſpend his Blood; and would ſooner chuſe Excommunication, than falſifie his Promiſe to the* Engliſh *Barons.*

M. Paris, &c.

The Barons ſend for the Dauphine *of* France

The Pope oppoſes the Deſign in vain.

With this ſlender Reſpect and Scorn to his Holineſs, the Legate ſeeing ſuch ſtern Looks, and fearing ſome Miſchief retir'd in haſte; and *Lewis* as ſpeedily ſet forwards for *England*, with his Fleet of ſix hundred Ships and eighty Boats, with which arriving firſt at the Iſle of *Thanet*, and afterwards at *Sandwich*, the Barons came thither and join'd with him. Whereupon thinking it Wiſdom firſt to arm himſelf againſt Spiritual Weapons, he immediately wrot a plauſible Letter to *Alexander* Abbot of *Canterbury*, who was to denounce the Pope's Curſe againſt him, 'in which he laid before him his Title to the Crown which 'John had forfeited; Firſt by Treaſon in King *Richard*'s Reign; Secondly be-'cauſe his attaining the Crown was by pure Election: Thirdly becauſe he was 'ſolemnly condemn'd by the *French* Peers for the Death of Duke *Arthur*: 'Fourthly for violating his Oath in enthralling the Kingdom to the Pope, in 'wronging the Clergy, and oppreſſing the Laity. That therefore the Right was 'devolv'd to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*; Firſt by Inheritance of his Wife, who was 'Niece to King *John*, and Secondly by the Election of the Nobility. Theſe ſpecious Pretences had no Effect upon *Alexander*, who forthwith denounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lewis* and his mighty Army, and cloſely adhered to his Soveraign, notwithſtanding all the Threats and Promiſes us'd by *Lewis* to win him to his Side.

M. Paris.

The Dauphine *comes into* England.

His Pretenſions.

In the mean Time King *John* lay at *Dover* with his Army, which conſiſting of Strangers, he durſt not attempt to hinder the Landing of the *French*, leſt his Men ſhould deſert to *Lewis*; from whence he went to *Guilford*, and ſo on to *Wincheſter*; whilſt *Lewis* himſelf, finding no Army to oppoſe him, in a ſhort Time ſubdu'd *Rocheſter*, and all the Country, except *Dover* Caſtle. Then coming up to *London*, he was met by the Barons with all the outward Demonſtrations of Joy and Triumph, receiving at the ſame Time Homages from them and the Citizens; and he likewiſe ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts *That he would reſtore to all of them all good Laws, and their loſt Inheritances.* At the ſame Time he made *Simon Langton* his Chancellor, who being inrag'd at the

M. Paris, &c.

He arrives at London,

the Pope's hindering him of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, did now perſuade Prince *Lewis* with all the Barons and Citizens to be preſent at Divine Service, notwithſtanding the Interdict, and *Wallo*'s excommunicating both *Lewis* and him by Name: So that when once the Clergy and People became unanimous, the Pope's Cenſures were of little or no Effect. *Lewis*'s Homagers daily increaſing, he left *London*, and in no long Time made himſelf Maſter of moſt of *Kent*, *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*, with almoſt all the Southern Parts of *England*; but not without Reſiſtance in ſeveral Places: Particularly at *Odiam* Caſtle, where but thirteen *Engliſh* Men, not only oppos'd *Lewis* and his whole Army for fifteen Days, but alſo ſallying out took every Man his Priſoner, and at length with great Admiration of the *French*, and honourable Conditions ſurrender'd the Caſtle. In the Time of theſe Hoſtilities *Alexander* King of the *Scots* came to wait upon *Lewis* at *Dover*, and did him Homage for the Lands he held in *England*; and on the other Side He, as well as the Barons, ſwore, *That they would never make Peace with King* John, *without the King of the* Scots *Conſent*. *Dover*, with a few other Caſtles only now ſtood out; where while *Lewis* us'd incredible Toil and Expence in a furious but ineffectual Siege, and his Confederates were employ'd in the ſame manner at *Windſor*; King *John* and his mighty Army, breaking forth with a ſudden Violence, like a furious Tempeſt over-run many Counties, to the Ruin and Deſtruction of the Barons Caſtles, Houſes, Lands and Poſſeſſions in all Parts.

and is very ſucceſsful.

M. Paris. Wendov. The Barons were now under great Troubles and Afflictions, to ſee their native Country by their own Wilfulneſs thus horribly ravag'd, and their Goods and Eſtates plunder'd and ruin'd by the King's Forces; and what added to their Grief was to find that their faithful Services, in this their faithleſs Adherence, not ſo reſpected by *Lewis*, as he and their own vain Hopes had promis'd them, whilſt he conferr'd upon his own *French* Men only all thoſe Territories and Caſtles he conquer'd. But their greateſt Affliction was what they accidentally learnt from the Viſcount *de Melun*, a *French* Nobleman, who being in his laſt Sickneſs at *London*, generouſly ſent to thoſe Barons that were there for the Security of the City, and declar'd to them *That he was extreamly griev'd for the impending Ruin that was falling upon them, of which they had no Knowledge; Particularly That Prince* Lewis *with ſixteen Earls and Barons of* France *had ſworn, That when he had conquer'd* England, *and was crown'd, he would for ever baniſh all Thoſe who fought for him againſt King* John, *as Traitors to the Realm, and deſtroy their Poſterity; and that they might not doubt the Truth of it, he affirm'd it upon the Word of a dying Man, and as he hop'd for Salvation, that he was one of theſe who had taken that Oath; yet he deſir'd them to be ſecret, and provide for their Safety as well as they could*; preſently after which he expired. This being whiſper'd among the Nobility, prov'd a terrible Alarm to them, both as to their Security and their Conſciences; eſpecially when they found themſelves thus ſtigmatiz'd with the odious Character of *Traitors* by a foreign Prince, and under the Sentence of Excommunication from the Apoſtolick Authority. Some of theſe reflecting upon their miſerable Condition, thought of returning to their old Obedience; but others were afraid they had ſo highly provok'd the King, that he would never accept of their Return; yet no leſs than forty of the Barons took a Reſolution to quit Prince *Lewis*, and ſent their humble Submiſſion of Obedience to him a little before his Death.

Several of the Barons relent.

M. Paris. &c. In the mean Time the unfortunate King kept himſelf in perpetual Motion and Action, ſometimes in the Weſt, and other Times in the Eaſt and North; whilſt *Lyn* in *Norfolk* ſerv'd as a Place of Retreat or Defence for all the King's Friends in thoſe Parts, and there he alſo ſecur'd his Treaſure, Crown, and all his portable *Regalia*. After many Motions and Traverſes, eſpecially in *Lincolnſhire*, in *October* he arriv'd at *Lyn*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy and many Preſents; in return of which he granted the Town large Immunities, and a

Mayor, and gave his own Sword to be carry'd before him, with a Silver Cup gilt, which are ſtill to be ſeen. Shortly after the King paſſing from thence to *Lincolnſhire*, and marching over the great *Marſh* between *Norfolk* and that County, he and his whole Army were in Danger of being loſt by the Quick-ſands and Flowing in of the Tide; but all his Wagons, Carts, Sumpter Horſes, with their Lading, and all his Treaſure, precious Veſſels, ſacred Relicks, and his *Regalia* were ſwallow'd up in the Mouth of the River *Welland*; which *M. Paris* Hyperbolically deſcribes by the Earth opening in the midſt of the Floods, and plunging them into the Abyſs. The King got ſafe that Night to *Swines-head* Abby, and there lodg'd; but through exceſſive Grief for the Loſs of his Carriages and Treaſure, he fell into a Feaver, which he heighten'd by eating Peaches, and drinking new Ale or Bracket. The next Morning he remov'd from thence, but not being able to ride, he was carry'd in a Litter to *Sleaford* Caſtle; from whence he proceeded in the like Manner as far as *Newark*, where finding his Feaver increaſing, and a Flux beginning, he by his Teſtament appointed *Henry* his eldeſt Son, then a Child, to ſucceed him, devoutly confeſs'd his Sins, forgave his Enemies, and receiv'd the Euchariſt; and after three Days Continuance in that Place, he dy'd on the eighteenth of *October*, and fifty firſt Year of his Age, after a troubleſome and unfortunate Reign of ſeventeen Years, ſeven Months and thirteen Days. His Body, according to his Order, was bury'd in the Cathedral Church at *Worceſter*, but with little Funeral Pomp; and his Tomb, with his Image upon it, is ſtill to be ſeen in the Choir of that Church.

The King loſes his Baggage in the Sea.

He dies with Grief.

This is the moſt authentick Account of the Death of this unfortunate Prince; but as to the vulgar Story of his being poiſon'd by a Monk in *Swines-head* Abby, that is no where mention'd by the ancient Writers, and ſo differently by thoſe more modern, and with ſuch improbable Circumſtances, that we cannot think it worthy to trouble the Reader with it. His chief Misfortunes were the natural Puniſhments of his Crimes, particularly his Ingratitude and Treaſon againſt his Father, and his treacherous as well as traiterous Practices againſt his Brother, which purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that he was not only chaſtis'd by diſloyal Subjects, and an ambitious Pope, but alſo loſt more Territories in a few Years than all his Succeſſors ever did in thrice that Space of Time. He indeed met with extraordinary Hardſhips, both from abroad and at home; and theſe often put him upon exorbitant and illegal Practices, which ſtill added to his own and the Nation's Misfortunes. Yet if he had met with a leſs uſurping Pope, a leſs potent King, and a leſs turbulent Nobility to have manag'd, and alſo leſs envenom'd Writers to have tranſmitted his Story, he might have made a Figure of no ſmall Renown in the World. His Nature and Fortune did never well agree; for he naturally lov'd Eaſe, yet his Fortune was ever to be in Action: He was faithleſs, cruel and violent; neither fit for Proſperity nor Adverſity, for the one made him inſolent and the other dejected; ſo that a middle Fortune would have beſt ſuited with his Temper. He was extreamly greedy of Mony, which tho' it was got with great Noiſe, was uſually ſpent in Silence; and was very intemperate in his Pleaſures, in his Luſts exceeding his Father, and not ſparing the Wives of the greateſt Noblemen. He was extreamly variable, ſometimes very religious, as appears by his founding ſeveral Monaſteries, and other Acts of Devotion; and at other Times ſcarce a Chriſtian, as appears from ſo many profane Sayings related of him. And indeed the Monks have blacken'd his Memory with ſeveral ſtrange Stories; as that he counterfeited the Biſhop's Seals, and writ abroad That all *Engliſhmen* were become Infidels and Apoſtates, and therefore ſuch ſhould come to ſubdue them, and take their Poſſeſſions; and at another Time That he offer'd his Kingdom to a *Mooriſh* King, and promis'd to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion: Of which theſe and ſeveral others are juſtly ſuſpected by all judicious Writers.

His Character.

This

This King by his great and arbitrary Taxes was a ſevere Oppreſſor, yet in ſeveral Reſpects he was no bad Governor: For he was the firſt or chiefeſt who appointed thoſe excellent Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and moſt Cities and Incorporate Towns in *England*, and endow'd them with the greateſt Immunities; the Firſt who caus'd Sterling Mony to be here coin'd; the Firſt who ordain'd the honourable Ceremonies in the Creation of Earls; the Firſt who ſetled the Rates and Meaſures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and ſuch like Neceſſaries; the Firſt who gave to the Cinque Ports the Privileges and Cuſtoms they now enjoy; and the Firſt who planted *Engliſh* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*, enlarging the Royal Stile with *Lord* of that Country, making by this ſome Amends for his Loſſes in *France*. In this Reign we find the Prices of ſeveral Commodites; particularly that Wheat at the higheſt was once ſix Shillings the Quarter, and eighteen Pence at the loweſt Rate. The Price of Wines was once fix'd thus; *Rochell* Wine at twenty Shillings the Tun, the Wine of *Anjou* at twenty four Shillings the Tun; and no other *French* Wines at above twenty five Shillings the Tun, unleſs it was ſome of extraordinary Goodneſs, which might be ſold at twenty ſix Shillings and eight Pence the Tun.

His Government.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Third.*

Containing 56 Years, 1 Month, and 4 Days.

M. Paris. &c.

I. THE unexpected Deceaſe of King *John* prov'd of ſingular Advantage to young Prince *Henry* his Son, to whom the Affections of moſt of the Nobility, Clergy and People were inclin'd, both upon the Account of the dying Words of the Viſcount *Melun*, and alſo the preſent Inſolence of the *French*. Therefore as ſoon as the Earls, Biſhops and Barons, who remain'd firm to the late King, could conveniently meet, they all at the Summons of the Earl-Marſhal aſſembled at *Gloceſter*, whither the Earl brought Prince *Henry*, then not ten Years of Age; and having plac'd him in the midſt, he made a Speech to the Aſſembly, beginning with *Behold our King!* and after a ſhort Pauſe thus proceeded, *Altho' we have perſecuted the Father of this Child, and that perhaps juſtly, for his male Adminiſtration, yet ſince his Son is innocent of his Father's Crimes, and ſince, according to the Scriptures, 'the 'Son ought not to bear the Iniquity of the Father, we muſt have pity upon the tender Years of this innocent Prince. And foraſmuch as he is the King's eldeſt Son, and ought to be our Lord and Succeſſor in the Kingdom, let us unanimouſly appoint him our King and Governor; and expel* Lewis *and his Followers, and ſo take away the Reproach of our Nation by breaking the Yoke of that unjuſt Servitude.* This Propoſal was at firſt oppos'd by the Earl of *Gloceſter*, but in a ſhort Time all agreed as if they had been divinely inſpir'd, crying, *Let him, let him be made King!* and immediately appointed the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude* for his Coronation. At which Time, being eight Days after King *John*'s Death, *Wallo* the Pope's Legate, ſeveral Earls, Biſhops, Barons, Abbots and Priors, with a great Multitude of others, aſſembled at *Gloceſter* to advance Prince *Henry* to the Crown of *England*; tho' he was not the neareſt Heir, for *Eleanor*, Siſter to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, was ſtill alive, but kept cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*. All Things being ready for the Solemnity, *Wallo* with the reſt brought him in Proceſſion into the Cathedral Church, and placing him before the high Altar, laying his Hands upon the Holy

A. D. 1216. Reg. 1.

The Earl-Marſhal ſummons the Nobility.

Young Henry *crown'd at* Gloceſter.

Holy Goſpels and Relicks of Saints, he ſwore this ſolemn Oath, '*That he* '*would honour God, and yield Peace and Reverence to the Holy Church, and* '*all its Clerks, all the Days of his Life; That he would adminiſter true Ju-* '*ſtice to the People; That he would aboliſh all bad Laws and ill Cuſtoms, if* '*any were in the Kingdom, and would obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerv'd all ſuch* '*as were good.* Then being over-aw'd he did Homage to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and faithfully engag'd *to pay the thouſand Marks yearly to the See of* Rome, *which his Father King* John *had granted to it.* After which the two Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Bath*, anointed and crown'd him King, with the uſual Solemnities; only for want of a Crown, which King *John* had loſt in the Sea, he was crown'd with a plain Circle, or Chaplet of Gold.

The Speedineſs of this Royal Ceremony was not greater than the Neceſſities of the State requir'd; for his Enemy Prince *Lewis* had ſtill *London* at his Devotion, and many potent Earls, Barons, and valiant Male-contents, ſubject to his Command, who had taken a ſolemn Oath *Never to acknowledge any of the Sons of the late King* John. The young King on the other Side was ſurrounded with many Difficulties, as want of Years, want of Mony, and many others; to prevent which the great Earl-Marſhal of *Pembroke* was by the unanimous Conſent of Prelates and Peers made Guardian of the King's Perſon, and Vice-Governor of the Kingdom. Upon which, Letters were iſſu'd out in the King's Name to all ſuch as had Command in the Republick, with many Promiſes of Reward and Favour, which in moſt Places were obey'd; the Prejudices againſt the late King being in a great Meaſure bury'd with him in the Grave: And they were much incourag'd when they ſaw that Prince *Lewis* and all his Party were every *Sunday* and Holy-Day declar'd Excommunicated by the Pope's Legate. Prince *Lewis*, who had beſieg'd the valiant *Hubert de Burgo* in *Dover* Caſtle, perceiving that King *John*'s Death was no ways advantagious to him, rais'd the Siege, and enter'd *London*, where he might beſt provide for his declining Condition. Having the Tower deliver'd into his Hands, he remov'd and inveſted *Hertford* Caſtle, which after the Slaughter of many of the *French*, ſurrender'd upon honourable Terms. *Robert Fitz-Water* claim'd the Cuſtody of this Place, as belonging to him by ancient Right; upon which the *Frenchmen* declar'd, *That thoſe* Engliſh *were never to be truſted, who had been Traitors to their own Maſter*; yet Prince *Lewis* gave him a dilatory Promiſe, *That when he had totally ſubdu'd the Kingdom, every Man ſhould have his Rights reſtor'd.* The Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, under *Waleran* a *German* Commander, deſpairing of Relief, was likewiſe ſurrender'd, which like other Places was fill'd with a *French* Garriſon; which rais'd great Jealouſies, and much weaken'd the Affections of thoſe who had invited him into the Nation. His next March was to St. *Albans*, where he requir'd the Abbot to do him Homage, which he abſolutely refus'd, *Unleſs he was firſt releas'd from the Homage to King* Henry; which Anſwer inraging the Prince, the Abbot was conſtrain'd to compound for eighty Marks of Silver, to ſpare the noble Monaſtery and Town, 'till *Candlemaſs* next.

M. Paris.

The Earl-Marſhal made Governor to the King.

The Dauphine's *Endeavours.*

A. D. 1217. Reg. 1/2. But theſe inteſtine Cauſes, for which the Barons had call'd in *Lewis*, failing by the Death of King *John*, and the Inſolence and Vanity of the *French* occaſioning new Reaſons of Averſion, were all ſtrong Motives to diſpoſe the Minds of the *Engliſh* to return to due Obedience; yet finding themſelves bound in Honour, not to leave him to the Mercy of King *Henry*, when upon their Oaths and Hoſtages he had thrown himſelf upon them, they now deſir'd his Abſence, but not his Deſtruction. The better to effect their Deſigns, a Ceſſation from Hoſtilities was propounded and concluded between the King and Prince *Lewis*; to which the latter readily inclin'd, becauſe he had Intelligence from *Rome* that the Curſe which *Wallo* had denounc'd againſt him, would ſhortly be confirm'd by the Pope, unleſs he ſpeedily left *England*. As this Truce gave

M. Paris. Annal.

A ſhort Ceſſation of Arms.

Lewis

Lewis liberty to ſail back to *France* for new Supplies from his Father, who much deſir'd to confer with him; ſo his Abſence gave Opportunity to the *Engliſh* to conſult more freely concerning their Safety; that from that Time, *Lewis* was never ſo deep in their Affections, and immediately loſt many Lords and others, who again ſhew'd themſelves true *Engliſhmen*.

M. Paris. W. Coven. Prince *Lewis* upon his ſpeedy Return out of *France*, reſolving to make as ſpeedy a Diſpatch, ſent out of *London* his Army of more than twenty thouſand Men, deſigning not only to relieve *Mont-Sorrel* in *Leiceſterſhire*, beſieg'd by the King's Forces, but alſo to ſubdue the adjacent Country. The March of his Army, which after the Relief of *Mont-Sorrel* went as far as *Lincoln*, was very odious and grievous to the Country, conſiſting of the Scum and vileſt of the *French*, who wanting Cloaths for themſelves, caus'd many to go naked to ſupply their Wants, and put others to cruel Tortures to force them to exceſſive Ranſoms. The Earl of *Pembroke*, Governor of the King, by the Advice of *Wallo* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, reſolving to put the Cauſe upon God and the Fortune of the Field, repair'd with his Charge to *Newark*, where the general Aſſembly for that Service was appointed. The whole Army reſted there for ſome Days, which they ſpent in Devotions and receiving the Euchariſt, humbling themſelves before the offended Majeſty of Heav'n; and all being prepar'd, now reſolv'd either to return victorious, or to die in Defence of their Country, their Soveraign's Rights, and their own Liberties, all which ſeem'd to lye at ſtake. To give them the greater Spirit and Vigor, *Wallo* with extraordinary Solemnity execrated *Lewis* and all his Coadjutors; and thus the Army march'd towards *Lincoln*, where *Lewis*'s Forces had beſieg'd the Caſtle; but the King himſelf was left eight Miles from the City, at *Stow*, with *Wallo* and a ſtrong Guard, there without peril of his Perſon to attend God's Pleaſure in the Event of this Action.

The Dauphine's Army does much Damage.

M. Paris. Upon their Approach, if the Advice of ſome had been follow'd, the *French* Army had iſſu'd out of the City, and given them Battel in the open Field; but the *French* General, the Earl of *Perch*, thinking the King's Army to be greater than it was, by reaſon the Enſigns were doubled, and ſo much added to the Appearance, oppos'd that Deſign, ſhut up the City Gates, and us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to gain the Caſtle. Upon which the Governor of the Caſtle let in *Faukes de Brent*, with a conſiderable Force through a Poſtern Gate; while the Earl of *Pembroke* with the reſt of the Army ſtorm'd the City in another Place, where couragiouſly entring, thoſe in the Caſtle ſally'd out upon the Flank of the Enemy, and together with the other with great Slaughter diſpers'd and defeated the *French* Party. The Earl of *Perch* being ſurrounded with the Royaliſts, and refuſing to take Quarter of any *Engliſh* Traitor, as he call'd them, was ſlain, with many other of his Countrymen. In this Conflict the Force of natural Propenſion was very apparent; for notwithſtanding the fierce Reſolutions of the King's Soldiers, when they ſaw the Faces of their Kinſmen, Friends and Countrymen on the other Side, they began to relent, and moſt of their Revenge fell upon the Horſes, and not the Riders, whom they only endeavour'd to take Priſoners. The Purſuit was but coldly follow'd upon the flying Barons, otherwiſe ſcarce a Man could have eſcap'd; in which notwithſtanding the chiefeſt Barons were taken Priſoners, with about four hundred Knights, beſides Eſquires and ordinary Soldiers, and a vaſt Number of the Townſmen. Such as eſcap'd the Fight were not paſt Danger; for the Country People ſet upon them as they fled, and kill'd great Numbers, ſo that almoſt all the Footmen were deſtroy'd before they could reach to *London*. The whole Riches of the vanquiſh'd Army, and of the whole City of *Lincoln* became the Booty and Spoil of the King's Soldiers, ſo that this Victory was afterwards call'd by the Name of *Lewis-Fair*; and becauſe the Clergy were excommunicated, the Pope's Legate order'd them not to ſpare the Churches, nor the Cathedral it ſelf; the vaſt Riches belonging to which may be conceiv'd by that of the Precentor, who complain'd that he had loſt eleven thouſand Marks for his ſhare. The

It is wholly defeated at Lincoln.

which is plunder'd by the King's Party.

The Marſhal of *France*, the Caſtellan of *Arras*, and about two hundred Knights got ſafe into *London*, but were but coldly receiv'd by Prince *Lewis*, who charg'd upon their Cowardice the Loſs of all the reſt. The Fear of being taken Priſoner juſtly encreaſing, he us'd all Means to fortifie *London*, and diſpatch'd Meſſengers into *France* for more Succours and Supplies; while the vigilant Earl of *Pembroke* endeavour'd to ſtraiten him as much as poſſible. In the mean Time, by the Diligence of the Lady *Blanch*, Wife to Prince *Lewis*, *Euſtace*, who from a traiterous Monk became a Demoniack, was now got to Sea with a large Supply both of Men and Ammunition bound for *London*; but Heav'n was no better pleas'd with theſe, than with the other Mercenaries at *Lincoln*. For the *Engliſh* Navy gaining the Wind of the *French*, ſunk ſeveral of their Ships by running forceably againſt them with the Iron Brows or Beaks of their Gallies; uſing at the ſame Time unſlak'd Lime in Duſt or Powder, which being thrown on their Enemies Faces, perfectly blinded 'em. Thus were *Lewis*'s Hopes for any preſent Succours abſolutely defeated; nor durſt the *French* from that Time engage with the *Engliſh* in a Sea-Fight. *Euſtace* himſelf, after a long Search, was found and drawn out from the Bottom of a Pump, and at *Dover* had his Head cut off; tho' ſome ſay he was ſlain by *Richard* a natural Son to King *John*. The News of which Succeſs being brought to the King, did not more elevate him, than it wounded *Lewis*; for the Loſs was not only great as to Men, but alſo in all ſorts of Riches and Proviſions. Ibid.

The French defeated at Sea.

The Dauphine declines.

To give no Reſt to the Prince's declining Fortunes, the Earl of *Pembroke* with a powerful Army beſieg'd him in the City of *London*, as well by Water as Land; endeavouring to force him by Famine to ſurrender the Place. At length Matters came to a Capitulation; and in an Iſlet in the River *Thames*, not far from *Staines*, King *Henry*, *Wallo* the Legate, *William Marſhall*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* met with *Lewis* and the Barons, to finiſh the Treaty: For *Lewis* had promis'd to yield to the Legate and the Earl in any Thing that was not diſhonourable. The Articles which the Prince ſwore to were theſe: 'Firſt he 'and the Barons, and his other Aſſociates, ſhould ſtand to the Judgment of the 'Church, and for the future be obedient to the Pope and the *Roman* See; That 'he ſhould forthwith depart the Kingdom, and never return with a Purpoſe of 'doing Harm. Secondly, That he would endeavour what he could to induce 'his Father to reſtore to King *Henry* all his Rights beyond the Seas. Thirdly, If 'his Father refus'd to do it, he himſelf would perform it, if ever he came to 'the Crown; and that at preſent, he would immediately deliver to the King all 'thoſe Caſtles and Territories he had poſſeſs'd in *England* during this War. On the other Side the King, the Legate and the Earl ſwore, 'Firſt, That the 'King ſhould reſtore to the Barons, and others, all their Rights and Inheri-'tances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father King *John*. 'Secondly, That none ſhould ſuffer Damage or Reproach for taking part on 'either Side. Thirdly, All Priſoners ſhould be releas'd on both Sides without 'Ranſom. Whereupon Prince *Lewis* with his Adherents was formally abſolv'd from the Sentence of Excommunication by *Wallo*, and ſo all Parties ran into mutual Embraces, and parted with the Kiſs of Peace. The *Welſh*, who had join'd with the Barons, were excluded this Treaty, and ſo were left to the King's Mercy. Thus *Lewis*, having been firſt forc'd to borrow five thouſand Pounds of the *Londoners* to diſcharge his Debts, was in a manner driven out of *England*, above two Years after his firſt Arrival, having for the moſt part been a receiv'd King; and was more likely to have made a Conqueſt of this Kingdom by the Arms of others, than the *Norman* that made Way with his own, had not the ſupream Diſpoſer otherwiſe diverted it. Such Effects proceeded from the Violence of an unruly King, and the Deſpair of an oppreſs'd People; who now, notwithſtanding the Miſmanagement of the Father, willingly embrac'd the Son, being naturally inclin'd to love and obey their Princes. M. Paris. Wendov.

He treats with King Henry.

and eaves the Nation in Peace.

II. The

M. Paris. Window.

II. The Kingdom of *England* was now purg'd from all Foreign Incumbrances, but was not immediately freed from thoſe Troubles and Inconveniencies that naturally ſucceed all inteſtine Convulſions. For divers Perſons of Note, preſuming upon their former Services to the State, or fearing that if full Juſtice took place they muſt loſe much of what they gain'd, began to ſhow themſelves very violent and audacious in their Behaviour. The chief of theſe were *William* Earl of *Albermarle*, *Faukes de Brent* with his Soldiers, *Robert de Vipont*, with ſeveral others, who having had the Caſtles and Poſſeſſions of certain Biſhops and great Men, either to keep in Truſt, or by the Iniquity of the Times converted to their Uſes, did ſtill detain them, both againſt the Claims of the Legal Owners, and the King's expreſs Prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gaugy* defended the Caſtle of *Newark*, then belonging to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, againſt the King's Army, commanded by the great Marſhal Earl of *Pembroke*, and continu'd obſtinate for eight Days, and would not ſurrender, 'till by the Mediation of Friends, the Biſhop paid down an hundred Pounds. After a conſiderable Time, Peace being throughly reſtor'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Nation, Itinerant Juſtices were ſent through all Counties to revive the ancient Laws, and to cauſe the late Charter of King *John* to be ſtrictly obſerv'd; and then the valiant *Hubert de Burgo* was made Juſticiary of *England*. In all the beſt Regulations and Eſtabliſhments, the noble Earl of *Pembroke* was principally concern'd, who daily made it his Buſineſs to ſettle all Things with the greateſt Quietneſs and Security. The greater was his Loſs both to the King and State by his Death, which happen'd about the Middle of *May*; and his Body was bury'd in the Temple Church at *London*, where his Portraiture in a Coat of Mail is ſtill to be ſeen in the middle of the Round. He was a great Commander in War, and no leſs prudent Counſellor in Peace, leaving behind him five Sons and five Daughters; his Sons were ſucceſſively Earls of *Pembroke*, and dy'd without Iſſue; his Daughters were all advanc'd to great and noble Matches. Upon his Death, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was made Protector, and Governor of the King's Perſon, who for ſome Time rul'd with the ſame Moderation.

A. D. 1218. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Diſturbances in the Nation.

The Earl of Pembroke *dies.*

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *made Governor of the King's Perſon.*

M. Paris. Walſing.

The King, now in a ſetled and calm Condition, reſolv'd to be crown'd a ſecond Time; which was perform'd by *Stephen* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at *Weſtminſter*, with the Confluence of all the Prelates, Peers and People: This Ceremony was renew'd, becauſe the former Coronation at *Gloceſter* was not ſo ſolemnly perform'd, by reaſon of the Turbulency of the Times, and the Want of a Crown of Gold. About the ſame Time the new Building of the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter*, then call'd the Chappel of St. *Mary*, was begun; of which the King himſelf laid the firſt Stone, as if he deſign'd to conſecrate his future Actions to the Glory of God. Alſo the Body of *Thomas Becket*, once Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was tranſlated out of its Stone Coffin, in the Vault where it was firſt interr'd, into a rich Shrine made of Gold, and beſet with Jewels, at the Charge of the then Arch-Biſhop. The King and Pope's Legate were preſent, with almoſt all the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons and Clergy of the Kingdom, as likewiſe an infinite Multitude of common People, from *France* and other foreign Parts. The ſplendid Entertainment which the Arch-Biſhop gave the whole Company, is related in the Manuſcript Chronicle of *Dunſtable* in very high and hyperbolical Terms, as equalling, or even exceeding all ever known in the World before.

A. D. 1220. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The King crowned a ſecond Time.

Thomas Becket *inſhrined.*

M. Paris. Wendov. Powel.

This Calm which was juſt begun grew ſoon diſturb'd by ſudden Storms; for while the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* with great Magnificence at *Oxford*, *William* Earl of *Albermarle*, incited by *Faukes de Brent*, and other turbulent Gentlemen, upon ſome Diſcontent, left the Court without leave, and fortify'd the Caſtle of *Bitham* in *Lincolnſhire*, furniſh'd it with the Corn of the Canons of *Bridlington*, pillag'd the Town of *Deeping*, and under ſhew of repairing to the Parlia-

A. D. 1221. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

Diſturbances in the Nation.

Parliament, ſeiz'd on the Caſtle of *Fotheringay*, and committed many other outragious Acts, in Contempt of the King, and to the Breach of the publick Peace. Many others in ſeveral Places follow'd his pernicious Example; yet at length the Earl coming in under the Conduct of *Walter* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, was at the Interceſſion of the Legate *Pandolf* pardon'd; and the like dangerous Clemency was extended towards his Accomplices and Followers, whom the King, in reſpect of former Services, ſet free without Puniſhment or Ranſom. What Occaſion there was for ſeverer Proceedings, may eaſily be diſcern'd from the Number of Caſtles and large Poſſeſſions that *Faukes de Brent*, *Philip de Marc*, and others detain'd, without any other Right than what the Iniquity of the late Tumults had given them. It was no ſmall Addition to the Troubles of theſe Times, that *Lewellyn*, King of the *Welſh*, deſiring to free their Marches from the *Engliſh* Power, roſe up in Arms, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Buelt*, which invited King *Henry* to march thither with a ſufficient Army; but the Work was made eaſie, and ſoon concluded by the voluntary Departure of all the Enemy's Forces. Theſe Appearances of ſucceeding Diſturbances mov'd the King to think of ſtrengthning himſelf with faithful Alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of the *Scots* came to *York*, where he had met the King in the preceding Year, and there marry'd the Lady *Joan*, King *Henry*'s Siſter; and at the ſame Time *Hugo de Borgo*, in the Preſence of both the Kings, and by the Advice of each Kingdom, marry'd the Lady *Margaret*, Siſter to the King of the *Scots*.

The King marries his Siſter to the King of the Scots.

A. D. 1222. Reg. 6, 7.

In theſe unſetled Times, the Condition both of the Church and State ſeem to have much Reſemblance, every Man daring to attempt in either, what his own Audaciouſneſs would ſuggeſt, or others Connivency permit: But Arch-Biſhop *Stephen* now became very diligent in his Councils and Synods, in which by his own Authority he ſummon'd both Clergy and Laity, and by which he regulated many Inconveniencies as to both. At a Synod he held at *Oxford*, an execrable Impoſtor was conven'd before him, who had made upon his Body certain Marks or Wounds like thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he blaſphemouſly pretended to be. Being brought before Him and the Biſhops, he was by them condemn'd to be immured 'till Death between four Walls; as was alſo an infamous Woman, who call'd her ſelf *Mary* the Mother of our Lord. As to the publick State, many inſolent Actions were committed againſt the King's Authority and Peace of the Nation, eſpecially by *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a ſeditious Citizen of *London*, who by means of a Wreſtling-Match between the Inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, raiſed a popular Tumult, and attempted to ſet up Prince *Lewis*; in the Heat of which he cry'd out, *Mount Joy*, *Mount Joy*, *God for us*, *and our Lord* Lewis! Tho' the Lord Mayor, a diſcreet Perſon, earneſtly perſuaded all to their Duties, yet *Conſtantine* had render'd the People incapable of good Advice, by the ſeditious Proclamations he had publiſh'd. The Noiſe of the Sedition increaſing, *Hubert* the chief Juſticiary, with ſome freſh Troops enter'd the Tower, whither he commanded the principal Men of the City to appear before him, who eaſily threw off the Blame from themſelves upon *Conſtantine*. But he, as reſolute in his Anſwer, as deſperate in the Sedition, publickly declar'd *That they had done no leſs than they ought*, *and that they would ſtand by it*: Upon which the reſt being diſmiſs'd, he and his Nephew with a third Perſon, were condemn'd to be hang'd the next Morning; and tho' he offer'd fifteen thouſand Pounds for his Life, yet he could not eſcape the Hand of Juſtice. It is believ'd that he rely'd wholly upon the Articles and Oath between the King and Prince *Lewis*, that the Friends of the latter ſhould not be moleſted; and upon this Occaſion *Lewis* afterwards deny'd Reſtitution of ſuch Things, as the Articles mention'd, pretending that *Henry* had by this firſt Act broken his Faith, and by that vacated the whole Contract. This Execution being done without Noiſe, or the Citizens Privacy, the Juſticiary, accompany'd with *Faukes de Brent* and his armed Troops, enter'd

M. Paris. Wendov.

A Sedition in London.

Which is quell'd

ter'd

ter'd *London*, and apprehended ſuch others as were culpable; and for a Terror to the reſt caus'd their Hands or Feet to be cut off, and then ſet at Liberty. The King depos'd all the Magiſtrates, but when he found that only the meaner Sort were intereſs'd in this Diſorder, he was ſoon reconcil'd to the City; tho' the Citizens were not ſo ſoon reconcil'd to his Miniſters, who had puniſh'd ſo many, according to their Deſerts, but not according to due Form of Law.

M. Paris. &c. This Seditious Beginning might have occaſion'd far more dangerous Proceedings, had not the King by a moderate Behaviour, and a patient Connivence of ſome particular Indignities, prevented a general Diſquiet. For the Barons, ſtill viewing their long deſir'd Liberties, and requiring a Confirmation of them by the King, who had ſworn to them at the Concluſion of the Peace with Prince *Lewis*; *William Briwere*, one of the King's Council, gave this Anſwer, *That the Liberties they deſired were violently extorted, therefore ought not to be obſerv'd.* The Arch-Biſhop enrag'd at this Anſwer, told him, *If he lov'd the King, he would not hinder the Peace of the Kingdom*; upon which the King prudently reply'd, *That he had bound himſelf by Oath to obſerve their Liberties, and what he had ſworn to ſhould be obſerv'd.* To confirm which he immediately iſſu'd out his Letters to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to make Enquiry by the Oaths of twelve Legal Men in every County What were the Liberties of *England* in the Time of King *Henry* his Grand-father, and to ſend a Return to *London* fifteen Days after *Eaſter*; by which Act all Men hop'd to ſee a Concluſion of thoſe unhappy Conteſts which had ſo long diſturb'd the Nation. But this only prov'd an uſual Shift of Prolongation, ſo that the Buſineſs was deferr'd for that Time, to the greater Vexation of that ſucceeding; for during this long Reign, this put the King to the greateſt Inconveniencies, made him ill belov'd of his People, always oppos'd in his Deſigns, and far a leſs King, only by ſtriving to be more than he really was.

A. D. 1223. Reg. 7/8.

The Barons uneaſie.

M. Paris. Wendov. In the mean Time the King conceiv'd new Hopes from the News of the Death of *Philip* the *French* King, that formidable Enemy to *England*; and immediately ſent Arch-Biſhop *Stephen* with three other Biſhops to *Lewis*, now crowned King, to demand the Reſtitution of *Normandy*, with all his other tranſmarine Dominions, according to his Oath made when he left *England*. To which this new King anſwer'd, *That he was juſtly poſſeſs'd of* Normandy, *and thoſe other Dominions, as he was ready to make appear to King* Henry, *if he would come to his Court and make his Claim:* Adding, *That the King of* England *had violated his Oath in laying a grievous Ranſom upon thoſe he had taken at* Lincoln; *and likewiſe thoſe Liberties, for which the War was began, and to which he had ſolemnly ſworn at his Departure, were not obſerv'd.* Upon this, the Ambaſſadors perceiving they could obtain no other Anſwer, return'd into *England*, without any further Advantage. The King now finding himſelf was unable to recover thoſe Dominions abroad, or to maintain his own Royal State at home, reſolv'd to reſume thoſe Crown Lands, which the Unſetledneſs of former Times, had thrown into the Poſſeſſion of private Hands: Which was principally by the Advice of Arch-Biſhop *Stephen*, and the chief Juſticiary *Hubert*, now made Earl of *Kent*, who by that means drew upon themſelves no ſmall Loads of Envy and Hatred. Tho' ſuch Recoveries as theſe might be no leſs neceſſary than reaſonable, yet becauſe the intereſs'd Perſons were ſo numerous, they wiſely made uſe of all Supports that either Religion or human Policy could afford them. In order to effect it, a Bull was procur'd from the Pope by which the King was declar'd to be of Age, and at liberty to govern by himſelf, and to chuſe his own Council; and all Men were commanded, upon pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to reſtore all ſuch Poſſeſſions as againſt the Laws and the King's Will they detain'd from him. This drove the intereſs'd Party to a Reſolution of taking up Arms, firſt meeting for that purpoſe at *Leiceſter*, where the Earl of *Cheſter* and his Confederates conſulted how to remove the chief Juſticiary, whoſe predominant Grandeur was not by them

The King of France *refuſes to ſtand by his former Oath.*

The King reſumes the Crown Lands,

A. D. 1224. Reg. 8/9.

which breeds ill Blood.

them to be endur'd, and how to retain thoſe Caſtles and Poſſeſſions demanded. But upon Notice, that if they did not immediately deliver all they unjuſtly detain'd, they ſhould be excommunicated by Name, and underſtanding the King's Forces were ſuperior to theirs, they came to the King at *Northampton*, and ſurrender'd all that belong'd to the Crown into his Poſſeſſion; but did not lay down their high Diſpleaſure, becauſe at their Petition the King would not remove his chief Juſticiary, the great Object of their Envy.

The King of France *declares War againſt* King Henry.

Lewis King of *France* being incourag'd by theſe Domeſtick Diſſentions, declared War againſt King *Henry* upon this Pretence, *That whereas* Aquitain *was held of the Crown of* France *by Homage, the King of* England, *being not hinder'd by Sickneſs, or any other Occaſion, had neither appear'd at the Coronation of King* Lewis, *nor excus'd himſelf by his Ambaſſadors.* In proſecution of which Pretence, he beſieg'd and took the important City of *Rochelle*, with ſome other Places, and likewiſe worſted *Savary de Maleon*, King *Henry*'s Lieutenant in *Aquitain*; which occaſion'd the Loſs of the reſt of *Poictou* of which the King was poſſeſs'd. With this he loſt the Service of the ſaid *Savary*, a valiant Commander, who for ſome Indignity offer'd him by the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was ſent to inſpect his Actions, ſuddenly turn'd to the *French*, among whom he had great Credit and Preferment. King *Henry* concern'd at theſe Diſadvantages, reſolv'd to have recourſe to the general Aid of his People, to recover all his Loſſes; but while he held a Parliament for that purpoſe, the whole Aſſembly was ſuddenly diſturb'd with the great Complaints of an inſufferable Outrage. For *Henry de Braibrock*, an itinerant Judge, who with others held the Aſſiſes at *Dunſtable*, was forcibly taken and impriſon'd in *Bedford* Caſtle by the Order of *Faukes de Brent*, who was inrag'd at him for giving no leſs than thirty Verdicts againſt him upon Trials for Land. The Judge's Wife by her Tears ſo mov'd the whole Parliament to Pity and Indignation, that all other Buſineſs laid aſide, the Clergy as well as Laity forthwith attended the King to the Siege of the Caſtle. *Faukes* himſelf flying into *Wales*, there to increaſe his Power, left his Brother Lieutenant in the Caſtle, with a deſperate Body of Men, with Proviſions and Ammunition ſufficient for a whole Year. Yet after two Months Siege, the Caſtle was taken, the Judge ſet at Liberty, the Lieutenant and the whole Garriſon hang'd, and the noble Pile quite deſtroy'd, as an Example to others who in due Time would not ſubmit themſelves to their Soveraign. *Faukes* now finding his Caſtle ruin'd and his Eſtate confiſcated, by the Procurement of the Biſhop of *Coventry*, came to the King at *Bedford*, and falling at his Feet, implor'd Mercy for his former good Services; but all that he could obtain was only the Favour of Baniſhment. At the Time appointed for his Departure, he with Tears deſir'd the Earl of *Warren*, who was to ſee him take Shipping, *That he would commend him to the King, and let him know, as an important Secret, That all the Troubles he had rais'd in the Nation were purely by the Inſtigation of the Barons.*

M. Paris, Walſing. &c.

Faukes de Brent *raiſes a Sedition.*

He is baniſh'd.

A. D. 1225. Reg. 9/10.

The interrupted Counſels of Parliaments, and Deſigns of the King for regaining his foreign Territories, were now reaſſum'd; yet the King could not obtain ſo much as a *Fifteenth* upon Moveables, without firſt promiſing *That he would again confirm the long deſir'd Liberties of the Nation.* And being oblig'd by his urgent Neceſſities, he ſign'd and ſeal'd many Charters, one directed to each County in *England*; and two to every County that had Foreſts, one concerning the *Common Liberties*, the other concerning the *Liberties of the Foreſts*. By the Aſſiſtance of this new Tax, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* the King's Brother, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury* his Uncle, with ſixty Knights and a conſiderable Force were ſent into *Gaſcony* in the Spring; where they ſafely arriv'd at *Bourdeaux*, and were honourably entertain'd. Their ſeaſonable Arrival had good Effects, for it confirm'd the Well-diſpos'd, ſetled the Irreſolute, and reduc'd much which had been taken away by the *French*. *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, coming by the *French* King's Directions to remove Earl *Richard*

M. Paris, Wendov.

Some Actions in Gaſcony.

chard and the *Engliſh* from the Siege of *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted by an Ambuſcade, and defeated with no ſmall Loſs of Men, Ammunition and Carriages. At length both Sides were contented to pauſe for a Time without any Treaty, and the *Engliſh* held *Aquitain*, notwithſtanding all their Force and Practices. But *William Longſpee*, the King's Uncle, did not long ſurvive theſe good Services; but returning into *England* upon the Affairs of State, ſoon ended his Days at the Caſtle of *Salisbury*, with the greateſt Marks of Humility and Piety. He was bury'd in the newly built Cathedral in that City, where his Monument is ſtill to be ſeen; he was a virtuous and gallant Man, and the ſole ſurviving Iſſue of King *Henry* the Second. A. D. 1226. Reg. 10/11. William Longſpee *dies.*

M. Paris. About theſe Times the Pope ſent abroad into the World his Nuntio's and Emiſſaries, with a Deſign to ſettle a Contribution to the See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches in Chriſtendom: For which he alledg'd, *That it was to wipe away from that See the ancient Scandal of Avarice and Bribery, which had been occaſion'd only by its great Poverty; and this might eaſily be prevented, if out of every Cathedral Church two Prebendaries, and out of every Monaſtery two Monks Portions, were ſet apart for that purpoſe.* But neither the Meſſenger nor the Meſſage found any Incouragement in *England*; for the Pope's Agent *Otto*, by the Procurement of Arch-Biſhop *Stephen*, receiv'd Letters from *Rome* commanding him immediately to return: *Otto* inrag'd at this unexpected Revocation, threw the Pope's Letters into the Fire, yet durſt not diſobey the Contents. And whereas the Propoſal it ſelf had been debated and examin'd to the utmoſt, both here and in *France*, and judg'd to contain ſuch an univerſal Oppreſſion, as might cauſe a general Defection from the Church of *Rome*; the King in preſence of his Prelates and Peers return'd this frugal Anſwer, *That ſince what his Holineſs requir'd was a Concern of the Univerſal Church, he was ready to follow the Example of other Kingdoms, and therefore would firſt ſee what they did:* With which Anſwer the Aſſembly was diſmiſs'd. *The Pope's Deſigns in England.*

M. Paris. &c. This Difficulty ſo avoided, the King was earneſtly inclin'd to make a Voyage in Perſon to the Aſſiſtance of his Brother Earl *Richard* who proceeded in the Affair of *Gaſcony*; which tho' by the Departure of the late Earl of *Salisbury*, it receiv'd ſome Damage, yet by the Valour and Conduct of other worthy Perſons, it ſtill did proſper. His Intention and Deſire was ſomewhat retarded by the Arrival of Letters from *France*, which declar'd his Brother's Health, and the good Succeſs of his Affairs; and others add by the Advice of a famous Aſtrologer, who foretold that King *Lewis* ſhould not prevail. But what moſt prevented his Voyage was the expreſs Orders of the Pope, who poſitively prohibited him from making any Attempts in *France* at that Time, leſt he ſhould divert the pious Deſigns of King *Lewis*, whom he had lately ingag'd in a *Cruſado* againſt the Count of *Tholouſe* and his Subjects, as being all infected with the then accounted Hereſie of the *Albigenſes*. Againſt theſe ſuppos'd Hereticks King *Lewis* ſpent a Month in the Siege of *Avignon*, where he ſuſtain'd exceeding Loſſes, by a terrible Plague which deſtroy'd his Army, by a ſtrange Kind of venomous Flies that diſpatch'd great Numbers of his Men, and by a ſudden Inundation which laid a great Part of his Camp under Water; and laſt of all he is thought to have been poiſon'd by an unchaſt Rival of his Bed the Earl of *Champaign*. And this was the end of *Lewis*, the great Enemy of the *Engliſh* Nation, who was ſucceeded by his Son *Lewis*, the ninth of that Name, and a Minor, who was afterwards canoniz'd for a Saint. *The Death of* Lewis *King of* France.

M. Paris. Wendov. **III.** The Death of the *French* King, with the ſeveral Diſcontents and Factions under his Succeſſor, but twelve Years of Age, gave new Hopes to King *Henry* that now the Time was come, when he might recover thoſe ancient Inheritances which his Fore-Fathers held in *France*. Upon which Account he ſent the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, with others, to the chief Men of *Normandy*, A. D. 1227. Reg. 11/12.

Anjou and *Poictou*, inviting them by large Promiſes to acknowledge King *Henry* for their natural Lord; but before their Arrival, the young King, by his Mother's Means, had made Peace, and receiv'd the Homages of theſe Barons, ſo that the Deſign prov'd of no Effect. In the Abſence of his Miniſters, the King was buſily employ'd in raiſing what Mony he could; and while he was endeavouring to recover what was loſt, he much endanger'd what he retain'd. He began with the Citizens of *London*, from whom he extorted five thouſand Marks, becauſe they had formerly granted the like Sum to Prince *Lewis*. And to proceed as he had begun, at a Parliament at *Oxford*, he there declar'd himſelf of full Age, and *That he would take the Management of publick Affairs into his own Hands:* Accordingly, by the Advice of *Hubert* his Juſticiary, he remov'd his Guardian the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* from his Court. At the ſame Time, and by the ſame Advice, he cancell'd and vacated all the Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which for two Years had been obſerv'd throughout the Kingdom, declaring, *That what had been then done, was in his Minority, when he had no Power of his own Perſon or Seal, upon which Account it was all invalid.* Theſe unjuſtifiable Proceedings occaſion'd great Diſcontents and Murmurings, all accuſing the Juſticiary, and accounting him the Author of all, becauſe the King was wholly govern'd by him. Shortly after, the Religious Orders, and all others had notice, *That if they would enjoy their Privileges, they muſt renew their Charters, otherwiſe they ſhould be of no Advantage to them*; and what they were to pay for ſuch Renewals, was left to the Diſcretion of the Juſticiary. Thus, as it is uſual, the whole Nation paid for the King's changing his Miniſtry.

The King declares himſelf of Age, and cancels the Charters.

Hubert being lately advanc'd to the Earldom of *Kent*, the Envy and Hatred of the Nobility encreas'd; eſpecially upon the Return of the King's Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who had ſeiz'd upon a certain Manor, then in Poſſeſſion of one *Waleran* a *German*, to whom King *John* had formerly granted it, which he alledg'd was Part of his Earldom of *Cornwall*. Upon which the King directed his Letters to his Brother, commanding him forthwith to reſtore the Manor he had taken from *Waleran*; which occaſion'd the Earl to come in Perſon and plead his Right before the King, offering *to ſtand to the Judgment of his Court, and of the Peers of the Realm.* At the naming of the *Peers*, the King and Juſticiary, ſuſpecting his Intentions, in a great Paſſion commanded him, *Either to reſtore the Manor, or for ever leave the Kingdom*; to which the Earl reply'd, *That he would neither part from the one, nor leave the other, without the Judgment of his Peers*, and immediately haſten'd to his own Habitation. And hearing that *Hubert* adviſ'd the King to ſecure him, he took Poſt for *Marleburg*, where meeting with *William Mareſchal* the young Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Cheſter*, he enter'd into a ſtrict Confederacy with them. Then marching to *Stamford*, they were met there by the Earls of *Gloceſter*, of *Warren*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwick*, and of *Ferrars*, with many Barons, and a great Multitude of armed Men; whoſe Force was ſo formidable, that they thought fit to ſend a bold Meſſage to the King requiring him *To make immediate Satisfaction to his Brother Earl* Richard, *for the Injury he had done him, which they imputed wholly to the Juſticiary; and alſo to reſtore thoſe Charters he had cancell'd at* Oxford, *which if he refus'd, they would compel him by their Arms to make them competent Satisfaction.* The King terrify'd by his Father's Example, appointed them to meet him at *Northampton*, where upon the Lord's reſolute Demands, he ſetled ſuch large Allowances and Poſſeſſions upon his Brother, that every one departed well pleas'd, without debating the Affair of the Charters, which at that Time might have occaſion'd the greateſt Miſchiefs to the Kingdom.

M. Paris. Wendov.

The Nobility confederate againſt the King.

A. D. 1228. Reg. 12/13. This Danger was not a little increas'd by the Inſurrections of the *Welſh*: The King had given the Caſtle of *Montgomery* to his Favourite *Hubert*, the Garriſon of which Place, by the Aſſiſtance of the Country People, endeavour'd to

Powel. M. Paris.

to make a Way through an adjacent Wood more paſſable and ſecure for Travellers; but while they were cutting down the Thickets, the *Welſh* ſuddenly ſet upon them, kill'd ſome, and forc'd the reſt to retire into the Caſtle, and immediately inveſted it. Upon which the King and his Juſticiary came ſpeedily, and rais'd the Siege; and then march'd towards the Wood, and there clear'd all by great Labour and Burning, ſo far as a Receptacle of the *Welſh*, by them call'd *Criddy*, which he commanded to be ſet on Fire; but the Juſticiary finding it to be of an impregnable Situation, advis'd him to erect a Caſtle in that Place. Yet during the Time of its Building, the Workmen were daily interrupted by the Enemy, and ſeveral of them kill'd. At the ſame Time the King finding ſo great a Scarcity of Proviſions, and ſo many of his own Men Friends to *Lewellyn*, that he was oblig'd to make a diſadvantagious Peace, of which the chief Article was, That this Caſtle ſhould be demoliſh'd, and *Lewellyn* ſhould pay three thouſand Marks towards his Charges; upon which he return'd home with little Honour, having left *William de Brænſe*, a noble Baron, behind him Priſoner.

The King goes againſt the Welſh.

M. Paris. &c. In the ſame Year dy'd Arch-Biſhop *Langton*, a Man of great Spirit and of little Dependence, who had been the main Promoter of the Nation's Liberties. The Convent of *Canterbury* elected *Walter de Hemeſham* to ſucceed him; but both the King and the Suffragan Biſhops refus'd him upon ſeveral Accounts; ſo that the Matter was brought to *Rome* to be determin'd by the Pope. After long Delays, the Pope promoted *Richard de Grant*, Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln*, to the Archbiſhoprick, by his own ſole Authority; and the King and the Biſhops, contrary to all Expectation, in a ſhort Time obey'd the Pope's Commands, and ſubmitted to the whole Proceeding. This was a new Incroachment, and the firſt Arch-Biſhop the Pope ever preſum'd to nominate, without a previous Election by the Convent, or the Biſhops. Having obtain'd this Advantage, the Pope ſent one *Stephen* his Chaplain into *England* to collect the Tenths lately promis'd to the See of *Rome*; which Affair was propos'd in a full Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where the King by his Silence ſeem'd to give Conſent to the Pope's Demands. But the Earls, Barons, and all the Laity ſtifly reſolv'd not to oblige their Baronies and Lay-Fees to the Court of *Rome*; and had compounded with the Legate for a certain Sum, had they not been betray'd by *Stephen de Segrave*, who ſo ſubtlely order'd the Affair, that he obtain'd his Demands. The Prelates and Clergy, after a long Deliberation, and no ſmall Reluctancy, conſented, leſt they ſhould incur the Sentence of Excommunication. Then *Stephen* ſhew'd them the Pope's Letter and his Commiſſion to collect the Tenths out of all Profits whatſoever, without any Deduction either for Debts or Expences; and becauſe the Matter requir'd Speed, he gave notice to the Prelates that they ſhould immediately pay down the Mony, and afterwards levy it upon every Perſon by Way of Tax; which Exaction prov'd ſo burdenſom, that they were forc'd to ſell or pawn their Veſtments, Chalices, and other holy Veſſels belonging to their Churches. Beſides he exacted the Tenths of the Autumnal Fruits of the Earth, while they were yet growing, none daring to refuſe him beſides the Earl of *Cheſter*; and for the more ſpeedy raiſing of the Mony, he brought along with him certain voracious Uſurers, who ſupply'd the Indigent with Mony, which they were compell'd to borrow, tho' by that Means they were irrecoverably ruin'd.

A. D. 1229. Reg. 13/14.

The Pope oppreſſes the Nation.

M. Paris. Æmilius. &c. Yet in theſe burthenſom Times, on *Michaelmaſs* Day the King caus'd the whole Nobility of *England* to meet at *Portſmouth* with ſuch a numerous Army of Horſe and Foot as none of his Predeceſſors had ever rais'd, reſolving to paſs over the Sea to recover thoſe Dominions his Father had loſt: But being ready to embark, there was not Shipping ſufficient to tranſport half the Number; which ſo inrag'd the King, that turning to *Hubert* his Juſticiary, he call'd him *Old Traitor*, and openly charg'd him with *Receiving a Bribe of five thouſand Marks from the Queen of* France *to put a ſtop to this Deſign*; and

The King prepares againſt the French.

and proceeded ſo far as to run at him with his drawn Sword, but the Earl of *Cheſter* and others interpoſing, ſav'd the King from ſo foul a Diſhonour, who ſhortly after receiv'd him into Favour again. The whole Army ſoon broke up upon the Arrival of a great Man out of *Bretaign*, a principal Confederate with the *Engliſh*, who by alledging the unſeaſonable Time of the Year, and other
A. D. 1230. Reg. 14/15. Reaſons, occaſion'd the Enterprize to be deferr'd 'till the next Spring. Accordingly after *Eaſter*, the King having viſited the Poor and Impotent, and beſtow'd bountiful Alms, took ſhipping at *Portſmouth*, and with a powerful Army landed in *Bretaign*. The Succeſs of this Expedition is ſo variouſly related, that without great Prejudice to an obſervant Reader, it might be all omitted. Much certainly was not done: King *Henry*'s Deſign was to have march'd through *Bretaign*, where many acknowledg'd him, into *Poictou*; and, as ſome write, he did ſo, and receiv'd Homage in *Gaſcony*. To hinder this Paſſage, the King of *France* lay with a ſtrong Army at *Angers*; while *Fulk Pagunell*, a *Norman* Peer, with ſixty valiant Knights, perſuaded the King of *England*, That it was eaſie for him to reduce *Normandy* to his Obedience; but *Hubert* had other Thoughts, and diverted the King from that Enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an unfortunate Journey, for they not only miſs'd of their Hopes, but for their Conſpiring were diſpoſſeſs'd at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by Loſs in Battel, or otherwiſe, this is agreed on, that after the waſting of infinite Sums of Mony, and a great Diminution of the Soldiers Numbers, the King of *England* return'd without accompliſhing his Deſigns; leaving for the Defence of *Bretaign* the three great Earls of *Cheſter*, *Pembroke* and *Albermarle*, with Forces ſufficient for the Service.

He lands in Bretaign.

Returns without Succeſs.

It is not improbable that the dangerous Rebellion of the *Iriſh* haſten'd his Return; for the King of *Connaught* and his Subjects, ſeeing the King and the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had large Poſſeſſions in thoſe Parts, wholly taken up with the Affairs of *France*, had furiouſly ſet upon King *Henry*'s Soldiers and People, with Hopes of utterly expelling them out of the Nation. But all their Projects prov'd fatal to themſelves, and the *Engliſh* Forces marching againſt them, kill'd no leſs than twenty thouſand, and took their King Priſoner. Not
A. D. 1231. Reg. 15/16. long after the *Welſh*, under their King *Lewellyn*, in revenge of ſome of their Countrymen, whom *Hubert* had ſlain in cold Blood, made new Incurſions, and committed great Devaſtations upon the Borders of *England*, ſparing neither ſacred Perſons nor Places. When the Biſhops and Prelates heard of it, they ſolemnly excommunicated that Prince, with all his Adherents and Abettors; and the King having rais'd an Army at *Oxford*, march'd in Perſon to ſuppreſs them, but not without great Loſs on his Side. As to the Affairs of *France*, by the Wiſdom of Queen *Blanch*, and Mediation of the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims* and the Earl of *Bulloign* on one Part, and the Earls of *Bretaign* and *Cheſter* on the other, a three Years Truce was ratify'd by Oath, between the *French* and the *Engliſh*.

M. Paris, &c.

A three Years Truce between the French *and the* Engliſh.

About the ſame Time the Pope had a freſh Opportunity of exerciſing his Authority in *England* by means of the Death of *Richard* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; to ſucceed whom the Convent made Choice of *Ralph Nevil* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who was willingly acknowledg'd by the King, whoſe faithful and worthy Chancellor he was. But when the Monks went to *Rome* to obtain his Confirmation, the Pope underſtanding that he was a great Courtier, gave them this Anſwer, *That if the Perſon they choſe was promoted to that Dignity, he would concur with the King and Kingdom to throw off that Subjection to the See of* Rome, *to which King* John *had long ſince ſubmitted it*; therefore he abſolutely vacated the Election, and commanded the Monks *To chuſe one who would be faithful and devoted to the* Roman *Church*. Whereupon they pro-
A. D. 1232. Reg. 16/17. ceeded to chuſe a ſecond, and him the Pope miſlik'd for being too old, and ſoft ſpirited; then a third was elected, a Man of eminent Learning and a Student in *Oxford*, and the Pope alſo rejected him; never reſting 'till they had elected

M. Paris. Wendov.

The Pope's Uſurpations.

elected *Edmund* of *Abington*, a Man more agreeable to the *Roman* Palate. The King seeing the great Emperor *Frederick*, even at this Time while he was winning the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* from Infidels, in his Absence so inhumanly depos'd from his Empire by the Pope, upon a private Resentment; no wonder, if in this his unripe Years, and distracted Government, he fear'd to draw upon himself so mercileſs an Enemy. How little these *Roman* Incroachments were lik'd in the Nation, appears from the Actions of several Persons of Quality and others this Year, who took up Arms and forceably enter'd the Barns and Houses of the *Roman* or *Italian* Clergy-Men that were benefic'd in *England*, and carry'd away, and distributed their Corn and Goods among the Poor. *The King submits.*

M. Paris. And now the great *Hubert*, Earl of *Kent* and chief Justiciary of *England*, after he had enjoy'd the greatest Favour of two Kings, seem'd to have run the Stage of his best Fortunes. For the King, upon fresh Inroads of the *Welsh*, being advis'd by the Bishop of *Winchester* and other Counsellors, to put an end at once to the Inroads of that Nation, he complain'd, *That according to his Treasurers Accounts, his Revenues would scarcely afford him Provisions and Cloaths, and the usual Alms, much less any Thing for warlike Expeditions.* To which they reply'd, *That he impoverish'd himself by alienating the Honours, Wardships and vacant Dignities which ought to come into the Exchequer, so that he had only the Name without the Revenues of a King; but his Predecessors, who took due Care of their Treasury, abounded both in Wealth and Glory.* The King took this Hint, and immediately call'd his Sheriffs and Bailiffs to an Account, and whoever was convicted of Fraud, was remov'd from his Office, and oblig'd to pay the whole into the Exchequer with Interest. He also remov'd *Ranulph Breton* Treasurer of his Chamber from his Office, and fin'd him a thousand Pounds; and by the Advice of the Bishop of *Winchester*, his Nephew *Peter de Rivaux*, a *Poictovin*, was plac'd in his Room; by which Means the King's Coffers were for a while plentifully supply'd. *The King in Wants.*

M. Paris. Winder. These were but Preparatives to a further Scrutiny intended against Earl *Hubert*, who by the Instigation of the same Bishop, was now remov'd from being Justiciary, and was succeeded by *Stephen Segrave*, a common Knight. Shortly after, the King being highly incens'd against the Earl, requir'd him to give a strict Account of such Monies and other Revenues, that had ever past'd through his Hands, since he was first made Justiciary. To this *Hubert* answer'd, *That he had King* John's *Charter, by which he was discharg'd of all Accounts, who having so often experienc'd his Fidelity, would receive no Account from him.* The Bishop of *Winchester* reply'd, *That the Charter was not valid, after King* John's *Death, and no ways hinder'd the present King from exacting an Account from him.* And to this was added, *That he had been guilty of several Treasonable Practices, and had given treacherous Advice to the King, to the Prejudice both of him and his Kingdom;* to all which the King requir'd him to answer, and stand to the Judgment of the Court. *Hubert* finding himself abandon'd by his chief Supporter, desir'd an appointed Day to give in his Answer, which was with great Difficulty obtain'd; and being now deserted by all his Friends, except the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, his Enemies daily encreas'd, and many other false or improbable Crimes were laid to his Charge; as That he had procur'd the late Earls of *Salisbury* and *Pembroke*, *Faukes de Brent*, and *Richard* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to be poison'd; and That he had gain'd the King's Affection by Sorcery and Witchcraft. Others accus'd him of Injustice, Rapine and Extortion; and the *Londoners* enter'd their Complaint against him for formerly condemning their Fellow-Citizen *Constantine* to be hang'd without Legal Process. All which Crimes were so highly aggravated before the King, that he proceeded to an unusual Method, and caus'd it to be proclaim'd throughout the City of *London*, *That whatsoever Person had any Complaint against Earl* Hubert, *should come to the King, and he should have Justice done him.* Hubert de Burgo *declines.* *Great Accusations against him.*

On

On the fourteenth Day of *September*, the King held a grand Aſſembly of the Prelates and Peers, where *Hubert* was conven'd to anſwer to the Articles exhibited againſt him; but the Earl fearing the King would put him to ſome ignominious Death, took Sanctuary in the Priory Church of *Merton* in *Surry*, and durſt not appear 'till the King ſhould be of a milder Temper. Upon which the King in a great Rage ſent to the Mayor of *London*, to force him from thence, and to bring him either dead or alive: The *Londoners*, glad of this Opportunity, upon ringing of a common Bell, gather'd together to the Number of twenty thouſand; but ſome of the moſt diſcreet Citizens, dreading ſuch Tumults, repair'd to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Houſe in *Southwark*, and deſir'd his Advice, who told them, *That whatever were the Conſequence, they muſt execute the King's Precept.* At the ſame Time the Earl of *Cheſter* ſuggeſted to the King, *That if theſe Tumultuous Proceedings were countenanc'd, it would occaſion dangerous Seditions at other Times; and that it would be a great Reproach to him in foreign Countries, when they heard he thus treated his former Favourites:* Which ſo prevail'd upon him, that he immediately diſpatch'd Meſſengers, and revok'd his firſt Precept. After this, the King being a little molify'd, the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin* obtain'd the Favour that Earl *Hubert* might have a longer Time allow'd him to give in his Anſwer. During which Space, *Hubert* thinking himſelf ſecure by the King's Letters Patents, deſign'd a Viſit to his Counteſs, then at St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*; but when the King was inform'd of it, he ſent a Knight with three hundred Soldiers to apprehend him, and bring him Priſoner to *London*. Upon which *Hubert* fled into a Chappel at *Brentwood* in *Eſſex*, and for his Protection took the Croſs in one Hand, and the Hoſt from the Altar in the other; both which they wrung out of his Hands, and without Reſpect to the Place violently dragg'd him forth; and chaining his Feet under his Horſe's Belly, they brought him in a moſt opprobrious Manner to *London*, and immediately committed him to the Tower.

He flies. *He is apprehended.* Ibid.

Upon this Uſage, the Biſhop of *London* haſtily went to the King, and ſeverely rebuk'd him for this Violation of the Sanctuary, declaring, *That if he did not immediately ſet* Hubert *at Liberty, and ſend him back to the Chappel from whence he was taken, he would excommunicate all that were concern'd in the Fact.* The King being terrify'd, acknowledg'd his Error, and ſent him back to the ſame Chappel; but at the ſame Time ſent to the Sheriffs of *Hertford* and *Eſſex*, upon pain of Death, to go in Perſon with the Powers of both Counties, and ſurround the Chappel, to prevent *Hubert*'s Eſcape, or his being ſupply'd with Suſtenance. Upon this the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, his only true Friend, ſupplicated the King with Tears to know his Pleaſure concerning him; and the King offer'd him the Choice of three Things, either for ever to abjure the Kingdom, to be condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, or to confeſs himſelf a Traitor. But *Hubert* would chuſe none of them, being conſcious to himſelf that he did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Treatment, tho' he was willing to quit the Nation for a Time. Yet rather than be ſtarv'd, he at length yielded himſelf to the Sheriffs, who brought him in Chains to *London*, and made him a ſecond Time Priſoner in the Tower. The Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin* us'd all Methods to molifie the King's Heart, but no Sacrifice could appeaſe his Anger, but that of the Earl's Hoard of Gold and other Treaſure, then lodg'd with the Knights Templars, who refus'd to deliver it without *Hubert*'s expreſs Order. *Hubert* readily ſubmitted himſelf and all that he had to the King's Pleaſure; ſo that all his chief Wealth and Riches were deliver'd to the King's Poſſeſſion. His Enemies hearing of his great Treaſure, took a further Advantage, and accus'd him of Fraud and Rapine, urging that he might be put to Death: To whom the King reply'd, *That* Hubert *had faithfully ſerv'd his Uncle King* Richard, *and the King his Father, and if he had done otherwiſe towards him, he ſhould never be put to Death; for he had rather appear too merciful than too cruel, to one who had ſo often preſerv'd his Predeceſſors and himſelf in great Dangers.*

He moliſies the King. M. Paris, &c.

gers. And the King being now ſoftned into Compaſſion, by the Riches he had taken from him, regranted to him all the Lands which King *John* had given him, as alſo thoſe he had purchas'd. Shortly after, the King's Brother *Richard*, with the Earls of *Warren*, *Pembroke* and *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his future Behaviour; after which he was ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, under the Cuſtody of four Knights of theirs, where he appointed *Laurence*, a Clerk of St. *Albans*, to be Steward of the Lands granted him, who had been a faithful Friend, and a great Comfort to him in all his Afflictions.

Yet he is kept Priſoner.

M. Paris. Wendov. IV. King *Henry* being wholly freed from the Influence of *Hubert* his former Juſticiary, now fell into the Hands of *Peter de Rupibus* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and his Kinſman *Peter de Rivaulx*; ſo that the Management of all publick Affairs was committed to them. The former, that he might govern at his own Pleaſure, procur'd the King to remove the *Engliſh* from their Places and Offices, and in their Rooms to ſubſtitute *Poictovins* and *Bretaignes*; who being invited into *England*, came over to the Number of two thouſand Knights and Eſquires, and were all plac'd in ſeveral Caſtles in Garriſon; and to them the eaſie King committed the Wardſhips of the young Nobility, which afterwards were much degenerated by their ignoble Marriages with Foreigners. When the Earl of *Pembroke* found that all Ranks of Men were alike oppreſs'd, and the Laws manifeſtly violated, he as a Lover of Juſtice, with ſome other great Men went boldly to the King, and openly remonſtrated, *That by pernicious Councils he had call'd in* Poictovins *and other Foreigners, to the great Oppreſſion of his native Subjects, and the Breach of their Laws and Liberties; wherefore they humbly beſought him to regulate theſe Diſorders in the Government, otherwiſe his Nobility would withdraw themſelves from his Councils, ſo long as he made uſe of Strangers.* To whom the Biſhop of *Winchester* ſharply reply'd, *That the King might call in whomſoever he pleas'd for the Defence of his Crown, and that in ſuch Numbers as were ſufficient to reduce his proud and rebellious Subjects to Obedience.* Upon this ſevere Anſwer, the Earl and the reſt retired from the Court, and promis'd faithfully to aſſiſt and ſupport each other to the laſt Drop of their Blood.

A. D. 1233. Reg. 17. 18.

Foreigners called into England.

The Nobility diſcontented.

Ibid. The People, naturally inclining to doubt the worſt upon ſuch Diviſions, had their Fears increas'd by ſeveral Prodigies of ſtrange Thunders and Tempeſts, but eſpecially by the Appearance of four Parhelions, or Mock-Suns, beſides the true Sun, which were ſeen in the Air from Morning 'till Night; which indeed happen'd to be the Forerunners of ſeveral Troubles in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*. The *Poictovins* and other Strangers thus bearing the Sway, ſo that the King's Perſon went guarded with whole Troops of them, the Earls and Barons refus'd to come to the King at a Parliament ſummon'd at *Oxford*. Upon which the King was adviſ'd to ſend out a ſecond and third Summons, to try whether they would come to *Weſtminſter* on the eleventh Day of *July*, promiſing alſo to reform whatever was amiſs. But when the Peers heard the Number of the Foreigners increas'd, and that there were but ſmall Hopes of an Accommodation, they laid aſide all Thoughts of meeting the King at the Day appointed, and by ſelect Meſſengers declar'd to him, *That unleſs the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *and the* Poictovins *were immediately remov'd from his Court, they would by the Common Council of the Kingdom, force both Him and thoſe evil Counſellors out of the Realm, and would conſult about creating a new King.* The King, whom his Father's Example had made more timorous, could eaſily have been perſuaded to a Compliance; but the Biſhop of *Winchester* and his Friends infus'd more Spirit and Reſolution into him. Upon which the moſt ſuſpected Perſons had a Day appointed them by the King, in which they ſhould deliver ſufficient Pledges to ſecure him of their Loyalty. Againſt that Day the Lords in great Numbers repair'd to *London*, but the Earl of *Pembroke*, being forewarn'd of Danger by his Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwall*, fled back into

They threaten the King.

The King punishes them.

Wales; and chiefly for want of his Presence nothing was concluded. The King not long after march'd to *Gloceſter* with an Army, where the Earl and his Adherents refus'd to appear; upon which the King burnt their Towns and Houſes, as if they had been Traitors, and without Trial diſpos'd of their Eſtates to the *Poictovins* and Strangers.

The Earl of *Pembroke* finding himſelf oppreſs'd, and deſerted by ſome whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had bought off, immediately enter'd into a Confederacy with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and other chief Men of that Country; and they all took an Oath not to make any Peace but by a general Conſent. And now the King having receiv'd more Foreigners, march'd with them down to *Hereford*, and from thence ſent to the Biſhop of St. *Davids* to defie the Earl of *Pembroke*, and commanded his Army to march againſt him, and beſiege his Caſtles. Yet notwithſtanding, after ſome ſmall Attempts and calmer Conſiderations, the King publickly promis'd, *That by the Advice of his Council, all that was amiſs ſhould be rectify'd and amended:* Accordingly on the ninth Day of *October*, the great Men met the King at *Weſtminſter*, and humbly beſought him *for the Honour of Almighty God, to take into Favour his natural Subjects, who without any Trial by their Peers, he treated as Rebels.* To which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reply'd, *That there were no ſuch Peers in* England *as in* France; *therefore it was lawful for the King, by ſuch Juſtices as he appointed, to baniſh any Criminals out of the Nation, and by Judgment condemn them.* This Anſwer was ſo highly reſented by the Biſhops, that with one Voice they threaten'd to excommunicate all the King's chief Counſellors by Name; but the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* appeal'd from their Sentence to the See of *Rome*. Then they ſolemnly execrated all ſuch as had alienated the King's Mind from his Native Subjects, and diſturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom.

M. Paris. &c.

The King ill adviſed.

In the mean Time the Earl of *Pembroke* had retaken a Caſtle which he had lately ſurrender'd to the King; which provok'd the King to march with a powerful Army into *Wales*; but the Earl had before deſtroy'd all the Forage, ſo that the King for Want of Neceſſaries was oblig'd to retire to the Caſtle of *Groſmont* in *Monmouthſhire*. Here the Earl, whoſe Conduct was equal to his Valour, ſo manag'd his Forces, that attacking the King's Army by Night, he put the whole into ſuch Diſorder, that they immediately fled, and left five hundred Horſe, and all their Baggage, for a Prey to the Enemy; upon which, the King leaving two Noblemen with the *Poictovins*, to make good the Marches againſt the *Welſh*, return'd with Diſhonour. The Earl alſo found them Employment whom the King left behind; and whereas the valiant *Baldwin*, a *Flemiſh* Knight, with a thouſand Horſe, thought to have ſurpris'd him, when with a tenth Part of that Number he came to view the Caſtle of *Monmouth*; the Earl alone bravely defended himſelf againſt twelve of his Enemies, and when his Horſe was ſlain, he threw one of them out of the Saddle, and leap'd into it himſelf, never giving ground 'till his other Forces came in to his Aſſiſtance, and obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Slaughter and Captivity of many *Poictovins* and others. His other Exploits in and about *Wales*, were not few nor diſhonourable, only he had the Misfortune to have his Soveraign on the contrary Side. About the ſame Time, *Hubert de Burgo*, having Intelligence that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* deſign'd his Death, eſcap'd out of the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, where he was Priſoner, to a neighbouring Church; but was hal'd from thence by the Keepers of the Caſtle. The Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in whoſe Dioceſe it happen'd, caus'd him to be ſafely reſtor'd to the ſame Place, from whence by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and a Troop of Soldiers, he was reſcu'd, and carry'd into *Wales*. Thus he, who when he was in Power and Grandeur, inſiſted upon abſolute Obedience to the King, now under Preſſures and Afflictions, ſtood as ſtrongly for Self-Defence.

Powel. M. Paris. &c.

The Earl of Pembroke *worſts the King in* Wales.

Hubert de Burgo *eſcapes.*

A. D. 1234. Reg. 18/19.

The Earl of *Pembroke* increaſing in Strength and Hatred againſt ſuch as were the King's Seducers, made great Devaſtations upon their Lands and Poſſeſſions; and

Ibid.

and joining with the Forces of *Lewellyn*, proceeded with Fire and Sword as far as *Shrewsbury*, part of which they laid in Aſhes, and plunder'd the reſt. The King then at *Gloceſter*, for want of ſufficient Forces, departed thence with no ſmall Concern to *Wincheſter*, abandoning thoſe other Parts to Waſte and Ruin. When the King's Counſellors ſaw their Houſes and Lands deſtroy'd, their *Poictovin* Friends greatly diminiſh'd, and themſelves without Remedy, they projected how to ruin the Earl by Treachery, whom they could not conquer by Valour. In order to which they compos'd Letters in the King's Name, ſeal'd with his and eleven of their own Seals, and directed them to *Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Juſticiary in *Ireland*, and ſeveral others who were the Earl's ſworn Feudataries, importing, 'That tho' the Earl had been proclaim'd a Traitor, 'proſcrib'd by the King's Court, and diveſted of his Paternal Eſtate, yet ſtill he 'purſu'd the King with his uſual Malice and Violence; wherefore they were 'requir'd, as faithful Subjects, whenever the Earl ſhould come over thither, 'to take him alive or dead, and preſent him to the King, which if they perform'd, 'all his great Poſſeſſions in *Ireland* ſhould be divided among them; for which 'they gave them the King's Promiſe and their own Securities for the Performance. The *Iriſh* Noblemen hearing the Tenor of theſe Letters, ſent private Meſſengers to theſe Counſellors, aſſuring them, 'That if what was promis'd them 'could be ſecur'd by the King's Charter, they would undertake to effect what 'he deſir'd. Upon which theſe Counſellors ſurreptitiouſly got the Seal from the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* now Chancellor, and without his Knowledge ſeal'd a Charter with it, by which all the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Earl were to be divided among them, and forthwith diſpatch'd a Meſſenger with it to the ſaid Noblemen. Upon the Receiving of which, they immediately reſolv'd the Deſtruction of the Earl; accordingly they rais'd a great Force, with which they enter'd his Lands, took his Caſtles, and waſted his Poſſeſſions, purpoſely to provoke him to come over into *Ireland*. This Plot ſoon took effect; for going over to take Revenge of theſe mercenary Enemies, he was treacherouſly beſet by them, and was kill'd by a Wound given him on the Back, while he with incomparable Bravery defended himſelf againſt a Multitude. Thus dy'd this valiant Man, who deſerv'd to have liv'd in better Times, and under a Prince who knew how to value Men of Worth; yet when he receiv'd the News of his Death, he much lamented the Loſs of ſo brave a Soldier, and ſo noble a Subject, declaring, *He had not left his Equal behind him.*

The Earl of Pembroke's Succeſſes.

He is deſtroy'd by Treachery in Ireland.

Windor. M. Paris. Before this happen'd, the King came to a Treaty at *Weſtminſter* with the Biſhops and Nobility; in which the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral Biſhops repreſented to him, *The calamitous Condition to which both he and the whole Kingdom was reduc'd, by following the pernicious Counſels of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *and his Accomplices, whoſe Advice had occaſion'd all the evil Events, Wars and Miſeries that had happen'd in his Reign:* Adding withal, *That if he did not ſpeedily remove theſe evil Counſellors from his Court and Preſence, and receive his Native and Liege-Subjects into their Places, they muſt of Neceſſity proceed to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt all Oppoſers.* Upon which the King calmly reply'd, *That he could not reform his Council, 'till he had taken their Accounts*, and ſo deſir'd a ſmall Reſpite, which at preſent gave Satisfaction to all. At another Meeting, the King was again admoniſh'd by the Arch-Biſhop, of the deſolate Condition of his Kingdom, and all the impending Dangers; and being again threaten'd with the Excommunication of himſelf as well as others, he at length promis'd to be directed by their Counſels. Shortly after he commanded the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to retire to his Biſhoprick, and keep to his Care of Souls, without concerning himſelf with the Affairs of the Publick; and likewiſe commanded *Peter de Rivaulx* to give in his Accounts, yield up his Caſtles, and depart his Court, declaring with an Oath, *That if he had not been a benefic'd Clerk, he would have caus'd his Eyes to be pull'd out.* He alſo diſcharg'd the *Poictovins* from his Service, both in his Court and Garriſons,

The Prelates remonſtrate to the King.

The King complies.

ſons, commanding them to return into their own Country, and never ſee his Face more. Thus having purg'd his Court, and freed his Kingdom from Foreigners, he ſubmitted to the Advice of the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops, by whom he hop'd to reduce his unſetled Kingdom to a proſperous Condition. By their Directions he came to a Treaty with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and iſſu'd out his Letters to all his Confederates and proſcrib'd Perſons to meet at *Gloceſter* on the twenty ninth Day of *May*, to be reconcil'd to him, and reſtor'd to their Inheritances, while the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops aſſur'd them of ſafe Conduct.

He is reconcil'd to many. The firſt who came to accept of the King's Favour was the late Juſticiary *Hubert*, whom the King receiv'd very graciouſly; after him *Gilbert Baſſet* and *Richard Sward*, with ſeveral others, who were all receiv'd with the Kiſs of Peace, reconcil'd to the King, and reſtor'd to all their Rights and Poſſeſſions. At the Interceſſion of the Arch-Biſhop he alſo reſtor'd to *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earl of *Pembroke*, all his Inheritance both in *England* and *Ireland*, and receiv'd his Homage; and on *Whitſunday* following at *Worceſter* he knighted him, and gave him the Marſhal's Staff.

Upon this general Reconciliation, the Practices by which the great Earl of *Pembroke* was deſtroy'd, and his Poſſeſſions diſmember'd, were all laid open; and the Copies of the Letters ſent into *Ireland* were by means of the Arch-Biſhop publickly read in the Preſence of the King, the Prelates, Earls and Barons. The exhibiting of theſe drew Tears from moſt of them; and the King declar'd by an Oath, *That he knew not the Contents of the ſaid Letters, tho' by the Importunity of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Rivaulx, Segrave *and others, he had caus'd his Seal to be put to them.* Theſe being ſhortly after ſummon'd to appear in the King's Court at *Weſtminſter*, inſtead of coming, took Sanctuary in ſeveral Places; but at length by the Management of the Arch-Biſhop, moſt of them were brought before the King, who in Perſon ſate upon the Bench with his Juſticiaries. *Peter de Rivaulx* was the firſt that appear'd in a Clerk's Habit, yet with a Dagger at his Girdle, and bow'd to the King, who as ſoon as he ſaw him, call'd him *Traitor*, accus'd him for his pernicious Counſels, and requir'd him to give an Account of his Treaſuryſhip, and alſo the Wardſhips of the young Nobility, with the Eſcheats and other Profits of the Crown; and after this ſent him to the Tower, and ſeiz'd all his Lay Poſſeſſions, becauſe under his Clerk's Habit he had a Coat of Mail, and a Knight's Weapon at his Girdle. At the ſame Day alſo appear'd *Stephen Segrave* before the King, who likewiſe call'd him *Traitor*, and added, That by his wicked Advice *Hubert* Earl of *Kent* was remov'd from his Office of Juſticiary, and impriſon'd, and many of the Nobility proſcrib'd, requiring him to give an Account of his Juſticiaryſhip. But by the Mediation of the Arch-Biſhop, Time was given to him and others; and the King getting Mony out of them, and making *Hugh de Pateſhull* chief Juſticiary, all Things in a ſhort Time were brought to a reaſonable and quiet Condition.

Ibid.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *and other Miniſters diſgrac'd*

A. D. 1235. Reg. 19 20.

Theſe calmer Times were made more pleaſant and joyful by the Marriage of the Emperor *Frederick* with the Lady *Iſabella*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, now about twenty Years of Age, with whom the King gave thirty thouſand Marks, as her Portion. The Meſſengers arriv'd in *March* with the Emperor's Letters, clos'd with a Seal of Gold, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologn*, and the Duke of *Lovain* were ſent to conduct her over. The King brought her to *Sandwich*, with a fair Train of three hundred Horſe, and being nobly furniſh'd with all Things, ſhe took ſhipping in *May*, and arriv'd at *Antwerp*, and was magnificently entertain'd; while her Sweetneſs of Behaviour, and her charming Beauty attracted the Love and Admiration of all People. At the Solemnity of her Marriage were preſent three Kings, eleven Dukes, thirty Earls, beſides a great Number of Prelates. This Imperial Affinity gave a worthy Hiſtorian occaſion to diſplay the Glory and Grandeur of the *Engliſh* Princes; but among them all, none were more highly advanc'd than the Children of King *John*, one of whoſe

Winder. M. Paris.

The Emperor Frederick *marries* Iſabella *the King's Siſter.*

Son-

Sons was now a King, the other afterwards choſen to be an Emperor, one of his Daughters now a Queen, this other now an Empreſs. Here *Roger Wendover* ends his Hiſtory, to whoſe Labours we have been often and very much oblig'd.

M. Paris. V. King *Henry*, being arriv'd to the thirtieth Year of his Age, and the twentieth of his Reign, reſolv'd to enter into a nuptial State, and accordingly marry'd the Lady *Eleanor*, ſecond Daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who tho' his Fortunes were in a low Condition, yet he marry'd his four Daughters to as many Kings. Immediately after her Marriage ſhe was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; at which Solemnity the City of *London* ſignally diſplay'd its Grandeur, being richly adorn'd with Silks, Banners, Crowns, Palls, Tapers and Lamps, with all the ſtrange Varieties of Wit and Invention. The Citizens, well mounted, and glorioufly attir'd, met the King on Horſe-back; and at the Dinner, with the Clangor of Trumpets before them, they enter'd, carrying three hundred and ſixty Cups of Gold and Silver, to ſerve the King and his noble Gueſts with Wine, according to their Duties in Coronations. Our Author here takes particular Notice, that the Earl of *Cheſter*, as Lord High-Conſtable, carry'd the Sword of St. *Edward*, call'd *Curteine*, before the King, in Token, 'That he is Earl of the Palace, and 'has by Right a Power of reſtraining the King, if he ſhould act any Thing 'amiſs. Shortly after the King went from *London* to *Merton-Abby*, where he met with his great Men to treat with them about the Affairs of the Kingdom; and here were made the Laws call'd *the Statutes of* Merton. To this Place came the Emperor's Meſſengers, deſiring the King to ſend his Brother *Richard* to his Aſſiſtance againſt the *French*; but by the Advice of the Nobility, his Requeſt was refus'd, becauſe he was young, and next Heir to the Crown, if the King dy'd without Iſſue.

A. D. 1236. Reg. 20/21.

The King marries Eleanor *Daughter to the Earl of* Provence.

Ibid. And now the jealous Lords began again to relapſe into their uſual Diſcontents, heinouſly reſenting it, That the King was ſo much govern'd by his Wife's Uncle, *William de Valentia*; inſomuch that the King withdrawing himſelf into the Tower of *London*, the Lords refus'd to come to him. Upon better Advice therefore the King return'd to his Palace; where ſome great Officers, and others, were remov'd from the Privy-Council, and their Places, not without the Admiration of moſt People. But the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, choſen Lord Chancellor in the King's Minority, being requir'd by his Soveraign to deliver up his Seal, poſitively refus'd, declaring, *That as he had receiv'd it by the Authority of the Parliament, he would not reſign it without their Conſent.* Theſe frequent Oppoſitions from his Prelates and Peers, induc'd this unſteady King to reſume into his Favour ſome of thoſe Counſellors he had not long ſince diſplac'd, as *Peter de Rivaulx*, and *Stephen Segrave*. Then to ſecure himſelf from remoter Dangers, he travell'd towards *York*, to eſtabliſh a Peace between him and *Alexander* King of the *Scots*; who in Confidence of the Amity and Aſſiſtance of Prince *Lewellyn*, demanded the County of *Northumberland*. Nevertheleſs, by the Wiſdom of their Friends, and their own Moderation, they parted in Peace; the King of *England*, rather than give up ſo neceſſary a Frontier, obliging himſelf to lay out certain Lands, in lieu of that County, which King *John* had formerly given as a Portion with his Daughter. In this Year *Matth. Paris* tells us of a ſtrange Prodigy ſeen near the Abby of *Rock* in *Yorkſhire*; which was, that for ſeveral Days together ſome Troops of Men on Horſeback appear'd to riſe out of the Ground, and dividing themſelves into Parties, ſeem'd to fight with each other, and at laſt to ſink into the Earth again. The like Apparitions, as he ſays, were alſo ſeen this Year in *Ireland*, as the Earl of *Gloceſter* related it to him, and affirm'd the Truth of the Fact.

The Lords again diſcontented.

A ſtrange Prodigy.

M. Paris, &c. King *Henry*, whoſe Treaſuries were exhauſted by the Payment of his Siſter's Portion to the Emperor, now call'd a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtain any Supplies from the States of the Land, but upon Confirmation of

A. D. 1237. Reg. 21/22.

The King wants Mony.

of the National Privileges of *England* formerly granted, and upon Acceptance of the Earls of *Ferrars*, and *Warren*, and *John Fitz-Geoffry* into his Privy-Council. The King, to satisfie the People, caus'd them to swear *to give no unfaithful Advice, and to abstain from all Corruption, or Sale of Justice*; and finally he promis'd himself *to rely wholly upon his natural Subjects for Advice, and to leave all others.* Upon this a *Thirtieth* of all Profits was granted; but then it was appointed, that the Mony should not be paid into the Exchequer, but was to be deposited in some Religious House or Castle in every County, to be expended for the Use of the Publick, as Occasion requir'd; so that if the King fail'd to perform his Part, every Man should receive back what he had deposited. One ordinary Cause of Expence seem'd now to be remov'd, for *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, being distemper'd in Body, and disturb'd by the Rebellions of his Son *Griffin*, voluntarily agreed to hold the whole Principality of the Kings of *England*.

The Prince of Wales submits to England.

Here *Matth. Paris* complains of the State of *England* at this Time, which by the King's Flexibility was become the ordinary Prey of sometimes one Sort of Strangers, and sometimes another, as *Poictovins*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Provencials*. But no Kind of Strangers then so much infested *England* as the *Romans*, of whom there swarm'd three Sorts; Usurers, who were the Pope's Merchants; *Italian* Clerks, vile and illiterate Persons, who being arm'd with the Pope's Bulls and Censures, possess'd themselves of many spiritual Revenues; and Farmers and Procters for the *Romans*, who subtlely scraping together whatever was of Value in the Land, sent it over the Sea to their luxurious Masters. And as these Papal Engines acted here in *England*, so they did with others at *Rome*, the Governors of that Church not seeking to win Mens Souls but their Mony, oppressing the Religious by Punishments, Usuries and Simonies, without any Care of Justice and Honesty; which caus'd the *Greek* Church at this Time to fall quite away, and to oppose it self against that of *Rome*. *England* had then no less Cause than *Greece*; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that the only Way to keep *England* firm, was to secure the King, so the King saw no Way to curb his Barons, but by yielding to the Pope, tho' with so many insufferable Mischiefs. And for some such Design Cardinal *Otto* the Pope's Legate was sent into *England*, utterly against the Will of the Peers, and especially of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who publickly reprov'd the King for allowing of it, declaring it dangerous to the Kingdom. Yet some good Offices were at first perform'd by the Legate; particularly in a Treaty of Peace begun between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *York*, where *Otto* interpos'd himself, and occasion'd a final Agreement. Notwithstanding this, the Barons were inrag'd to see the King so addicted to the Will of the *Romans*, and the Legate, for which the Earl of *Cornwall* his Brother reprov'd him *as carrying himself more like the Pope's Pensioner than a King*. By which the King began to be so sensible of his Authority, that when the Legate call'd a National Synod at St. *Paul's*, he sent Messengers to forbid him on the Behalf of the King and Kingdom, *Not to attempt any Thing that was against the Crown and Royal Dignity*.

Ibid.

Usurpations of the Church of Rome.

A. D. 1238. Reg. 22/23.

About this Time *Simon Montfort*, an active and vigorous Man, so wrought himself into Favour, that the King with his own Hands privately gave him his Sister *Eleanor*, Widow to the late Earl of *Pembroke*, notwithstanding she had vow'd her self a Nun. This being known to the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the discontented Lords, it was highly resented, because the King according to his Promise had not first consulted them, as in all Matters of Moment; insomuch that none but Earl *Hubert* adher'd to the forsaken King. The Earl of *Cornwall* was the Head of this Defection, of whom Men generally hop'd, That he would now free the Nation from the great Oppressions of *Romans* and other Strangers. Upon which the Legate undertook to advise him, alledging, *That if the whole Nation rose against the King, yet he being his own Brother, ought to adhere*

M. Paris. Walsing.

Simon Montfort *preferr'd.*

The Lords displeas'd.

to

to adhere to him. To whom the Earl reply'd, *That it was not ſtrange that he ſhould be ſo concern'd for the preſent Condition of the Kingdom, ſince he was the only Heir apparent to the Crown: And tho' ſo many Profits accru'd to the King, yet by the great Gifts beſtow'd to the Queen's Relations, the Treaſury was exhauſted, when the Kingdom was inviron'd with Enemies and Strangers, who were enrich'd with the Church Revenues and Benefices founded by his pious Anceſtors.* The Legate finding that neither Threats nor Promiſes would prevail upon the Barons of this Party, but that their Inclinations were bent towards the Earl, he adviſ'd the King to appoint the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* to give his poſitive Anſwer. Upon which Day the Nobility met at *London*, guarded with Horſe and Arms, to compel the King to the Performance of his Promiſes; and at length, after many Debates, the King promiſ'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Determination of ſome of the moſt grave and diſcreet Men; which Agreement was reduc'd to Writing, and ſeal'd both by the Legate and the Nobility.

M. Paris. Not long after, the King going to *Woodſtock*, a Traitor was ſeiz'd there who deſign'd to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty; for which he was drawn in Pieces by Horſes at *Coventry*. About the ſame Time the Legate was in no leſs Danger at *Oxford*, where being at firſt honourably entertain'd by the Univerſity in *Ouſney* Abby, the Pride of his *Romans* there prov'd ſo inſupportable, that a Company of the younger Students, being provok'd to arm themſelves, not only ſlew the Legate's Kinſman, but would have done the ſame to the Legate himſelf, whom they term'd *an Uſurer, a Simoniack, a Perverter of the King, and a Subverter of the Kingdom, enriching Strangers with the Spoils of the Natives.* But abſconding himſelf, he at Midnight eſcap'd over the River, not without Danger of drowning, and fled to the King for Protection. For which Outrage, the King ſending a Troop of Soldiers, impriſon'd thirty of the Offenders; and the Legate interdicted the whole Univerſity; 'till all the Biſhops of *England*, who met purpoſely at a Synod, pleaded for a Relaxation. To whoſe Importunity the haughty Legate would not condeſcend, unleſs all the Biſhops would yield to go on Foot with the Students from St. *Paul's* Church to the Legate's Houſe, which was about a Mile diſtant, who there without Gowns, Caps or Shoes, ſhould humbly crave Abſolution; all which was accordingly perform'd.

The Pope's Legate in Danger.

Ibid. Not long after the Legate was recall'd to *Rome* by the Pope, upon Notice of the daily Offences given to *England*; but by the earneſt Endeavours of the King, who fear'd leſt the Nobility ſhould prevail againſt him, he was detain'd as a neceſſary Evil to eſtabliſh Peace. About the ſame Time he created *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, but ſhortly after broke ſuddenly with him, alledging *That he had firſt corrupted his Siſter, and to cover her Shame he permitted the Marriage.* He likewiſe receiv'd *Stephen Segrave* again into his Favour and Council; ſo unconſtant was this Prince, that he ſcarce lov'd or hated, but according to the Influence and Suggeſtions of thoſe about him. Yet at length he began to diſcover the indirect Practices of his beloved Legate, whoſe great Friend, *Peter Saracen*, having been taken Priſoner by the Emperor, and obliged to pay ten thouſand Pounds for his Ranſom, this ſhameleſs Man adviſ'd the King to bind himſelf and his Crown for the Payment of it. By which the King perceiving what Toyls were laid to inſnare him, in a great Rage ſwore, *That he repented he had ever admitted the Legate into the Land, to devour all its Wealth.* And the Biſhops of the Nation, meeting in a Synod at *London* to redreſs the Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh* Church, told the Legate in plain Terms, *That the Importunity of the* Romans *had ſo long exhauſted their Church Revenues, that they would no longer endure it.* Shortly after when the Legate was entring *Scotland*, the King of that Country met him, and declar'd to him, *That never any Legate had enter'd there before, and there was no Occaſion for any at this Time; for Chriſtianity and the Church was then in a proſperous Condition.* But by the Mediation of ſome Friends, it was agreed under the

A. D. 1239. Reg. 23.

The Prelates complain againſt him.

the Hand and Seal of the Legate, That this ſhould not be drawn into a Precedent; whereupon the Legate enter'd *Scotland*, and held a Synod at *Edinburgh*, and having extorted what Mony he could, he return'd privately to *England*. About the ſame Time the variable King caus'd ſeveral Articles of Treaſon and high Miſdemeanors to be exhibited in his Court againſt his faithful *Hubert*, pretended to be committed while the Management of publick Affairs paſs'd through his Hands: To all which he anſwer'd with ſuch Modeſty and Submiſſion, and ſo fully to the Purpoſe, that all who heard him were ſatisfy'd of his Innocence; tho' the King and all his Lawyers did their utmoſt to prove him guilty. However the King's Anger was no ways abated, 'till he had reſign'd four of his beſt Caſtles, *Blanch* Caſtle, *Groſmund* in *Wales*, *Screnefrith* and *Hatfield*. In the ſame Year, on the ſixteenth Day of *June*, Queen *Eleanor* was deliver'd of a Son nam'd *Edward*, afterwards King of *England*.

Edward I. born.

A. D. 1240. Reg. 24, 25.

About the ſame Time the Emperor *Frederick* being excommunicated by the Pope, afterwards by his Ambaſſadors complain'd to King *Henry*, *That he ſeemed to have forgot his Alliance and Marriage with his Siſter, when he ſuffer'd the Pope's Sentence of Excommunication againſt him to be publiſh'd in his Kingdom, and had inconſiderately allow'd the Pope's Legate as Coadjutor in theſe Practices againſt him; wherefore he deſir'd that the Legate might be expell'd* England, *as the Enemy and Pillager of his Subjects*. To whom the King moſt diſhonourably anſwer'd, *That he ought to obey the Pope, and his Eccleſiaſtical Commands, becauſe he was his Tributary and Feudatary*. However he adviſ'd the Legate to leave his Kingdom, to prevent further Miſchiefs, and incenſing the Emperor; yet he found Pretences to ſtay 'till the following Year, and in the mean Time to extort unreaſonable Sums from the Clergy and others. There were alſo Commands given to the *Italian* Uſurers, by the King, *To leave the moſt pure Earth of his Realm*, as he phras'd it; but, as *M. Paris* adds, by giving the King Mony, which is too much us'd to juſtifie the Impious, they for the moſt Part remain'd ſtill, being unwilling to forſake ſuch rich Paſtures. Whether upon Diſcontent for theſe burdenſom Times, or otherwiſe, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* took upon him the Croſs, began his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, and left his Son *Henry* to the King his Brother's Care; and not long after was follow'd by *William Longſpee* Earl of *Salisbury*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* Noblemen, that attended him.

M. Paris, &c.

The Emperor complains of the King.

The Earl of Cornwall undertakes the Holy War.

A. D. 1241. Reg. 25, 26.

At length, after near four Years Continuance, the Legate being commanded by the Pope to return, took his ſolemn Leave of the King, and parted with many tender Sighs and Embraces. No Man but the King lamented his Departure; for, ſetting aſide the Holy Veſſels and Ornaments of the Churches, he had drawn more Riches from the Clergy than he left behind; beſides he had occaſion'd three hundred rich Benefices and Prebendaries to be given to the Pope's Creatures, and reſerv'd for his own Uſe. Upon his Departure, *Peter* of *Savoy* the Queen's Uncle arriv'd, whom the King entertain'd with great Magnificence, and gave him the Earldom of *Richmond*. This and the like Bounties to Strangers occaſion'd ſtill more Hatred againſt the King, who in favour of his Queen, procur'd her Uncle *Boniface* to be choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Rents of which were then above four thouſand Marks *per annum*. *Edmund* his Predeceſſor, being weary of the Pope's Exactions and Oppreſſions in *England*, had made choice of a voluntary Exile at *Pountney* in *France*, where he dy'd with the Honour and Opinion of a Saint. In the ſame Year dy'd two great Ladies of the Royal Blood of *England*; firſt, *Iſabella*, the Empreſs, and the King's eldeſt Siſter, in Childbed, to the great Grief of the Emperor her Husband; next, *Eleanor*, Siſter to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, who having been kept Priſoner thirty nine Years, deceas'd in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, without ever being marry'd. This laſt was a Lady of a noble Spirit, ever inſiſting upon her Right to the Crown; who upon her Death left a more indiſputable Title to King *Henry*, than ever he had before.

Ibid.

The Pope's Legate departs.

Eleanor Heireſs to the Crown dies.

VI. The

M. Paris. &c.

VI. The King's Imployments had hitherto been almoſt wholly taken up in Civil Diſturbances, or in the too patient Bearing of ſome foreign Grievances, nouriſh'd within his own Kingdom; which gave him perhaps little Leiſure, Means, or Inclination to purſue any Tranſmarine Action. But now having with great Oppoſition furniſh'd himſelf with Mony and Men, he took Shipping immediately after *Eaſter* towards *Poictou*, where the Earl of *Marche*, now Huſband to Queen *Iſabel* his Mother, expected his Arrival. He committed the Government of the Land to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and took with him the Earl of *Cornwall*, lately return'd with much Honour from the *Holy-Land*, and ſeven other Earls, with about three hundred Knights, beſides other Soldiers. To reſiſt the *Engliſh*, the King of *France*, who had given *Poictou* to his Brother *Alphonſo*, aſſembled a powerful Army of four thouſand Men of Arms, and about twenty thouſand Soldiers, with a thouſand Carriages. And laying Siege to *Fronteney*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Marche*, King *Henry* ſent a Meſſenger of Defiance to him, *as a Breaker of the Truce*. *Lewis*, a juſt and valiant Prince, deny'd *That ever he broke the Truce; but that the King of* England *had been the Aggreſſor in joining with ſuch as were Rebels againſt him.* Yet, provided that the *Engliſh* would not protect his Enemies the Earls of *Marche*, *Tholouſe* and others, he offer'd to give him *Poictou*, and a great Part of *Normandy*, in Satisfaction of his Father's Oath, and further to prolong the laſt Truce three Years more. Theſe Conditions, ſo honourable and advantagious to the King of *England*, by the Practices of the *Poictovins*, who fear'd the *French* King's Anger would prove too heavy for them, if the *Engliſh* abandon'd their Cauſe, were unfortunately refus'd.

A. D. 1242. Reg. 26/27.

The King's Deſigns in France.

The fair Offers of the French *King refus'd.*

Ibid.

Upon this Refuſal, the *French* King expreſs'd much Concern for the Oaths that his Father had made to King *Henry* when he left *England*, of delivering up his Dominions in *France*. But one of his Miniſters reply'd, *That the Oath was mutual, and that the King of* England *had broken it when he caus'd* Conſtantine *a Citizen of* London *to be hang'd for defending his Father's Honour.* This weak Pretence ſatisfy'd the King's Scruples for the preſent; and proceeding in his Attacks upon the Caſtle of *Fronteney*, took it with the Earl of *Marche*'s Son, and above four hundred other Priſoners. When ſome adviſ'd him That the Earl's Son and the reſt might be executed as a Terror to other Rebels, he generouſly reply'd, *The Son has obey'd his Father, and the reſt the Command of their Lord, upon which account neither of them deſerve Death.* After this, *Lewis* march'd directly to *Tailleburgh* where King *Henry* was incamp'd, who now perceiv'd that he was utterly diſappointed by the Earl of *Marche*, and in great Danger: Therefore expoſtulating with the Earl *How he had perform'd his Promiſe of procuring Men, if he ſupply'd him with Mony?* the Earl reply'd, *He never made ſuch a Promiſe, and if any Writing was ſeal'd to that Effect, it was all the Contrivance of his Wife, the King's Mother.* Immediately Earl *Richard* diſarm'd himſelf, and with a Truncheon in his Hand went to the *French* Camp, where he was kindly and honourably receiv'd; and deſiring a ſhort Truce of the King, he obtain'd one for a Day and a Night: By which means King *Henry* his Brother had an Opportunity of eſcaping with his Army, tho' not without great Diſhonour and Difficulty. The Earl of *Marche* now repenting of his Attempts, ſubmitted to the *French* King, and made private Articles for himſelf; ſo that King *Henry* being abandon'd, was oblig'd to fly into *Gaſcony*. Upon which the Cities of *Xaintes*, *Ponti*, and all the reſt of *Poictou*, forthwith ſubmitted to King *Lewis*; only *Hertold* Governor of *Mirabel* Caſtle went to the King of *England*, and implor'd his Protection; to whom the King reply'd, *That he was betray'd by the Earl of* Marche, *and was ſcarce able to ſecure his own Perſon, therefore he had leave to act according to his Diſcretion.* Upon this he went to the King of *France*, and ſubmitted himſelf to his Protection, and that King anſwer'd, *That he only had*

Poictou *gain'd by him.*

behav'd himself faithfully to his Soveraign, and therefore receiv'd the Castle and Himself very kindly; and having first taken an Oath of Fealty, generously restor'd it to him again. The further Prosecution of this War was hinder'd by Sickness and Famine, which much afflicted the *French* Army; which at length occasion'd a five Year's Truce between the two Kings. *Lewis* return'd to *Paris*, and *Henry* retir'd to his City of *Bourdeux* in *Gascony*; where, being govern'd by the Counsels of the King of *Arragon* and the Earl of *Tholouse*, he spent the Winter in Softness and Pleasure, as tho' no Dishonour had befallen him. Here his Queen *Eleanor* bore a Daughter call'd *Beatrix*.

A Truce between the Kings of England *and* France.

A. D. 1243. Reg. 27/28.

In the following Year the five Years Truce between the two Kings was solemnly confirm'd; by which Agreement the King of *France* was not only to retain whatever he had gain'd by the Sword, but also to receive five thousand Pounds every Year from the King of *England:* To such dishonourable Terms was this poor Prince by his own Inconsiderateness reduc'd. His Return was long expected in *England*, yet much delay'd by the *Gascoigns*, by reason of the Mony he expended amongst them; so that he could not arrive at his own Kingdom before the twenty fifth Day of *September*. By reason of this expensive Voyage, he soon became very burdensome to his Subjects, as well by the Levy of *Scutage*, as by forc'd Loans, and other Methods. The *Jews* also felt the Severity of his Wants so far, that Christians commiserated their Condition; whose Gold he receiv'd with his own Hands, and their Silver by those of his Officers. These and other importunate Corrasions, were not only us'd to fill up such Breaches as the *French* Affairs had produc'd, but also to spend on Shows and Entertainments. For on the first of *November*, *Beatrix* Countess of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, arriv'd in *England*, being receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Pomp and Magnificence. She brought her Daughter *Cynthia* with her, who on the twenty third of the same Month was marry'd to the King's Brother Earl *Richard*; and the Nuptials were celebrated with such Splendor and Feasting, that no less than thirty thousand Dishes were provided for the Entertainment.

Ibid.

King Henry *returns with Dishonour from* France.

A. D. 1244. Reg. 28/29.

These new Expences occasion'd a further Want in the King's Coffers, and therefore he call'd a Parliament for a new Supply; to whom he promis'd *To observe the Liberties sworn to at his Coronation, and granted in his Charters*, and further declar'd, *That his Honour and theirs should be inseparable.* Upon which the whole Body besought him To remember 'how often he had re-'ceiv'd Mony from his faithful Subjects, without performing his Promises; 'That after the taking of *Bedford*, he had *Carrucage*, two Shillings upon eve-'ry Plough-Land; the Year after, a *Fifteenth* upon all their Moveables: Up-'on his Passage into *Bretaign* he had no small Sums from the Prelates, Mona-'steries, Burgesses and *Jews:* After his Return he had *Scutage*, three Marks 'upon every Knight's Fee; then a *Fortieth* of all Moveables; a while after, a '*Thirtieth*; shortly after, for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor, 'two Marks upon every Plough-Land; and at his Son's Birth, by Presents he 'had heap'd up considerable Sums. Again when he went into *Gascony*, he had 'rais'd vast Quantities of Mony from all Sorts of People, and upon his Return, 'after he had been deluded and dishonour'd, he had in a manner fleec'd his 'Subjects. Yet still, under the Name of Aid for the Marriage of the King's eldest Daughter, they granted him twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, to be paid at *Easter* and *Michaelmass*. To which they added this severe Expostulation, *How well the King will keep his Promises, in Requital of the past and present Contributions, he only knows to whom nothing is unknown.* But such as endeavour'd to strengthen the Pope's Designs, by raising Mony from the *English* Clergy, met with a constant Opposition; not only through the Unwillingness of the Clergy, but also because the Emperor had written to the King, in express Terms, *That if he suffer'd any Contributions for the Pope, he would certainly revenge it upon all the* English *that fell into his Hands.*

M. Paris, &c.

Great Complaints against the King in Parliament.

In

Powel. M. Paris. &c. In the mean Time, *Griffin* Brother to *David* Prince of *Wales*, after a long Impriſonment in the *Tower*, endeavouring to eſcape, loſt his Life by the Breaking of the Rope that ſhould have given him his Liberty; which Accident occaſion'd his Brother *David* to revolt and take up Arms, notwithſtanding the ſolemn Submiſſion he had made three Years before. And to ſupport his Deſigns, in Imitation of King *John*, he put himſelf under the Protection of the Pope, offering him an annual Tribute of five hundred Marks; all which produc'd no great Effect. At the ſame Time that the King receiv'd the News of the *Welſh* Inſurrection, he alſo heard, That the King of the *Scots* had declar'd, *He would not hold the leaſt Piece of Earth of the King of* England. For the Management of this double War, he firſt march'd into the North, where at *Newcaſtle*, by means of the Death of the principal Incendiary, and the Mediation of others, all Conteſts between the two Kings were adjuſted, according to thoſe Articles formerly made between them at the City of *York*. The *Welſh* being now leſs formidable, the King ſent but a ſmall Part of his Army againſt them, under the Conduct of *Hubert Fitz-Mathew*; but through their own Neglect, and the Vigilance of the *Welſh*, *Hubert* and all his Men were defeated and diſpers'd. The News of this Diſhonour ſo affected the King, that he reſolv'd to ſend a powerful Army againſt the *Welſh*; but when he deſir'd a Subſidy of his Parliament for that purpoſe, he was with one Voice and Mind deny'd; tho' at the ſame time his Debts to Foreign Merchants for Wines and other Neceſſaries, were ſo numerous and ſo continually remember'd, that he could ſcarce paſs abroad without their Clamours. Yet the News he receiv'd from *Gaſcony*, That his Lieutenant *De Molis* had defeated the King of *Navarre*, did ſomewhat mitigate theſe Misfortunes; and at the ſame Time *Robert Paſſeleu* by his ſevere fining ſuch as had encroach'd upon the King's Foreſts, in a ſhort Time fill'd his Coffers beyond all Expectation.

A Breach with Wales.

and with Scotland.

The King's ill Succeſs.

M. Paris. Weſtmin. The great Benefits the King found from his new Supplies, caus'd him daily to conſider how to augment them, and put a Stop to all foreign Hindrances and Out-lets. Upon the Departure of *Otto*, the Pope's Legate, who had vaſtly inrich'd both himſelf and his Maſter, it was hop'd that the Nation ſhould have found ſome Eaſe from the *Romiſh* Extortions; but it prov'd otherwiſe; for, as *M. Paris* complains, new Agents and Factors ſtill came over, as if *England* had been an unexhauſtible Spring, and *Rome* a bottomleſs Gulf. Upon which Account the King had wrot both to this Pope and his Predeceſſor, deſiring them *To deſiſt from thus afflicting* England *with their Exactions*; yet out of Fear of him whom he had acknowledg'd his Soveraign, and a Deſire of more Power, he ſupported the *Romiſh* Miniſters, againſt the Pleaſure of the whole Nation. Which ſo incourag'd the preſent Pope, that he deſign'd to make a Viſit into *England* himſelf; to which purpoſe he caus'd his Cardinals to write their perſuaſory Letters to the King, *as a Thing highly conducing to his Safety, and to his Kingdom's Immortal Glory, to enjoy the Preſence of the Lord Pope, who greatly deſir'd to ſee the Delicacies of* Weſtminſter, *and the Riches of* London. But the King's Council expreſly declar'd to him, *That the Rapines and Simonies of the* Romans *had ſufficiently ſtain'd the Purity of* England, *without the Pope's coming perſonally to pillage the Wealth of the Church and Kingdom.* Tho' the Pope was refus'd Entrance in Perſon, yet his Rapines were ſtill carry'd on by his Factor and Chaplain *Martin*; inſomuch that ſeveral of the Peers, commiſerating the Condition of the Land, took Order for a ſtrict Watch at all the Ports of *England*, that all Letters from *Rome* ſhould be ſtopp'd. Shortly after the King order'd a ſtrict Enquiry to be made into each County of the true Value of the Benefices which the *Italian* Clergy-Men then enjoy'd in *England* by the Gift of the Pope; and they were found to amount to ſixty thouſand Marks *per Annum*, which at that Time exceeded the whole Revenue of the Crown. Upon which Report the King became fully ſenſible of the infatiable Avarice of the *Romiſh* Church, but all that he durſt

A. D. 1245. Reg. 29/30.

England oppreſs'd by the Pope's Agents.

The King exerts his Authority againſt Rome.

do was to permit a ſharp Epiſtle to be written in the Name of the general Body of the Nation, in which they ſet forth *the execrable Extortions and Exactions of the Pope's Legates and Nuntio's*, and ſent it to the Pope then ſitting in a Council at *Lyons*. Here, the Pope giving dilatory and uncertain Anſwers, Earl *Bigot* and the reſt of the King's Agents, with terrible Threats and Oaths declar'd, *That they would remedy that themſelves, which the Pope would not.* And indeed the Nobility at home had already begun to act to that Effect, having commanded *Martin* to depart out of the Land, *or he and all his Company ſhould be cut in pieces:* Who departing in Haſte, ſo inrag'd the Pope with the News of this Uſage, that he declar'd thus, *It is full Time that we make Peace with the Emperor, that ſo we may humble theſe rebellious petty Princes; for the great Dragon being once pacify'd, the ſmaller Serpents will eaſily be trodden under foot.* Then to let King *Henry* ſee his Power, he ſent to all the Biſhops of *England*, commanding them that each ſhould ſet his Seal to that Charter of Tribute which King *John* had unhappily granted; which theſe timorous Biſhops perform'd, greatly to the Nation's Damage, and their own Reproach. The King at firſt ſhew'd his Reſentments, and declar'd *That he would never comply with ſuch Baſeneſs*; but wanting Conſtancy and Courage, he in a ſhort Time return'd to his wonted Tameneſs and Submiſſion.

The Pope's Pride.

The *Welſh* Affairs growing very troubleſome by reaſon of the caſual Death of *Fitz-Mathew*, the King prepar'd to ſuppreſs their Inſults in Perſon: In order to which the King came to St. *Paul's* Church, and there took leave of the Citizens of *London*, after a familiar and popular Manner. And that neither War nor Want ſhould make him forget his Magnificence, he began to pull down the old Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, and new build it in that ſtately Manner in which it remains to this Day. But all that he did in *Wales* for near two Months, was to build the Caſtle of *Ganock*, which he finiſh'd with great Difficulty, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it; and the Winter approaching, he deſtroy'd all the Victuals and Forage upon the Borders, and the inward Parts of *Wales*, and then return'd with his Army into *England*. For this Expedition the King pawn'd his Jewels to his Brother *Richard* for three thouſand Marks. Here *M. Paris* has a long Liſt of great Perſons, who dying about this Time, left neither Name nor Iſſue to preſerve the Memory of their Grandeur; but none ſo remarkable as the Earls of *Pembroke*, of whom there were five ſucceſſive Brothers, who dying left the noble Earldom, with a mighty Eſtate in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, to be divided between five Siſters, all marry'd to the greateſt Men of the Nation. Our Author aſcribes this ſudden Failure of the Heir Males to the Curſe of an *Iriſh* Biſhop upon their Father, who for taking away ſome Lands belonging to his See, and refuſing to reſtore them, pray'd that God would ſhew ſome remarkable Judgment upon his Family.

Powel. M. Paris.

The King builds the Abby Church at Weſtminſter.

A. D. 1246. Reg. 30 31.

The King finding himſelf free from foreign Troubles, now apply'd himſelf to the Reformation of the inward Maladies of his Dominions; and for that End he call'd a full Parliament to *London*, to which he deliver'd in Writing the Sum of the Grievances both in Church and State: As Firſt, 'That the Pope had extorted great Contributions of the Clergy, without the King's Conſent, againſt 'the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom. Secondly, That Patrons could not 'beſtow their Livings on fit Perſons, becauſe the Pope gave them to his *Romans*, who could not ſpeak *Engliſh*, but impoveriſh'd the Nation by carrying 'away the Coin. Thirdly, That the Pope's Proviſions and Penſions were exor-'bitant and inſupportable. Fourthly, That *Engliſh* Men were drawn out of 'their Country to finiſh their Cauſes abroad. And Fifthly, That the Pope 'by his Clauſe of *Non Obſtante* vacated Oaths, Cuſtoms, Charters, Grants, 'Statutes, Rights and Privileges. Upon which the King, Prelates, Earls, Barons, Abbots and Priors, did all write their ſeveral Complaints to the Pope, requiring *ſpeedy Redreſs of thoſe infinite Injuries to the King and all his Subjects, who would rather die than thus daily endure ſuch Oppreſſions.* Notwithſtanding,

M. Paris. &c.

Great Complaints againſt the Pope's Uſurpations.

ſtanding, ſeveral Prelates, out of Fear or Ambition, privately promoted the Pope's Deſigns, when he ſecretly requir'd an annual Tallage of the Clergy for the Maintenance of his Soldiers; and that the State ſhould have no Notice of it, he caus'd them to ſwear not to reveal this Contribution to any Man for the Space of half a Year. Yet the King came to the Knowledge of it, and by Proclamation commanded that the Mony ſhould not be carry'd out of the Land, and that none of his Subjects ſhould contribute any Mony to the Pope: But it came to no great Effect, for ſome Romanizing Biſhops and ambitious Clerks of his Council, fearing the Papal Threats, drew him to leave his Purpoſe weakly, which he had manfully undertaken. The Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a principal Agent, was ſaid to have Authority from the Pope to Interdict the Land, which was the main Thing the King fear'd, and which, as our Author freely writes, was not worth his Fears; and the Earl of *Cornwall* alſo with others, labour'd to promote the Pope's Intereſt, ſo that the wonted Extortions were as current as ever. And further the Pope granted to *Boniface*, now Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a Foreigner and Uncle to the Queen, a Bull for levying a Tax of ten thouſand Marks in ſeven Years Time upon the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province, to diſcharge, as it was pretended, the Debts of the Archbiſhoprick.

But to little Effect.

M. Paris. &c. If we ſhould ſo often inſiſt upon the Relation of this Kingdom's Misfortunes, as the Pope's endleſs Corraſions, and the State's repeated Complaints give us Occaſion, we ſhould overburden the Reader with diſmal Matter, which Monks themſelves have mournfully and copiouſly ſet forth, ſhowing the too ſervile Affections of our Anceſtors, who ſtill enter'd upon new Conſultations about the Diſeaſe, but never brought the Remedy to its right uſe. For upon freſh Extortions from *Rome*, the King again aſſembled his Parliament to think of a Redreſs, the whole State, as well Clergy as Laity, being reduc'd to ſuch a low Condition as was never known before; of which they again made their heavy Complaints, who were to protect the Land from ſuch Wrongs and Miſchiefs. Their only Remedy was again to write Letters to the Pope, which ſlender Force he could eaſily diſſipate; and tho', to put a Stop to preſent Clamours, he promis'd never to ſend any Legates into *England*, but at the State's Requeſt; yet he daily ſent his exacting Clerks, with the Power, tho' not with the Title and Enſigns of Legates, ſo to delude the King, and impoſe upon his Subjects. In the midſt of theſe unhappy Times, the King ſummon'd all his Peers to meet on the Feſtival of St. *Edward*, the thirteenth of *October*, partly, as the Writ of Summons ſets forth, *To hear the good News of a Benefit conferr'd on* England *from Heav'n*, partly to celebrate the Tranſlation of that Martyr, and partly for the Solemnity of Knighting *William de Valentia*, the King's Half Brother. The good News they were to hear was, That a Portion of our Saviour's Blood was ſent to the King from *Jeruſalem*; which with great Reverence and Devotion, the King himſelf in a mean Habit carry'd on Foot, from St. *Paul*'s Church to *Weſtminſter*, where it was carefully repoſited.

A. D. 1247. Reg. 31, 32.

The Oppreſſions of England *from the See of* Rome.

Ibid. As the Pope continually wanted Mony from this Kingdom, ſo did the King alſo: For which Reaſon he ſummon'd a Parliament at *London*, and requir'd of the Members to grant him a pecuniary Aid. But inſtead of complying, they reprov'd him, *For asking it without bluſhing, ſeeing when they granted the laſt, he promis'd by his Charter, That he would no more burden his Nobility.* Moreover they blam'd him *For his repeated Kindneſſes and Liberalities to Foreigners, and Contempt of his Native Subjects, for not encouraging the Trade of his own Kingdom, and in exacting unreaſonable Gifts from Merchants:* And laſtly, *For keeping Biſhopricks and Monaſteries void in his own Hands.* To which they added, *That neither the Juſticiary, Chancellor, nor Treaſurer, were made by the Common-Council of the Kingdom, as they were in his Predeceſſor's Reign.* The King inwardly touch'd at this, promis'd, *That what was amiſs ſhould be ſpeedily redreſs'd*; to which the whole Body return'd Anſwer, *That as they had often, ſo they would now patiently wait a while; and according*

A. D. 1248. Reg. 32, 33.

The Parliament inſults the King.

cording as his Promiſes were perform'd, ſo ſhould their Obedience be. Upon which the Matter was deferr'd for three or four Months; and meeting again the King made a Speech to them to this Effect, *That they had not treated their King civilly, but would impoſe mean and ſervile Conditions upon him; and what each of them in private thought to be his Right was deny'd him, even that Authority which every Maſter exercis'd in his Family, who might uſe what Counſel, and might chuſe what Servants he thought fit in his own Houſe, but this they deny'd to their Soveraign: And as Servants ought not to judge or impoſe any Difficulties upon their Lord, ſo neither might Vaſſals upon their Prince; therefore he reſolv'd to remove none of his Miniſters at their Pleaſure. Yet notwithſtanding he expected a pecuniary Aid, for the Recovery of his Rights beyond the Seas, which was their Concern as well as his.* They all unanimouſly reply'd, *That they would no longer impoveriſh themſelves to inrich Foreigners:* So the King was left to furniſh himſelf by the Sale of his Jewels, Plate, and other valuable Goods; and being told that he might find Buyers in *London*, he reply'd, *That if the Treaſury of* Auguſtus *were to be ſold, the Citizens of* London *were able to purchaſe it.*

He reſents the Affront.

A. D. 1249. Reg. 33/34. The Affairs of *Gaſcony*, which had been greatly diſturb'd by one *Guaſto de Biard*, were now by the Courage and Conduct of *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, reduc'd to good Order; which render'd his Preſence very acceptable in the Court of *England*. The King intending to promote that Enterprize afreſh againſt the following Spring, left no Methods untry'd, which either by Art or inceſſant Intreaties he could uſe to repleniſh his exhauſted Coffers. In which he too much debas'd the Royal Name and Dignity of a King, declaring to ſeveral, whoſe Bounty he crav'd, *That it was more Charity to aſſiſt him with Mony, than one that went begging from Door to Door.* In the mean Time the King neglected not the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; for, whereas the whole County of *Hampſhire* was infeſted with Felons, Robbers and Murderers, he ſo manag'd the Affair, by ſitting in Perſon at *Wincheſter* Caſtle, that the Infamy and Danger of thoſe Places were clear'd by hanging the chief Offenders, many of whom were wealthy, and ſome the King's own Servants; the latter of whom pleaded, *That the King had for a long Time ſtopp'd their Wages, ſo that they were oblig'd either to ſell their Horſes and Equipage, or live upon Robberies.* The King, now deſirous to be Friends with the Citizens of *London*, to whom of late he had been too hard and extorting, publickly reconcil'd himſelf to them, whom for that Cauſe he commanded to appear at *Weſtminſter*, and there immediately undertook the *Cruſado*, and receiv'd the Badge from Arch-Biſhop *Boniface*; but whatever his Intentions were, he himſelf never came to Action. In the mean Time, contrary to the Example of his Anceſtors, he ſo much abridg'd the Expences of his Houſe, and his Alms, that he juſtly ſuſtain'd ſome diſhonourable Imputations. Nevertheleſs he began wiſely to extricate himſelf out of many Merchants Debts; towards which he forc'd great Aids from the *Jews*, as being the ordinary Clippers and Defacers of his Coin, and the Forgers of Seals and Charters; from one of whom he had at ſeveral Times got thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, beſides two hundred Marks in Gold. And to get more Mony he ſent a ſevere Inquiſitor to ſearch into the Tranſgreſſions upon Foreſts; which Charge he executed with that Violence and Extortion upon the Gentry, that tho' he rais'd large Sums, yet it loſt him the Affections of his People, when he came afterwards to ſtand in moſt need of them.

The King reduc'd to Straits.

Ibid.

A. D. 1250. Reg. 34/35.

He undertakes the Cruſado.

His Extortions.

A. D. 1251. Reg. 35/36. The King, now wholly intent upon raiſing of Mony, neither gave any rich Preſents according to the ancient Cuſtom of *England*, nor would put on his Royal Robes, but ſtill ſhorten'd the Allowances of his Houſhold and Entertainments, without any Regard to Majeſty or Cenſure. And to ſpare his own Charges, he ſometimes invited himſelf to one great Man, and ſometimes to another; but was never ſatisfy'd with his Entertainment, unleſs conſiderable Preſents were alſo made to himſelf, his Queen, and Son *Edward*, and likewiſe to his

He debaſes himſelf.

Ibid.

his chief Favourites, which they rather look'd upon as a Debt than a Courteſie. This was the diſhonourable State of the King's Court at this Time: Yet in the greateſt Wants, and moſt rigorous Parſimony, he could not defend himſelf againſt the Suits and Preferments of his *Poictovins* and *Provencials*; ſo that it became a common Murmur in *England*, *Our Inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our Houſes to Strangers:* And what was yet more grievous, their Pride and Violence were inſupportable. In theſe unhappy Times the Clauſe of *Non Obſtante*, firſt introduc'd by the Pope, was taken up in *England* by the King, in his Grants and Charters, as *Non obſtante priore Mandato*, and *Non obſtante antiqua Libertate*, and the like; which our Author calls a deteſtable Clauſe: And *Roger de Thurkeby*, one of the King's Juſtices, at the firſt Sight of it, with a deep Sigh cry'd out, *Alas, to what Times are we arriv'd! The Civil Court is corrupted by the Eccleſiaſtical, and the River is poiſon'd from that Fountain.*

Ibid. Many took the Advantage of theſe Times, among the reſt *Henry de Bath*, one of the King's Juſticiaries, who by his Briberies and Extortions had rais'd a great Eſtate upon the Ruin of others; for which he was accus'd to the King, who oblig'd him to appear before the next Parliament at *London*. At the appointed Time he came with a magnificent Train of his own and his Lady's Relations, hoping by that means to turn the Edge of Juſtice. Beſides other Crimes, he was accus'd of incenſing the whole Baronage againſt the King, which had endanger'd a general Sedition; and the King was ſo highly provok'd againſt him, that he caus'd it to be proclaim'd in his own Court and in *London*, *That if any Perſon had any Complaint againſt* Henry de Bath, *he might come in and be heard*. Upon which one of his Fellow-Juſtices charg'd him with acquitting a notorious Criminal for a great Bribe; which further ſo inrag'd the King, that ſtanding up he raſhly cry'd out, *That if any Man would kill* Henry de Bath, *he would pardon him*; and he had ſoon been diſpatch'd, had not the Prudence of *John Manſel*, and the Threats of the Biſhop of *London* ſecur'd him from further Violence. But at length having made Earl *Richard* his Friend, by great Preſents, through his Mediation, and the Promiſe of two thouſand Marks, he gain'd his Liberty, return'd to Court, and was receiv'd into Favour: For at this Time Juſtice, and all other Things became ſaleable. In the ſame Year, part of *Wales* was wholly ſubdu'd, and receiv'd the *Engliſh* Laws; and the North-Eaſt Parts were committed to the Government of *Alun de Zouch*, who farm'd them at eleven Hundred Marks *per Annum*. About the ſame Time the Community of *London* ſwore Allegiance to Prince *Edward*, ſaving the Fidelity they ow'd to the King his Father, who then alſo granted them a Confirmation of all Liberties they enjoy'd in the Reign of King *Henry* the Firſt; for which Charter they paid the King five hundred Marks.

Henry de Bath *accus'd.*

He is freed.

M. Paris. **VII.** All Things being now in a quiet, tho' unſetled Poſture, *Alexander* III. King of *Scotland*, now about twelve Years of Age, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, deſiring the laſt Peace between the two Nations might be ratify'd, as well as the Agreement of a Marriage between himſelf and the Lady *Margaret* the King's Daughter. Upon which Motion, both the Kings met on *Chriſtmaſs* at *York*, where King *Henry* firſt knighted young *Alexander*, and the next Day gave him his Daughter *Margaret* in Marriage. The Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with a mighty Confluence of Prelates and Noblemen out of *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, beſides two Kings, three Queens, a thouſand *Engliſh*, and ſix hundred *Scotch* Knights, who all appear'd in the moſt ſplendid Apparel and Equipage. The Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who was Prince of the Northern Parts, gave ſixty fat Oxen towards the Nuptial Dinner, and was at the further Expence of four thouſand Marks. Upon the Marriage *Alexander* did Homage to King *Henry* for *Lothian* and the other Lands he held of him; but being alſo demanded to do the ſame Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as his Predeceſſors

A. D. 1252. Reg. 36/37.

The King marries his Daughter Margaret *to* Alexander *King of the* Scots.

ceſſors had done, the young King wiſely reply'd, *That he came thither at the King of* England's *Invitation, and by this Marriage to unite himſelf more firmly to him, but unprepar'd to give an Anſwer to ſuch Difficulties, without conſulting his Nobility.* King *Henry* hearing this modeſt Reply, would preſs him no further, leſt the deſign'd Mirth and Jollity ſhould be diſturb'd, but reſerv'd it to a more convenient Opportunity.

Not long after the Noblemen of *Gaſcony* ſent over great and many Complaints to the King againſt their Governor *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who upon that Account came twice into *England*; and the laſt Time he ſo well vindicated himſelf before his Majeſty's Perſon, that he ſilenc'd moſt of his Adverſaries. The King, perceiving that his Brother *Richard*, and many of the chief Nobility join'd with him, could not reſtrain his Reſentments; and when the Earl boldly demanded a Recompence for his Services and Expences, according to the King's Royal Word and Ingagement, the King reply'd, *He would not ſtand to any Promiſe he had made to a Traitor.* Upon which the Earl told the King *He Lied; and were he not a King, he would make him eat his Words*; reproachfully demanding, *Whether any Man would believe he was a Chriſtian, or had been at Confeſſion?* The King anſwering in the Affirmative, the Earl ask'd, *What avail'd Confeſſion, without Repentance and Satisfaction?* The King reply'd, *He had never more Reaſon to repent, than for his beſtowing ſuch Preferments upon one who had ſo little Gratitude and Manners*; and would have caus'd him to be apprehended for his Inſolence, but by the Interpoſition of Friends, they parted from each other outwardly reconcil'd. Shortly after, he order'd the Earl to return into *Gaſcony*, telling him, *That if he was ſuch a Lover of War, he might there find ſufficient Employment, and a Reward anſwerable to his Merits:* To which the Earl boldly reply'd, *That he would go over, and not return, 'till he had ſubdu'd the Enemies, and reduc'd the rebellious Subjects of an ungrateful Prince.* Thus was this weak King inſulted by his own Subjects, and not only by Men but alſo by Women; particularly the young Counteſs Dowager of *Arundel*, who receiving a Repulſe from the King in a Matter alledg'd to be hers in Equity, thus freely accoſted him: *My Lord the King, why do you turn your Face from Juſtice? We can obtain no Right from your Court; You are plac'd between God and us, but you neither govern your ſelf nor us, as you ought; but daily oppreſs the Church, and afflict the Nobility of your Kingdom.* The King, fir'd at her Diſcourſe, with a furious Look demanded, *Whether the Nobility of* England *had given her a Commiſſion to be their Advocate?* To which ſhe with no leſs Warmth reply'd, *The Nobility have not made me any ſuch Charter, tho' you have broke that which you and your Father have granted, and ſworn inviolably to obſerve, and for which you have ſo often extorted Mony from your Subjects. Where are the Liberties of* England, *ſo often reduc'd to Writing, ſo often granted, and ſo often purchas'd and redeem'd? Therefore I, tho' a Woman, with all your natural Subjects, do appeal from you to the Tribunal of Heaven, where the great and terrible Judge ſhall revenge our Cauſe.* The King, confounded at ſuch bold Truths, for a while remain'd ſilent, and then ask'd her *Whether ſhe deſir'd a Favour, becauſe ſhe was his Couſin?* To which ſhe only reply'd, *Since he had deny'd doing Juſtice, how could ſhe expect any Favour?* and ſo departed without any other Satisfaction than the Affronting a Monarch without Control.

The King affronted by Earl Montfort.

and by the Counteſs of Arundel.

In the ſame Year *Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln* employ'd one of his Clerks to take an exact Account of the yearly Revenue that *Italian* and Foreign Clergy-Men poſſeſs'd in *England*, which was found to exceed ſeventy thouſand Marks, when the King's bare Revenue was at this Time ſo low, that it ſcarce reach'd one third Part of that Sum. At the ſame Time *John Manſel* Clerk, who was the King's principal Counſellor, enjoy'd ſuch an unreaſonable Number of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments at once, that his Revenues amounted to four thouſand Marks

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Marks *per annum*, an Income then ſufficient for the greateſt Prelates. The King, who had incurr'd the ill Will and Curſes of the People by many illegal Exactions, ſtill wanted a large Sum of Mony for an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*; for which purpoſe he call'd a Parliament, and demanded great Supplies of them. To which they conſented, upon Condition that he would once for all ſubmit himſelf to govern wholly by Law, and confirm the Charters and Liberties of the Kingdom. To that end, the Nobility being aſſembled in *Weſtminſter* Hall, all thoſe that oppos'd, violated, diminiſh'd or chang'd the Liberties contain'd in the great Charters, were ſolemnly excommunicated and anathematiz'd with Bell, Book and Candle, by the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops, in their Robes and Pontificalia; and this was done in the Preſence, and by the Aſſent of the King, who in the mean Time laying his Hand on his Breaſt, after all was perform'd, pronounc'd theſe Words, '*So may God help me, as I inviolably obſerve all* '*theſe Things; which I promiſe, as I am a Man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I* '*am a Knight, and as I am a King crown'd and anointed.* Then alſo the original Charters granted by King *John* were produc'd, and read before them all; which the King having regranted and confirm'd, they put out their Candles, and threw them down ſmoaking upon the Ground, and every one wiſh'd, *That ſuch as oppos'd that Sentence, might ſo ſtink and ſmoke in Hell.* Never were Human Laws and Liberties confirm'd with greater Solemnity and Majeſty; yet the King, being led by pernicious Counſellors, in a ſhort Time made it his Endeavours to break through all Obligations, which meeting with a turbulent Nobility, at length brought himſelf and the Nation into great Miſeries.

A. D. 1253. Reg. 37, 38.

The grand Eſtabliſhment of Magna Charta.

Ibid. In the mean Time the valiant *Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* being remov'd from his Government of *Gaſcony*, the King's Son *Edward* was put in his Room; upon which Change, *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile* pretended a Grant of that Country from King *Henry* II. confirm'd by his Sons *Richard* and *John*. Upon this, ſeveral of the Nobility of *Gaſcony* revolted from King *Henry*, and join'd with *Alphonſo*; but the Citizens of *Bourdeaux* continu'd faithful, and gave Notice to the King of *England*, That without a ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance, he would loſe the whole Country. The King at this was extreamly concern'd for the Removal of *Montfort*; and uſing what Expedition, and raiſing what Force he could, in *Auguſt* he landed at *Bourdeaux*, where ſuch Means were us'd, that by the End of Summer, he recover'd all his Caſtles in *Gaſcony*, either by Force or Compoſition. Yet the King, not daring to rely upon the Fidelity of the *Gaſcoignes*, and ſuſpecting that they might ſtill revolt to the King of *Caſtile* or *Spain*, ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire his Friendſhip, and that he would marry his Siſter *Eleanor* to his Son and Heir Prince *Edward*, on whom he had lately beſtow'd *Gaſcony*. The Ambaſſadors ſo well diſpatch'd the Affair, that they not only concluded the Match, but alſo made a League with the King of *Caſtile*, and brought back a Charter ſeal'd with a Golden Seal; by which he releas'd to King *Henry* whatever Right he had, or could have in that Country by the Grant of *Henry* II. King *Richard*, or King *John*. Then, upon the Ambaſſadors aſſuring their Maſter of *Alphonſo*'s Sincerity, he ſhortly after ſent to his Son Prince *Edward*, to come over to him, in order to ſend him into *Spain* to conſummate the Match. Among other Acts of Love and Sincerity, *Alphonſo* ſent this good Advice to the King of *England*, *That after the Example of good Princes, he ſhould be a Lamb towards his Subjects and Natives, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels.* Earl *Montfort*, who had generouſly refus'd the High-Stewardſhip of all *France*, with a brave Troop of Soldiers now offer'd his Service to the King, who admiring at his Greatneſs receiv'd him with all outward Marks of Joy; at whoſe Reconciliation, the *Gaſcoignes*, who dreaded the Power of his Arms, were ſo diſhearten'd, that they came gradually in, and became good Subjects.

The King goes to Gaſcony.

All Affairs ſetled there.

A. D. 1254. Reg. 38/39.

Prince Edward *marry'd to the King of* Caſtile's *Siſter.*

In the following Year the Queen alſo arriv'd at *Bourdeaux* with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*; and ſhortly after Prince *Edward* was ſent in great State to King *Alphonſo*, where having marry'd his Siſter *Eleanor*, he was honourably ſent back to his Father with his princely Bride. Upon his Arrival, King *Henry* ſetled upon Him and his Princeſs all *Gaſcony*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, with the City and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*: From which Time the King began to prepare for his Return into *England*, and upon ſtating his Accounts, he found that the Expences of his Expeditions into *France*, beſides thirty thouſand Marks he beſtow'd upon the *Poictovins*, amounted to ſo vaſt a Sum as would have more than purchas'd all his Lands in that Country. And what was ſtill worſe, our Author tells us it was to little or no Effect; ſo that when the King was told of this mighty Expence by one about him, he cry'd out, *For God's ſake name it no more, leſt the very Relation makes Men wonder and ſtand amaz'd!* Having ſetled all Affairs, King *Henry* ask'd Leave of the King of *France* to paſs through his Kingdom, which was not only granted, but alſo he himſelf met the King of *England* at *Chartres*, where he was then attended by a thouſand brave Horſe with noble Riders, beſides Sumpter-Horſes and many Carriages. His own Queen was with him, and her Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwall*; and there the Queen of *France* met them, with her other Siſter the Counteſs of *Anjou*, as alſo the old Counteſs of *Provence*, the Mother of all theſe four Ladies. From thence they were conducted to *Paris*, where for eight Days they remain'd with triumphant Joy and Satisfaction, making mutual and magnificent Entertainments, ſuch as had not been known before. After which the King of *France* brought King *Henry* one Day's Journey towards the Sea, where they took their Leaves with extraordinary Tenderneſs and Affection; and King *Lewis* at his Departure, with a deep Sigh ſaid, *Oh that the Peers and Baronage of my Kingdom would give their Conſents, and then we might be inſeperable Friends!* This he ſpoke with Reſpect to *Normandy* and thoſe other Territories, which his Nobility would not permit him to reſtore to the King of *England*; which was a great Trouble to the Conſcience of this pious Prince.

M. Paris. &c.

King Henry *honourably entertain'd in* France

A. D. 1255. Reg. 32/40.

Prince Edmund *made King of* Sicily.

It was the next Year before the King landed in *England*, and a conſiderable Time after before the new Princeſs *Eleanor* arriv'd, who was receiv'd by the *Londoners* with great Pomp, and had her Lodgings furniſh'd with Hangings and Foot-Carpets after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion; which ſeem'd ſtrange and ſuperfluous to the *Engliſh*, who were not accuſtom'd to ſuch Sort of Magnificence; and the great Honours paid to the *Spaniards* prov'd very ungrateful to the Natives. On the other Side, *Edmund* the King's ſecond Son, by a Ring ſent from the Pope, was ſolemnly inveſted in the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. The Ambaſſador who brought it was a Biſhop, who immediately departed; for indeed his Buſineſs was glorious in Show, but in Reality deluſory and unprofitable; both becauſe the King had unreaſonably ingag'd himſelf in the Pope's Conteſt with the preſent Emperor, as alſo becauſe the *Romiſh* Forces had lately been overthrown, before this airy Honour could be granted to Prince *Edmund*; whom yet his Father treated as a King, highly pleaſing himſelf with the Trouble of a waſtful Title, to his own and the whole Kingdom's great Impoveriſhment. The Calamities of the Kingdom in theſe expenſive Times were the more deplorable, becauſe they were continually countenanc'd by the King, who ought to have redreſs'd them. But the Pope having no way ſo eaſie to be ſupply'd as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King agreed to grind the People for each others Intereſt; the King to ſatisfie the Pope's Avarice, and the Pope to advance the King's Ambition. The Gaining of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was the Colour, for which the King pretended to go in Perſon; and therefore *Ruſtand*, the Pope's Agent, who was ſent to gather the Tenth of all *England* for the Uſe of the Pope or King indifferently, had call'd a great Council the former Year, and adjourn'd it 'till this; where he alſo requir'd all the

Ibid.

A. D. 1256. Reg. 40/41.

the Prelates to bind themſelves to the Pope's Merchants, as having already receiv'd a great Sum of Mony from them, which was imploy'd to the Uſe of their Churches. To which deceitful Allegation, the Prelates reply'd, *They would rather die than ſuffer ſuch Oppreſſions, and they accounted it a greater Inſtance of Martyrdom to die in ſuch a Cauſe, than in that of* Thomas Becket. The reſt of the Nobility alſo abſolutely refus'd either to recover *Sicily*, or to bear the Charge of it, as being both impracticable; the one for the Strength of *Manfrede*, and the other for the preſent Poverty of *England*. And indeed not long after, the Pope and *Manfrede* were reconcil'd, and ſo King *Henry* and King *Edmund* were deluded, one of his great Expences, and the other of his imaginary Crown. By this the King was partly waken'd out of his Dreams, in which he had continu'd feeding his Thoughts with a Proſpect of leaving a Kingdom to each Son; tho' he never reſted 'till he had almoſt plung'd the Crown into the Gulfs of irrecoverable Debts and Uſury. For beſides many other Burdens, the King, by the Management of the *Romiſh* Court, now ſtood ingag'd to the Pope for near two hundred thouſand Marks.

The Nation oppreſs'd both by the King and the Pope.

M. Paris. Pontl. Theſe continual Wants occaſion'd the King to be ſtricter than formerly, and to go in Perſon into the Court of the Exchequer among the Barons, where he made ſevere Orders againſt all Sheriffs and Bailiffs of incorporate Towns, who did not at the exact Time appear at the Exchequer, to pay in the King's Mony that came to their Hands. At the ſame Time he amerc'd all the Sheriffs in *England*, becauſe they had not diſtrain'd every one that had fifteen Pounds a Year in their ſeveral Counties, to come up and be knighted; all which added to the Grievances of the Nation. In the ſame Year two Things added much to the publick Expences; the firſt was the Arrival of the young King and Queen of *Scotland*, who were entertain'd by King *Henry* at *London* with great Charge and Magnificence. The other was the Inſurrection of the *Welſh*, who having been much oppreſs'd by the continu'd Sale of the Government of their Nation, ſtood up for the Defence of their Laws and Country, and invading the *Engliſh* Borders, deſtroy'd the Tenants of Prince *Edward*, whom as yet they had not acknowledg'd for their Lord. Whereupon the Prince, having no preſent Mony, borrow'd four thouſand Marks of his Brother Earl *Richard*, in order to ſuppreſs their Incurſions; but the whole Winter was ſo wet and ſtormy, and the retiring Places of the *Welſh* ſo boggy and impaſſable, that the *Engliſh* durſt not attempt them, ſo that the Expedition prov'd ineffectual, and the Prince's Expences in vain. And indeed the *Welſh* perform'd great Actions under Prince *Lewellyn ap Griffith*, by whoſe Means they valiantly recover'd all the Inland Country of *North-Wales*, with other Places; in one Encounter ſlew above two thouſand *Engliſh* Men, and ravag'd the Country to the very Gates of *Cheſter*. This they had the greater Opportunity to effect, becauſe King *Henry*, while he form'd Kingdoms in the Clouds, and plung'd himſelf into the Depths of Uſury, ſuffer'd his Relations and Favourites to trample Right and Reaſon under Foot, and with the Hatred of himſelf to fill their Purſes; while his own Treaſure daily conſum'd, and Mens Minds were more and more alienated from him, as Perſons who deſpair'd of Redreſs and Juſtice. The *Welſh* perſiſting in their Attempts, forc'd the valiant Prince *Edward* to retire for want of Aſſiſtance; and when he complain'd to his Father, his Anſwer was, *That* Wales *was his own by Gift, therefore he ought to get Honour in his Youth, for he himſelf was otherwiſe imploy'd.*

A. D. 1257. Reg. 41, 42.

The Succeſſes of the Welſh.

M. Paris. &c. In Order to ſupply his Wants the King call'd another Parliament to *Weſtminſter*, where he brought his Son *Edmund*, attir'd in an *Apulian* Habit; and having plac'd him in publick View, he ſaid, *Behold, ye faithful Subjects, my Son* Edmund, *whom Heav'n of its Bounty has call'd to Royal Dignity: How worthy is he of all your Favours; and how inhuman will it be for any to deny him Aſſiſtance in this extraordinary Juncture?* Then he declar'd, *That by the Conſent of the Church of* England, *he had oblig'd himſelf to the Pope,*

The King recommends his Son Edmund *to the Parliament.*

under pain of losing his Kingdom, for the Payment of one hundred and forty thousand Marks, besides Interest, which had greatly increas'd; for the Discharge of which he demanded the Tenths of the whole Benefic'd Clergy for five Years, without Abatement or Deduction. This Demand made all Men stand amaz'd, especially when they found that this Oppression had taken its Rise from the Pope himself: But at length, when neither Excuses nor Intreaties would prevail, they granted the King an Aid of fifty thousand Marks towards his urgent Necessities; but with this unacceptable Condition, *That he should for the future most inviolably observe that Capital Charter, which had been so often promis'd, and so often purchas'd:* But the King thinking the Sum insufficient, refus'd to accept it; tho' afterward it is believ'd that he took it. Tho' the King was exceeding poor, yet his Brother *Richard* had heap'd up such Riches, that he was able to spend a hundred Marks every Day for ten Years together, without accounting his Revenues he receiv'd from *England* and *Germany*. Upon the Account of his great Wealth, this Year Ambassadors from *Germany* came and declar'd to him, That the Princes of the Sacred Empire had elected him *King of the* Romans, beseeching him to accept of that Dignity. At first he declin'd it, but by the Persuasion of his Brother, he consented; and after some Time he pass'd over to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where both he and his Countess were crown'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, and plac'd in the Throne of *Charles the Great* with the usual Solemnity. His Departure was succeeded by a great Famine and a prodigious Scarcity of Coin, the former proceeding from the Wetness of the Season, and the latter chiefly from the Earl's carrying over with him seven hundred thousand Pounds in ready Mony: An incredible Sum in those Days, besides what King *Henry* had of late sent to the Pope upon several Accounts; so that it was no Wonder if *England* was exhausted of all its current Mony.

Earl Richard *made King of the* Romans.

A. D. 1258. Reg. 42, 43.

In these Times of Want, when fifty Ships laden with Corn were sent by *Richard* King of the *Romans* to *London*, the King took a laudable Care that the Citizens should not engross that Commodity to the Damage of the Poor; but no Warnings, Intreaties, or Advices were sufficient to make him truly frugal in his own Person, by which he was miserably straiten'd. Nor would the Parliament he summon'd contribute any Thing, but forming some great Attempts in their Minds, in direct Terms concluded, *That they neither would, nor could any longer endure such Exactions.* Moreover they laid open many Grievances, and Earl *Montfort* complain'd of the Dishonour and Injury done by the King's Half-Brother *William de Valence*, calling him *Traitor*; so that against the next Session of Parliament to be held on St. *Barnabas*'s Day at *Oxford*, he, with the Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Norfolk*, alledging their Fear of Strangers and Favourites, resolv'd to come with all their Forces. They also sent Emissaries to the King of *France*, begging so much Assistance at least, *as that he would not hinder their good Intentions of establishing the distracted State of* England; and they also took care to watch the Ports against Foreigners. Thus they prepar'd to abate the Insolency and Haughtiness of the *Poictovins* and other Strangers, by whom the King was powerfully led; for they despair'd of Redress at his Hands, who, as *M. Paris* says, like another *Proteus* took all Shapes upon him to serve his Ends, and slipt out at his Pleasure, no Promises or Ties being strong enough to hold him. And to add to his Misfortunes, the Pope also began to show his Displeasure, because he observ'd not his reiterated Promises, by which he had bound himself, upon Forfeiture of his Kingdom, to correct his wonted Excesses; and therefore threaten'd both to Excommunicate him and to Interdict his Dominions. Upon which the King in a great Confusion sent him five thousand Marks, to pacifie and bring him to a softer Temper, and to keep off the Sentence for a Time; with which Mony, and the King's earnest Petitions, his Holiness seem'd tolerably well satisfy'd.

M. Paris.

The Barons combine against the King.

At

Ibid. At the Time appointed the Parliament met at *Oxford*, where the turbulent Earls and Barons occaſion'd the King to allow of twenty four Perſons to be choſen, one half by himſelf and the other by the Peers, to have the whole Adminiſtration of the Government and State, and the yearly Appointment of all great Officers, reſerving only to the King the higheſt Place at Meetings, and Salutations of Honour in publick Places. And becauſe they would not miſs of their Deſigns, they came well arm'd and appointed, ſo that the King and Prince *Edward* were forc'd to ſwear to their Ordinances, the Lords having threaten'd Death to all Oppoſers. The chief of their Ordinances were, 'That the King 'ſhould inviolably obſerve the Charter of Liberties, ſo often granted and pur-'chas'd: That ſuch a Juſticiary ſhould be choſen, who would do Juſtice to the 'Poor as well as Rich: That the twenty four ſhould chuſe the Juſtices, Chan-'cellors, Treaſurers, and other Officers from Year to Year: That they, or 'their Adherents, ſhould have the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles: That three 'Parliaments ſhould meet every Year at ſet Times. Theſe, with ſome others, were call'd *The Proviſions of* Oxford, which the whole Baronage of *England* was bound by Oath to obſerve, and *That they would never deſiſt from proſecuting theſe their juſt Reſolves, either for Loſs of their Lives or Eſtates*; and to confirm them the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops ſolemnly execrated all ſuch as reſiſted them. Thus through the Eaſineſs of a weak and inconſtant Prince, and the growing Power of an inſolent and exaſperated Nobility, the Head of the State became a Cypher, and the whole Government was put into the Hands of a few, who really deſign'd their own Intereſt and Grandeur more than the common Good of the Nation. This Confederacy was ſo ſtrong, that when *William de Valence*, refus'd to deliver up any Caſtle given to him, Earl *Montfort* and the reſt anſwer'd, *They would either have his Caſtles or his Head:* Which violent Proceeding ſo terrify'd the *Poictovins*, that they ſuddenly left *Oxford* and fled into *France*, where alſo the Barons had made them odious. The People alſo ſeem'd to join in this Confederacy, which caus'd the Peers to be ſo peremptory in all their Conferences, that when *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*, refus'd to take their Oath without his Father's Conſent, they plainly aſſur'd him, *That if his Father would not join with the Baronage of* England, *he ſhould not have one Foot of Land in the Nation.* And leſt any Thing might be omitted, they commanded the City of *London* to ſtand upon its Guard, and caus'd the Citizens to bind themſelves under their publick Seal, immutably to adhear to the Baronage of *England.* Moreover, becauſe ſeveral other petty Tyrants of the Nation, encourag'd by their Example, had oppreſs'd their Inferiors, they procur'd the King to appoint four Knights Commiſſioners in every Shire, to enquire into all ſuch Injuries, and certifie the ſame under their Seals within a limited Time.

Their high Demands at Oxford.

The King complies.

His Prerogative much weaken'd.

Ibid. The Barons daily proceeded in their Methods of Reformation, in removing of Officers, puniſhing Offenders, and diſcouraging of Strangers; againſt the laſt they were more ſevere, becauſe the Earl of *Gloceſter*, being reduc'd to a dangerous Weakneſs, had all the Symptoms of Poiſon, which was charg'd upon the *Poictovins.* This, and ſome other Accidents of the like nature made them very jealous and ſuſpicious, and the declar'd Reſentments of the King to the Earl of *Leiceſter* gave them no ſmall Uneaſineſs. This was diſcover'd by chance; as the King was paſſing by Water from *Weſtminſter*, he was ſurpriz'd by a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning, of which being extreamly fearful, he commanded the Barge-Men to ſet him on Shore at the neareſt Stairs, which happen'd to be *Durham* Houſe, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* then lay. The Earl hearing the King was there, immediately ran down to receive him, and finding him under ſome Conſternation, he ſaid, *Your Majeſty need not be afraid, the Storm is all over. No*, Montfort, anſwer'd the King with a ſtern Look and a deep Oath, *I fear not the Thunder ſo much as I do Thee.* At which Words the Earl a little confounded, reply'd, *Sir, I am ſorry you ſhould fear*

The King uneaſie.

fear your true Friend and faithful Servant, more than the Enemies and Devourers of your Kingdom.

A. D. 1259. Reg. 43/44. In these new modell'd Times, *Richard* King of the *Romans*, desiring to see King *Henry* his Brother, and designing to bring such a Force as might strengthen him against his Barons, was advertis'd that the Nobility design'd to oppose him both by Sea and Land; which caus'd him to lay aside his Purpose, and to land at *Dover* after a private manner, with his Wife and Son, and but a small Retinue. Here he was met by the King with great Congratulations at the Sea-side, but neither of them were permitted to enter into the Castle, *Because it was the principal Key of the Nation.* And on the next Day, at the Chapter-House in *Canterbury*, before many of the Nobility, the King of the *Romans* was call'd by the bare Title of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and took this following Oath, *That he would be faithful and diligent, together with the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of* England, *hitherto too much disorder'd by the Counsel of Evil Men; and would be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and Disturbers of the Land; which Oath he would observe upon pain of losing all his Lands in* England. Thus, while the Barons were in a great measure Soveraigns, and the Earl of *Leicester* was gone with others to make a firm League with the *French*, the King himself was led, or betray'd into a very dishonourable Compliance with that Nation. For the King having sail'd into *France*, demanded a Restitution of all those Territories that King *Philip* and King *Lewis* had taken and detain'd both from his Father and himself. The *French* alledg'd many Things against his Demands, but especially, *That the ancient Donation of* Normandy *was never spontaneous, but had been forcibly extorted by Duke* Rollo *from the King of* France. Upon this King *Henry*, having neither Courage to undertake, nor Mony to maintain a War to recover his lost Rights, came in Person to the King of *France*'s Parliament at *Abbeville*, and there made a final Peace and Agreement with that King, upon these following Conditions. 'That the King of *England* should resign his Right to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and Earldom of *Anjou*, upon Payment of three hundred thousand 'smaller Pounds of *Tourain* Mony: In Consideration of which King *Lewis* 'further promis'd him the Restitution of certain Territories in *Gascony*, of the 'yearly Value of twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. So that retaining all the Province of *Gascony*, and its Appendages, and having absolutely resign'd his Right to all the rest of the Dominions in the King of *France*'s Possession, King *Henry* from thenceforward shorten'd his Stile in his Patents, Letters and Seal, and no longer call'd himself Duke of *Normandy* and *Anjou*. About this Period, *Matth. Paris* a Monk of St. *Albans*, the most celebrated Historian of this Age, ended his History of *England*, from which we have receiv'd great Assistance; and shortly after ended his Life.

M. Paris, &c.

The King makes a dishonourable Treaty with France.

Normandy *quite lost from* England.

A. D. 1260. Reg. 44/45. VIII. King *Henry*, having for the Advantage of some present Mony made disadvantagious Concessions, and having freed himself from the irksom Troubles of Foreign Contests, spent some Time in the Pleasures of the *French* Court at *Paris*, where he was splendidly entertain'd and regal'd by King *Lewis*, while all Things were establish'd and confirm'd after the most effectual Manner. And returning into *England* not long after, he began to employ all his Thoughts how to restore the Royal Power, and to throw off that Burden which the Nobility had laid upon him. In order to this he sent privately to the Pope to be absolv'd from his Oath to the *Provisions of* Oxford, which without any great Difficulty was obtain'd both for himself and Prince *Edward*; but Pope *Alexander* deceasing before the Dispensation could be seal'd, the King was oblig'd to stay a longer Time, 'till it could be confirm'd by Pope *Urban* his Successor. Besides this he wrote into *France* to King *Lewis*, and his Son Prince *Edward*, who was gone over under the Pretence of a Tournament at *Paris*, to provide him what Forces he could. These Matters being adjusted, the King summon'd a Council

Rishang. Wasmins. Wasing. &c.

The King endeavours to free himself.

Council or Parliament at *London*, he there plainly and briefly declar'd, *That ſince by the late Proviſions of* Oxford, *they had likewiſe oblig'd themſelves on their Part to encreaſe his Revenue, and pay his Debts, of which they had perform'd neither; but inſtead of that, ſeeking their own private Intereſt, had rather diminiſh'd than increas'd his Revenues; and by putting himſelf under their Government, he was become more their Slave than their King; therefore they were not to wonder, if confiding no longer in their Councils, he had ſought for Redreſs elſewhere.* And ſhortly after he put himſelf into the Tower of *London*, together with the Queen, and then commanding the ancient Treaſury to be broke open, he employ'd the Mony in the Fortifications of the Tower. Moreover, he order'd the City of *London* to be ſtrengthen'd, and ſummon'd all the Youth of the City, from twelve Years of Age and upwards, cauſing them to ſwear Fealty to him; and commanded it to be proclaim'd, that Whoever would take up Arms under him, ſhould be maintain'd at his Charge. A. D. 1261. Reg. 45 46.

The Beginnings of the Barons Wars.

Theſe were the Grounds and Beginnings of that unhappy Civil War, which for near five Years tormented this Kingdom; which the King was the more ready to undertake, becauſe about this Time he receiv'd from the Pope his Bull of Abſolution from his Oath to the Proviſions of *Oxford*. Upon which Account it was declar'd, *That the Oath it ſelf was unlawful, being made without his Holineſs's Conſent, who was his ſupreme Lord, and whoſe Vaſſal the King now acknowledg'd himſelf to be.* Accordingly the King turn'd out the Barons Chancellor and chief Juſticiary, and put in *Walter Merton* and *Philip Baſſet* in their Rooms; which occaſion'd the Nobility to haſten to Arms at *Wincheſter*, where the King then was, who receiving Intelligence of their Deſigns by Sir *John Manſel*, haſten'd back to the Tower of *London*.

Rishang. Powel. &c.

Still the War did not begin; for the King making ſeveral Conceſſions and Compliances, all the Conteſts between him and the Barons ſeem'd for a while to be ended; ſo that the King had Leiſure and Opportunity to go over with his Queen into his Dominions in *France*, where he continu'd for a conſiderable Space. During his Abſence the Earl of *Leiceſter* appear'd at a great Council held at *London* by the Juſticiary *Baſſet*, where he produc'd a Brief or Letter from the Pope, wherein he confirm'd the Proviſions of *Oxford*, and recall'd the King's Abſolution, declaring *He was deceiv'd in the granting of it*; which ſhows the variable Temper of the Pope and his Court. But how much ſoever the Abſolution was recall'd, it was ſhortly after re-confirm'd, and made uſe of by the King upon his Return into *England*, which was ſucceeded by ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility between Him and the Barons. The ſecret Confederacy with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, gave the Barons no ſmall Incouragement, who about this Time waſted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*; ſo that now Places were won and loſt, and Priſoners taken on all Sides. Prince *Edward* took the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and fin'd the City a thouſand Pounds. Earl *Montfort*, the General of the Barons, executed his greateſt Revenges upon the Queen's Friends who were Foreigners; and marching forwards, recover'd *Gloceſter* Caſtle, enter'd *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*; and after that ſurpriz'd the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubduing that Fenny Country to the Barons Uſe. Sir *John Manſel*, the King's chief Counſellor, apprehending the worſt, fled ſecretly from the Tower, where the King continu'd; and *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*, was taken by the Barons. In the mean Time the valiant Prince *Edward* fortify'd *Windſor* Caſtle, and garriſon'd it with Strangers. Mutual Wearineſs at length begot a Deſire of Peace, and the King would have yielded to the Proviſions of *Oxford*, but the Queen ſhew'd her ſelf utterly againſt it; which being known to the *Londoners*, it put the meaner Sort into ſuch a brutiſh Rage, that when ſhe was to ſhoot the Bridge from the Tower towards *Windſor*, they with Dirt, Stones and villanous Words forc'd her to return back. Prince *Edward*, under the Conduct of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, came from the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and contrary to his Promiſe enter'd into that of *Windſor*; but afterwards A. D. 1262. Reg. 46 47.

A. D. 1263. Reg. 47 48.

Several Acts of Hoſtility.

wards going forth to meet Earl *Montfort* at *Kingſton*, with a Deſign for a Treaty, the Earl got Poſſeſſion of *Windſor* Caſtle, and would not permit him to depart. At *London* ſtill in a Parliament aſſembled, Matters were in ſome Meaſure made up; and the King's Party daily grew ſtronger.

A. D. 1264. Reg. 48/49.

At length the King of *France* was made Arbitrator in theſe great Conteſts; and the Cauſe was fully heard at *Amiens*, where he gave Judgment for the King of *England* againſt the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford* void; but with this Proviſo, *That nothing of the Charters granted by King* John *and the preſent King ſhould be infring'd.* Of which Clauſe the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Party took Advantage, alledging, *That the Proviſions of* Oxford, *were only in Purſuance and Corroboration of thoſe Charters*; therefore, refuſing to ſtand by the Arbitration, which they ſaid contradicted it ſelf, the War broke out more furiouſly than ever. The King with his Brother and Son, and a ſtrong Force march'd to *Oxford*, from whence he diſmiſs'd all the Students, which are ſaid to be above fifteen thouſand in Number; among whom being ſo many young Noblemen, the King doubted of their Affections to the Barons. Upon which moſt of them went to *Northampton*, where the Barons were then powerful; to which Place the King march'd with his Army, and breaking in at the Town Walls, attack'd the Enemies, among whom the Students of *Oxford* had a Banner by themſelves advanc'd directly againſt the King; and they more annoy'd him in the Battel, than the reſt of the Barons. For which the King, after he had gain'd the Day, threaten'd a ſevere Revenge; but his Counſellors inform'd him, *That they were the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry of his Kingdom; that if he ſhould cauſe them to be executed, their Fathers and Relations would make a dangerous Retaliation*; upon which he deſiſted. The King here took *Simon Montfort* the Younger, and fourteen other principal Barons and Knights-Bannerets, forty other Knights, beſides Eſquires and others. Encourag'd with this Succeſs he advanced his Royal Standard towards *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Barons Eſtates wherever he march'd. To divert this Storm, Earl *Montfort* haſten'd to *London*, and then made an Attempt upon *Rocheſter* Caſtle, which the Earl of *Warren* defended for the King. Upon which, the King turn'd his Arms, and coming to raiſe the Siege, took the Caſtle of *Kingſton*, which belong'd to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; and then unexpectedly ſetting upon thoſe who lay before *Rocheſter*, while *Montfort* was abſent, he kill'd many and diſpers'd the reſt. Next he took the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, with the Counteſs of *Gloceſter*, whom he ſet at Liberty; and then taking the Cinque-Ports into Favour, he ſetled himſelf for a while at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*.

Riſhang. Weſtmin. &c.

The King ſucceeds.

At *Lewes* the Barons ſent Letters to the King proteſting *all Loyal Obedience to his Perſon, but all Hoſtility to their Enemies about him.* To which the King return'd Anſwer, *That they were the Cauſe of all the Wars and Miſeries in the Nation; that their Intentions were not according to their Profeſſions, nor their Actions agreeable to their Pretences, therefore he defy'd them.* The King of the *Romans*, Prince *Edward*, and the reſt of the King's Friends ſent the like Letters of Defiance. Upon this, the Barons being weaker in Numbers, ſent Mediators for Peace, and offer'd to pay the King thirty thouſand Pounds in Conſideration of Damages done in the Nation, provided *That the Statutes of* Oxford *might ſtand good.* But the King inrag'd at their whole Proceedings, ſent a freſh Defiance to *Montfort* and his Accomplices; which provok'd them to do the like, and to renounce the Fealty they ow'd him. Upon this both Parties provided for an Ingagement, and as ſoon as the two Armies approach'd each other, a fierce Battel inſu'd, and the ſtout Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Body under him, and that next to him, ſet upon the Forces commanded by the King and his Brother; rightly judging, that if they were either defeated or taken Priſoners, the Victory would fall to the Barons. As for the noble Prince *Edward*, he with the Flower of his Army furiouſly attack'd

Weſtmin. Riſhang. &c.

A Battel between the King and the Barons.

tack'd the *Londoners*, who tho' very numerous, fled at the Terror of his Arms; and to revenge the Affront they had done his Mother at *London* Bridge, inceſſantly purſu'd them, and made a moſt miſerable Slaughter of them for near four Miles together. But while his martial Rage tranſported him too far, the Bodies commanded by the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, having valiantly aſſaulted thoſe commanded by King *Henry* and his Brother, in a ſhort Time utterly routed them; ſo that the two Brothers being almoſt abandon'd in the Field, were conſtrain'd, after a long and brave Reſiſtance, to ſurrender themſelves, *Henry* to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Richard* to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who were immediately ſecur'd in the Priory of *Lewes*. Whereupon all the reſt of the Men that had fled into the Town, laid down their Arms and yielded, thinking it no Diſhonour to ſuſtain the ſame Fate with their Maſters. Prince *Edward* returning with his Coſen *Henry* from the Purſuit of the *Londoners*, ſoon found that inſtead of any Advantage gain'd, for the Concluſion of a Peace, both he and his Coſen muſt ſurrender themſelves as Hoſtages.

The King and his Brother taken Priſoners.

Weſtminſ. Riſhang. Walſing. Thus was *Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* in poſſeſſion of two Kings and their eldeſt Sons; and to compleat all his Deſigns, he carry'd King *Henry* along with him, as it were on Progreſs, but rather in Triumph about the Country, that by the Authority of his Preſence he might take in all the Places that ſtill held out. And now having the whole Kingdom at his Diſpoſal, he not only freed all his own Party, but alſo beſtow'd all the great Offices of State upon his own Creatures and Relations; by which Means the King, who had now reign'd near fifty Years, ſignify'd little more than a Cypher; ſo that he could not go any where without a Keeper, but was at the Diſpoſal of others. As for Prince *Edward* and his Coſen *Henry*, they were not us'd like Hoſtages, but as ordinary Priſoners, being kept in ſtrict Cuſtody for a Time at *Wallingford*, then in *Dover* Caſtle, and ſometimes in other Places. Nor could all the Threats of the Pope and Court of *Rome* avail, to make him relinquiſh any Part of that Authority he had aſſum'd. During this Man's Uſurpation, the Cinque Ports preſum'd ſo far as to ſet out great Numbers of Privateers, who took all Veſſels they found, as well *Engliſh* as Foreign, ſeiz'd their Goods, kill'd their Men, and threw their Bodies into the Sea: By which Means *England*, that uſually excell'd all other Nations in Plenty of Foreign Commodities, was now become ſo indigent, that Wines, Salt, Iron, and all other imported Wares, roſe to that exceſſive Rate, that they were ſold at four Times their former Price: So that there being no Means either for importing or exporting of Goods, all Merchants were reduc'd to great Extremities.

Earl Montfort's Power.

Walſing. Riſhang. &c. Theſe pretended Patrons of Liberty, who took up Arms to defend the Kingdom from the Tyranny of an unfortunate King, having once obtain'd his Power, fell themſelves into Factions, and became as unjuſt and tyrannical in the Uſe of it, as the King they had oppos'd; and the Nation was ſo far from receiving Advantage by the Change, that inſtead of one they had now many Tyrants. But this Violence upon the Conſtitution could not continue long; for *Montfort*, graſping at an unbounded Authority, ſoon provok'd the Envy of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who was to have a proportionable Share, ſo that it occaſion'd a fatal Quarrel, and a Diviſion of Intereſt; and upon this *Gloceſter* confederated with *Roger Mortimer* and his Aſſociates, to whom not long after the Earls of *Warren*, *Surry* and *Suſſex*, with ſeveral others join'd. In the mean Time a Parliament was call'd by the Power of Earl *Montfort*, and in the Name of the King, to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the twenty ſecond Day of *January*; which was the firſt Parliament, that, according to the Opinions of Doctor *Brady*, had ever two Knights for each Shire, and two Burgeſſes for each City and Borough, as at this Day: So that from this critical and rebellious Year the Doctor dates the Original of the *Houſe of Commons* in Parliament; but with what Certainty, or Probability, may be learnt from the Works of Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Tyrrell*, Dr. *Hody*, and others. This Parliament was call'd upon two Ac-

A. D. 1265. Reg $\frac{49}{50}$.

He and the Earl of Gloceſter diſagree.

counts, the One to ſet Prince *Edward* at Liberty, and to ſecure Earl *Montfort* and his Party; the Other to obtain the King's Charter of Pardon and Indemnity for all that was paſt. As to the firſt, the Prince could obtain no more than to be made a Priſoner at large; but not long after, the Breach growing ſtill wider between *Montfort* and *Gloceſter*, the Prince by the Help of *John Mortimer*, broke looſe from his Keepers at *Hereford*, and arriv'd ſafely to the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Party at *Wigmore*.

Prince Edward *eſcapes.*

The Freedom of this valiant Prince ſoon turn'd the Face of Affairs; for he confederating with the Counties of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſter*, by his ſolemn Oaths and Promiſes, obtain'd a powerful Aſſiſtance from the Earl of *Gloceſter* and many others; by which Means he ſoon became Maſter of the Cities of *Worceſter*, *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*. At the ſame Time Earl *Montfort*, with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, ravag'd all their Enemies Lands in *Monmouth* and *Glamorgan* Shires. Prince *Edward*, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, on the other Side haſten'd to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, kept by *Simon* Earl *Montfort*'s Son; where they intercepted the Earl of *Oxford*, with about thirteen Knights-Bannerets before they could reach the Caſtle. Here Intelligence was brought, that *Montfort* was return'd with the King out of *South-Wales*, and lay near *Worceſter:* To which Place the Prince boldly advanc'd to give him Battel; and the Earl hearing of his Approach, incamp'd at *Eveſham* with his whole Power. Upon the third Day of *Auguſt* the Heroick Prince ſet out from *Worceſter*, and with great Art and Skill ſtruck in between Earl *Montfort* and his Paſſage to *Kenelworth*, and then ſuddenly turn'd back towards *Eveſham*; the Earl of *Gloceſter* with his Force, and the Lord *Mortimer* with his, moving thither by two other Ways; ſo that the Earl being almoſt ſurrounded, was oblig'd either to fight or yield. At firſt he was in Hopes that one Party belong'd to his Son, but finding it otherwiſe, he in a deſpairing Manner cry'd, *Lord have Mercy upon our Souls, for our Bodies are our Enemies*; yet ſtill he reſolv'd either to conquer or die. His eldeſt Son deſiring him not to deſpair, *ſince the Chance of War was doubtful*, he anſwer'd, *He only fear'd that his own and his Brother's Pride and Preſumption had ruin'd them; yet ſtill he hop'd to die for the Cauſe of God and Juſtice.* However he omitted nothing in this Battel, which was very ſharp and bloody, that might ſpeak him a noble and valiant Commander, 'till firſt his Son, and afterwards himſelf was ſlain; at the Inſtant of whoſe Fall, there happen'd ſo great a Clap of Thunder, as if Heav'n it ſelf had fought againſt him, and no leſs Power could have given him his Death. In the Battel, the King himſelf was wounded on the Shoulder, and near being ſlain, had he not cry'd out *I am* Henry *your King!* at which the Prince ran to him, and begging his Bleſſing, left him to a ſtrong Guard, 'till he had ended the Battel, and gain'd a compleat Victory. Thus dy'd the celebrated *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, whoſe Body was reproachfully diſmember'd, and his Head ſent to the Wife of *Roger Mortimer*. He was once in a probable Way to eſtabliſh a new Race of Kings in *England*; but as the juſt Reward of his Ingratitude, as well as Ambition and Rebellion, he and all his Family periſh'd and came to nothing in a few Years.

The Affairs turn to the King's Advantage.

Walſing. Weſtmin. An. Wav.

Earl Montfort *defeated and ſlain.*

The King ſet free.

King *Henry* being thus reſtor'd to Liberty, immediately call'd a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, by the Authority of which, he ſeiz'd on the Charters and Privileges of the City of *London*, and of many other Towns for their Rebellion. All thoſe who were taken in Battel were committed to ſafe Cuſtody, and ſuch as had join'd with Earl *Montfort* were fully diſinherited, and a rateable Diſtribution made of their Eſtates to the King's moſt deſerving Friends. *Simon* and *Guy Montfort*, the Earl's two Sons, were the chief of the Attainted; the Counteſs Dowager their Mother, and Siſter to the King, being extreamly mortify'd at the fatal Loſſes of her Husband and eldeſt Son, had leave to paſs over into *France*, where ſhe ended her Days in a Nunnery. *Simon*, the eldeſt ſurviving Son,

Weſtmin. Walſing. An. Wav.

Son, ſought to preſerve himſelf and the Remains of his Father's Misfortunes in the Iſle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnſhire*. The King to take all Refuge from him, march'd with a powerful Army to *Northampton*, with a Deſign to reduce him; being accompany'd by his Brother *Richard*, and *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, lately arriv'd in *England*. *Simon* had ſeveral Friends about the King, but the Earl of *Gloceſter*, envying his Reſtoration to full Favour, it was at length concluded, upon his Submiſſion, that he ſhould live in Exile, and for his Maintenance receive only five hundred Marks *per Annum*. The Legate about the ſame Time, to hinder the Growth of any new Rebellion, excommunicated the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, *London* and *Chicheſter*, for having once adher'd to Earl *Montfort*; and alſo declar'd, That the Clergy were to pay their Tenths for ſeven Years next enſuing to the King. But ſtill the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* would not yield, but with a very few Defendants, after an extraordinary manner, held out half a Year's Siege againſt all the King's Forces; who at length gave the Garriſon their Lives and Liberties, as alſo all the rich Plunder they had taken from the adjacent Country before the Siege. A. D. 1266. Reg. 50 51.

The Barons decline.

Wikes. Weſtminſ. &c. To put an End to all Troubles, the moſt moderate Men were deſirous that the King ſhould pardon all Offences, and reſtore the Lands of the Diſinherited upon certain reaſonable Fines: Which Propoſition found a great Enemy of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the King's Donation gain'd much of their Land; which ſo mov'd the Earl of *Gloceſter* to Indignation and Diſtruſt, that he withdrew himſelf from the Court in great Diſcontent. Not long after, being more and more diſoblig'd, he ſent his Meſſenger to the King deſiring him *To remove all Strangers from his Preſence, to ſee that the Proviſions of* Oxford *were obſerv'd through his Kingdom, and to keep ſuch Promiſes as he had made at* Eveſham. In the mean Time the chief Out-laws and diſinherited Men, had got Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Ely*, from whence they made many Incurſions and Devaſtations. To end theſe Miſchiefs, all, except Earl *Montfort*'s Sons and the Earl of *Derby*, were offer'd to be put to Ranſom, and for certain Fines to be reſtor'd to their Lands; but they requir'd to have them all without Redemption, and complain'd to the King and the Legate of many Grievances. When Propoſals had no better Effect, the King and Prince *Edward* beſieg'd the Iſle of *Ely* on all Sides. Which being known to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, tho' he had promis'd under his Seal not to take up Arms againſt the King but in his own Defence, he gather'd an Army out of *Wales* in Favour of the Diſinherited, march'd up to the City of *London*, and by the Conſent of the Citizens took full Poſſeſſion of it, commanding alſo the Pope's Legate, who lodg'd in the Tower, to ſurrender it to him. Yet ſhortly after a Peace was fully concluded, by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans* and the Lord *Philip Baſſet*; and the Earl of *Gloceſter* bound himſelf in a Bond of ten thouſand Marks, never to raiſe any Diſturbance again. *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly ſupported Earl *Montfort*'s Rebellion, for thirty two thouſand Pounds was reſtor'd to four Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the War, and fully reconcil'd. And the Rebels in the Iſle of *Ely* ſhortly after ſubmitting to the noble Prince *Edward*, the Barons War ended, after it had above five Years afflicted the ſinful Nation; in which, while they violently ſtruggled for Superiority, both Sides were great Sufferers, according to the frequent Events of Civil Wars. A. D. 1267. Reg. 51 52.

They are reduc'd.

The War ended.

Wikes. Riſhang. &c. IX. Theſe domeſtick Diſturbances being thus compos'd, King *Henry* ſpent the four laſt Years of his Reign in perfect Peace and Tranquility, without any remarkable Conteſt or memorable Action. To eſtabliſh which, he caus'd it to be proclaim'd in every County throughout *England*, That whoſoever ſhould invade, or unjuſtly uſurp any Man's Goods or Poſſeſſions, as had been uſual in the late Troubles, ſhould be liable to a Capital Puniſhment. And to compleat all, he call'd a Parliament to meet at *Marlborough*, to renew and eſtabliſh the Body of the Laws of *England*, where were made thoſe Laws now extant A. D. 1268. Reg. 52 53.

The Statutes of Marlborough. under the Title of *The Statutes of* Marlborough; in which among many other Things, *Magna Charta* and *Charta Foreſta* were again confirm'd. In the midſt of this Peace, by the ſolemn Preaching of *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, the King's Sons, Prince *Edward* and Earl *Edmund* his Brother, as alſo *Henry* eldeſt Son to the King of the *Romans*, with the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Warren* and *Pembroke*, and about one hundred and twenty other Knights, being touch'd with the great Loſſes in the *Holy-Land*, all receiv'd the Croſs at the Hands of the Legate, and devoted themſelves to this Employment. In the following Year, the Prince went over into *France* to join with King *Lewis* in the Holy War, who for his Proviſion in that Expedition lent him thirty thouſand Marks; for the Security of which the Prince mortgag'd *Gaſcony* to him. But before he enter'd upon the Journey, he return'd to *England*, and aſſiſted in the Ceremony of the Tranſlation of the Relicks of *Edward* the Confeſſor into a richer Shrine: For which the King had ſummon'd all the Prelates and Nobility of *England*, beſides the richeſt Men in all the Cities and Boroughs of *England*, to render the Solemnity more illuſtrious. Theſe being all aſſembled, with an infinite Confluence of People, the King himſelf and his Brother *Richard* began the Ceremony, by taking up St. *Edward*'s Coffin upon their Shoulders; to which alſo the Princes *Edward* and *Edmund*, with divers Earls and Barons, lent their Hands: And being ſo carry'd, the Bones or Relicks were plac'd in a noble Shrine of Gold, adorn'd with precious Stones, which was then ſet in a high and eminent Place with the utmoſt Reverence, where it continu'd many Years.

Prince Edward *undertakes the* Cruſado.

The Inſhrinement of Edward *the Confeſſor.*

A. D. 1269. Reg. 53 54.

A. D. 1270. Reg. 54 55.

The Prince did not depart out of *England* 'till the latter End of the following Year; before which Time, on the thirteenth Day of *May*, ſeveral of the Biſhops came to St. *Paul*'s Church, and there caus'd the Bull of Pope *Honorius* the Third to be publickly read, by which he confirm'd the Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which had been granted by this King in the Beginning of his Reign; and at the ſame Time ſolemnly excommunicated all Infringers of thoſe Charters, as had been formerly publiſh'd in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in the Year 1253. Not long after, the Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and *Alan* Lord *Zouche*, having a great Suit in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the former ſet upon the latter in open Court and mortally wounded him; for which he was fin'd five thouſand Pounds to the King, and two thouſand to the Family of the Lord *Zouche*. About the middle of *Auguſt*, the Heroick Prince *Edward*, with his Princeſs *Eleanor*, left *England*, and winter'd in *Sicily*; where he was ſo intent upon his Holy Expedition, that when he underſtood that his chief Support the King of *France* was dead, and afterwards, that the greateſt Part of his Fleet was loſt by a Storm, and when he was diſſuaded from the Attempt by all about him, he ſwore a ſolemn Oath, *That tho' all deſerted him, he would go, if he were attended only by his Groom.* Accordingly in the following Spring he arriv'd in the *Holy-Land*, reliev'd the Town of *Acon*, and after that perform'd many noble Actions and great Enterprizes, to the great Damage of the *Saracens*, and his own laſting Renown. So that in a ſhort Time he became ſo formidable to his Enemies, that ſome of their Commanders diſhonourably ſent a deſperate Aſſaſſin, who under the Pretence of treating with him, ſtabb'd him with a poiſon'd Dagger; of which by Providence he eſcap'd with great Torment, and extreameſt Danger. And here we are told of an admirable Inſtance of Conjugal Love in his Princeſs *Eleanor*; who is ſaid to have ſuck'd out the Venom of the Wound with her own Lips, and by that means ſav'd his Life: But of this we have no great Certainty. Not long after ſhe was deliver'd of a Daughter, in the City of *Acon*, who from the Place of her Birth was nam'd *Joan de Acres*, and was afterwards marry'd to *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*.

Wikes. Riſhang. &c.

Prince Edward *ſets forwards towards the* Holy-Land.

His Acts.

He is in Danger.

A. D. 1271. Reg. 55 56.

A. D. 1272. Reg. 56 57.

In the mean Time his Father King *Henry* liv'd at Eaſe and Quietneſs, during his declining Years, very different from his Father King *John*: Yet in the laſt of his Reign he was afflicted with the Death of his Brother *Richard* King of the *Romans*, once accounted the richeſt Prince in *Europe*. And ſhortly after

Earl Richard dies.

Riſhang. Weſtmin.

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he was extreamly disturb'd by a violent Contest between the Citizens and the Monks of *Norwich*, which increas'd to that Degree, that the former set Fire to the Cathedral Church, which together with the adjoining Monastery and Buildings, were all consum'd to the Ground; and they sacrilegiously carry'd away all the Holy Vessels and their Books which escap'd the Flames. The King highly mov'd at this Outrage and Impiety, sent down Justiciary *Trivet* to *Norwich*, who convicted great Numbers of the Offenders, and condemn'd them to be drawn at Horses Tails and hang'd; and soon after came in Person, who when he beheld the Ruins of the Cathedral, he could scarce refrain from Tears. The Bishop of *Rochester* excommunicated all that were concern'd in the Fact, and the King condemn'd the Community of the City to pay three thousand Marks, towards the Rebuilding of the Church, besides ten Pounds in Gold, and the Value of a hundred Pounds in Silver for a Golden Cup. The King in his Return to *London*, reposing himself at the Abby of St. *Edmund's Bury*, was there seiz'd with a languishing Distemper that never left him. Getting with great Difficulty to *London*, he there perform'd all those Religious Offices then thought necessary for a dying Man, and order'd by his Will that his Goods should first discharge his Debts, and the rest be given to the Poor; after which he dy'd on the twentieth Day of *November*, and the sixty sixth Year of his Age, after a very tedious and inglorious Reign of fifty six Years, one Month, and four Days. His Body, array'd in Royal Robes and the Crown on his Head, was two Days after carry'd by the chief Nobility in solemn mournful Pomp, and bury'd in the Church of *Westminster*, before the High Altar, near the Shrine of *Edward* the Confessor, where his Tomb with his Statue in Brass remains to this Day.

A great Disturbance in Norwich.

King Henry *dies.*

This Reign, which was the longest of any of the Kings of *England*, affords us great Variety and numerous Instances of an infirm and distemper'd State, occasion'd both by the Inequality of the Prince's Management, and the Impatience of a turbulent Nobility. As to the King's Person, he was of middle Stature, of a strong Body, and well proportion'd; but as to his Mind, he was so variable and uncertain, that it is hard to give a just Account of him. We find that he was naturally wilful and passionate, easily provok'd to Anger, and as easily appeas'd; fickle and unconstant both in his Love and Hatred; for he never had so great a Favourite, but he threw him into Disgrace, nor so great an Enemy, but he receiv'd him into Favour. He was by Nature easie and merciful, so that if he acted too rigorously in any Thing, it is to be imputed to his chief Ministers who had a full Ascendent over him; for he was scarce ever *Sui Juris*, being always under the Government of others, and too often of Strangers. And indeed it may justly be said of him, that he was a much better Man than a King and Governor; for tho' he oppress'd his Subjects with unreasonable Taxes, often broke his Coronation Oath, and as often violated his own Charters (for which he never miss'd of Punishment) yet he was nevertheless remarkable for his Devotion towards God, his Charity towards the Poor, and his Chastity as to himself. As to the former, he us'd to prefer Prayers before Sermons, alledging, *That he had rather converse with his Friend, than hear from him.* As to his Charities, *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* was wont to say, *That he more dreaded the Power of his Alms, than all his Forces and Clergy together*; and his Chastity has been celebrated by several Writers, as being a Virtue too rare in Princes, and unknown to all his Predecessors of the *Norman* Race besides *William* I. But as for personal Valour and Courage, he was not much noted; his greatest Happiness was in his admirable Son, who ended all Civil Troubles, and afterwards by his Prudence and Fortitude rais'd the *English* Monarchy to a great Part of its ancient Glory.

His Character.

In this Reign, Stealing of Cattel, which before was but pecuniary, is said to have been first made Capital; and as to Weights and Measures, some of them were by Law fix'd thus: An *English* Penny call'd a *Sterling*, round and without

Establishments in his Reign.

out Clipping was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the midſt of the Ear; and twenty Pennies were to make an Ounce, twelve Ounces one Pound, eight Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons a *London* Buſhel, the eighth Part of a Quarter. In the forty firſt Year of this Reign, the King coin'd a Penny of pure Gold of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and commanded that it ſhould paſs for twenty Shillings; which was the firſt Piece of Gold we find was coin'd in *England*.

Thus we have gone through with eight Kings of the *Norman* Race, of whom the ſix firſt were Heroes and valiant Warriors, and the ſeventh no deſpicable Soldier. And of theſe eight, only *Richard* I. had a certain and unqueſtionable Right to the Crown of *England*, if we reckon according to the ſtrict Rules of Hereditary Succeſſion; for all the reſt came to the Throne when there was a nearer Heir living.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Plantagenets *Undivided; From the Death of King* Henry *the Third, to the Depoſition of King* Richard *the Second, and the firſt Diviſion of the two Families of* Lancaſter *and* York.

Containing the Space of about 127 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Firſt.*

Containing 34 *Years,* 7 *Months, and* 21 *Days.*

Weſtminſ. An. Wigor. &c.

I. IN the two laſt Reigns the Monarchy of *England* was extreamly debas'd and diſhonour'd, as well by inteſtine Convulſions, as foreign Loſſes; but now it began again to raiſe its Head, and to diſplay its Grandeur, by Means of the renowned Prince *Edward*, ſirnam'd *Longſhanks*, from the Tallneſs of his Stature, and the Celerity of his Motions. The Spirit and Abilities of this Prince appear'd in the Beginning of his Actions under his Father, after the great Defeat he gave the Barons at *Eveſham*; the Proſecution of the diſinherited Oppoſers; the expoſing of his Perſon to all Hazards and Labours; his ſingle Combate with *Adam Gurdon* the valiant Out-Law; and his noble Adventures and Attempts in the Eaſt: And finally his great Experience in the Affairs of the World, with the Vigour of his Age, which was now the thirty fourth Year, might well preſage what an able Maſter he would prove in the Management of them. Therefore upon the Death of King *Henry*, *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, with the Clergy and Laity, went to the great Altar in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and ſwore Fealty to his Firſt-Born Son *Edward*, then in the *Holy-Land*, not knowing whether he was living. Shortly after the Nobility of the Nation met at the new Temple

A. D. 1272. Reg. 1.

King Edward the Firſt proclaim'd in his Abſence.

Temple in *London*, where a new Seal being produc'd, they appointed Miniſters and Guardians to keep the King's Treaſure, and the Peace of the Kingdom, which were the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who by their Appointment enter'd upon the Exerciſe of the Government, without any poſſible Privity or Knowledge of the King: Yet all the Writs, Proclamations and Inſtruments concerning the Government were iſſu'd out in the King's Name, as appears by ſeveral Inſtances upon Record. Upon the Feaſt of St. *Hilary*, a Convention of the States was ſummon'd to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom 'till he ſhould return, conſiſting not only of the Lords, but of four Knights for every Shire, and as many Citizens for every City, as the *Waverly Annals* aſſure us; in which it was provided, that there ſhould be no Itinerant Judges, except only of the Bench, 'till the King's Return.

A. D. 1273. Reg. 1

King Edward *leaves the Holy Land.*

During theſe Proviſions at home, Prince *Edward*, being diſappointed of his promis'd Succours, left the *Holy-Land*, and return'd to *Sicily*, where he was honourably receiv'd by *Charles* King of that Iſland. Here, to the Memory of that filial Duty and Affection rare in Princes, we are aſſur'd, that the Death of his Son and Heir coming firſt to his Knowledge, and ſoon after of the King his Father, he expreſs'd much greater Sorrow at the Latter than the Former; and when the King of *Sicily* admired at his Behaviour, he anſwer'd, *That the Loſs of Children might be retriev'd by the Birth of others, but the Loſs of Parents was irreparable.* From *Sicily* he was by the King conducted to the *Roman* Court, where he ſpent ſome Time with Pope *Gregory* the Tenth, his Friend and familiar Acquaintance in the *Holy-Land*; and from thence he paſs'd into *Burgundy*, where at the Foot of the Mountains, ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons met him, with all the Marks of Duty and Affection. Here, being challeng'd in a Tournament by the ſtout and fierce Earl of *Chabloun*, he highly ſignaliz'd his perſonal Strength and Valour by the Conqueſt of his potent Adverſary. From thence, paſſing into *France*, he was receiv'd with great Honour by King *Philip* his Coſen-German, to whom he did Homage for the Hereditary Lands held of him, and receiv'd formal Poſſeſſion of them. Then taking his Leave of the King and Peers of *France*, he went into *Gaſcony* to receive the Homage and Service of his Subjects there, in which he found much Oppoſition from ſeveral; but chiefly from *Gaſton* Viſcount of *Bearn*, who becauſe a Predeceſſor of his had ſworn Fealty to the King of *Arragon*, he utterly deny'd his Homage. Upon which King *Edward* ſeiz'd upon his Perſon, and kept him Priſoner among his Retinue, from whence making his Eſcape, he was driven out of his Country; and upon an Appeal to King *Philip*, as Soveraign Lord of *Gaſcony*, he in favour of King *Edward*, compell'd *Gaſton* to hold his Lands of him.

Weſtminſ. Walſing. Annal.

He comes into Gaſcony.

A. D. 1274. Reg. 2

He arrives in England.

In the ſecond Year of his Reign, having ſetled his Affairs beyond Sea, he took Shipping at *Boloign*, and landed in *England* on the twenty fifth Day of *July*; where the two Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Warren* receiv'd him with greater State than any others, conducting him to their Caſtles of *Tunbridge* and *Rigate*, where they feaſted and entertain'd him with great Magnificence for many Days. On the nineteenth Day of *Auguſt*, he and his Queen *Eleanor*, his faithful Aſſociate in all his Travels and Hazards, were ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Rober Kilwarby* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; in the Preſence of Queen *Eleanor* the King's Mother, *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, *John* Duke of *Bretaign*, and Multitudes of the Nobility and others: Where for the more royal Celebration of this grand Feaſt, and Honour of ſo martial a King, there were five hundred great Horſes let looſe, for the Benefit of any that could catch them. Towards the Middle of *October*, the King iſſu'd out Writs of Inquiry by the Oaths of twelve legal Men, to two Commiſſiones in every County, to inquire what his Royalties, and the Liberties and Prerogatives of his Crown were, who were his Tenants in *Capite*, and Military Service, and how many and what Fees they held of him; Of his Tenants in ancient Demeaſn, how

Weſtminſ. Walſing. &c.

His Coronation.

how they behav'd themſelves, and in what Condition their Farms were; Of Sheriffs, Coroners, Eſcheators, Bayliffs and their Clerks, whether they had extorted Mony from any Man, by reaſon of their Office, had injur'd any Man, or receiv'd Bribes for Negligence or Remiſneſs; with all other Matters relating to the Benefit of the Publick.

Powel. Weſtminſ. Hiſt. During the Eſtabliſhment of theſe Affairs in *England*, the final Extinction of the Principality and Government of *Wales* began to draw near; but ſtill like the Movement of all great Tranſactions, by Length of Time, and gradual Approaches. The Original began at King *Edward*'s Coronation, at which Time the King ſent for *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* to attend at the Solemnity, and pay him Homage; but he making ſome Excuſes, was for that Reaſon admoniſh'd to repair to the King's Parliament to be held the following Year at *Weſtminſter*. At which Time alſo he refus'd to appear, fearing the King's former Diſpleaſure in his Father's Reign, and alledging, *He was in Danger as to his Perſon*; but directing his Excuſe to the two Arch-Biſhops and their Suffragans, he profeſs'd his Readineſs to acknowledge the King, *If he would ſend a Commiſſion for taking his Oath and Fealty; or if he would appoint ſome indifferent Place, or if he would give his Son, the Earl of* Gloceſter *and his Chancellor for Hoſtages of Security*. The King, diſſembling the Arrogancy of the Demand for the preſent, proceeded in the Buſineſs of his Parliament, and made excellent Laws both for Church and State, and for the Eaſe and Benefit of both; which are call'd *The firſt Statutes of* Weſtminſter. But after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, the King took up a Reſolution to ſeize upon the whole Fee of Prince *Lewellyn*, for his Denial of Homage; and made his Preparations accordingly. In the Beginnings of which, he met with a fair Proſpect of Succeſs by a conſiderable Prize, which four Ships of *Briſtol* took about the Iſles of *Scilly*, in which the Daughter of the great *Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was juſt given in Marriage to *Lewellyn*, and her Brother *Aimerick* were ſurpriz'd; but ſhe found honourable Uſage from the King, her near Kinſman. Upon this *Lewellyn* ſent Ambaſſadors to obtain a Peace, and to propoſe a Ranſom for his intended Wife; but the King refus'd both, unleſs he would reſtore the Lands which he had ſeiz'd and invaded in the *Marches* to the juſt Proprietors, and repair the Caſtles in *England* which he had deſtroy'd. The Prince not complying, the King ſent Forces to ſecure the *Engliſh* Frontiers from the Devaſtations of the *Welſh*; but thoſe proving inſufficient, in the fifth Year of his Reign, he iſſu'd out his Writs to all the Nobility and others that held of him by military Service to appear at *Worceſter* at a certain Day. And for the better Management of publick Affairs, the Courts of the *Exchequer* and the *King's Bench* were remov'd for a while from *Weſtminſter* to *Shrewsbury*, that they might be near the King's Perſon. Having got a ſufficient Army the valiant King march'd towards *Wales*, and in his Paſſage cut a large and ſpacious Way through a vaſt Wood into *Lewellyn*'s Country, where he built the two Caſtles of *Flint* and *Rothelan*. Then ſeizing on the *Welſhmen*'s Lands and Goods, he waſted their Country, and drove them into their uſual Place of Retreat, the Mountains of *Snowdon*; and with the Aſſiſtance of the Men of the Five Ports, he in a ſhort Time took the Iſle of *Angleſey*.

A. D. 1275. Reg. 3/4.

The Principality of Wales *declines.*

A. D. 1276. Reg. 4/5.

The King prepares againſt Wales.

A. D. 1277. Reg. 5/6.

He removes his Courts to Shrewsbury.

Walſing. Powel. At length Prince *Lewellyn* finding himſelf unable to reſiſt ſo potent an Adverſary, deſired a Peace, which was granted him upon very hard Conditions; the principal of which ſhows the *Welſh* to have had greater Riches in Poſſeſſion at this Time, than after Ages would readily believe. For one Article was, That *Lewellyn* ſhould pay fifty thouſand Pounds at the King's Pleaſure; and another, That he ſhould hold the Iſle of *Angleſey* in Fee-Farm of the King, for Himſelf and his Heirs, upon the Payment of five Thouſand Marks ready Mony, and a thouſand Marks annual Rent. The reſt of the Articles amounted to as much as a Conqueſt, or Diſſolution of the Principality of *Wales*, after *Lewellyn*'s Deceaſe; who was to enjoy it during Life, upon certain Conditions.

A. D. 1278. Reg. 6/7.

Peace granted to the Welſh *upon hard Terms.*

For the Ratification of all which, *Lewellyn* granted a ſufficient Number of Hoſtages, and alſo oblig'd himſelf to make Satisfaction to his three Brothers, *Owen*, *Roderick* and *David*; the two former of whom he had impriſon'd, and the laſt he had forc'd to fly into *England*, where he had receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood, and many Favours from the King. After which, King *Edward* to ſhow his Generoſity and Greatneſs, releas'd the Prince from the greateſt Part of the Sums promis'd, and freely reſtor'd him his deſign'd Spouſe, honouring his Nuptials with his own Preſence, and that of the Queen.

A. D. 1279. Reg. 7/8.

As the King inlarg'd his Dominions in *England*, ſo he gain'd ſome Territories in *France*, as particularly the Earldom of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, which fell to his Queen by the Death of her Mother the Queen of *Caſtile*, who was alſo Counteſs of *Ponthieu*. Upon which Account he went into *France* with his Queen, and at *Amiens* did Homage to King *Philip* for that and other Lands in *Gaſcony*, of which he deliver'd to him the perpetual Poſſeſſion; for which King *Edward* reſign'd all his Right to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, reſerving only thirty Livers of *Paris* to be annually paid out of the Exchequer. At his Return into *England*, he took great Care of the Coin of the Nation, which had been much debas'd by frequent Clippings and Counterfeits; and to put a Stop to this Miſchief, in *November*, all the *Jews* in *England* were taken and impriſon'd in one Day, and being legally try'd, no leſs than two hundred and eighty of both Sexes were hang'd, beſides great Numbers that were fin'd. The King alſo held a Parliament, in which to diminiſh the exorbitant Power of the Eccleſiaſticks, the firſt Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted. And to regulate the Diſorders in the Church, a Council or Synod was held at *Reading* by *John Peckham*, lately made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; in which it was determin'd among other Things That no Clergy-Man ſhould have above one Benefice with the Cure of Souls. As the State-Councils in the late Reign firſt began to be call'd *Parliaments*, ſo the Eccleſiaſtical Councils or Synods ſeem to have begun about this Time to be call'd *Convocations*. And this preſent Convocation is the firſt Time that the Dioceſan Clergy appear to have been repreſented by Proctors of their own chuſing; before which they gave Procuratorial Letters to their Arch-Deacons. About the ſame Time the King wanting Mony, found out a new Project for his purpoſe; namely, That whereas he was chief Lord of many Manors and Poſſeſſions, he well underſtood that partly by Length of Time, and partly by Caſualties during the late Civil Wars, many Mens Deeds and Evidences were loſt or deſtroy'd; therefore under Colour of putting the Statute of *Quo waranto*, enacted this Year at *Gloceſter*, in Execution, he commanded by Proclamation, That all ſuch as held any Lands or Tenements of him, ſhould come and ſhow their Titles, which if defective, were to be redeem'd by large Sums of Mony. This Proclamation was look'd upon as very inſidious, and a great Hardſhip upon many, yet ſeveral were oblig'd to comply to their great Damage; but when the bold Earl of *Warren* was call'd before the King's Juſticiaries, and demanded by what Right he held his Lands, he drew out a large ruſty Sword and declar'd, *That he held them by that Inſtrument, and by that would hold them 'till Death.* This free and open Declaration, together with the Diſcontents of many intereſted People, induc'd this wiſe King in a ſhort Time to deſiſt from his Deſign.

Walſing. Mezeray. Speiman. Trivet.

The King takes care of the Coin of the Nation.

The firſt Statute of Mortmain.

A. D. 1280. Reg. 8/9.

The King enquires into Mens Titles to their Eſtates.

A. D. 1281. Reg. 9/10.

Tho' the noble King *Edward* had endeavour'd to gain the *Welſh* more by his Munificence than his Power, and had treated *Lewellyn* with a Generoſity beyond all Expectation; yet the natural Deſire of a full Liberty, and the fond Belief of *Merlin*'s Prophecy *That this Prince ſhould wear the Diadem of* Brute, had ſuch Effects upon that Nation, that they again betook themſelves to Arms. *David*, who had receiv'd many Favours and Honours from King *Edward*, was the principal Agent, for joining with his Brother *Lewellyn*, he ſuddenly ſurpriz'd the Lord *Clifford*, the King's Juſticiary in *Wales*, kill'd many of his Servants, wounded, bound and ſent him Priſoner to the Mountain of *Snowdon*,

Weſtmin. Walſing. Powel.

The Welſh rebel.

Snowdon, and then committed great Devaſtations, and deſtroy'd the *Marches*. The King hearing the News of this Revolt, at firſt doubted the Truth of it, but upon better Information, he prepar'd his Army to march into *Wales*; but before he join'd with his Men, he made a Viſit to his Mother at a Nunnery in *Ambresbury*, who with great Satisfaction entertain'd him with the Preſence of a Man who pretended to have had his Sight reſtor'd at the Tomb of his Father *Henry*. But the King well knowing the Party, to her great Diſpleaſure declar'd, *That he ſo well knew the Juſtice of his Father, that he would rather pull out the Eyes of ſuch a wicked Impoſtor, than reſtore them to their Sight*. From thence marching into *Wales* with his Army, he built a large Bridge of Veſſels over the River *Menay*, oppoſite to *Bangor*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Country about *Snowdon*, and gave many Shares of thoſe Lands to his Barons, and others who had faithfully aſſiſted him. Over this Bridge many of the Nobility of the King's Party paſs'd out of *Angleſey* to view and obſerve the Country; but being terrify'd with the Multitude and Noiſe of the *Welſh* coming upon them, by too haſty a Return, they were unfortunately drown'd in their Paſſage. The *Welſh* incourag'd by this Accident, which they look'd upon as a Miracle, excited their Prince with the Notion of *Merlin*'s Prophecy, and ingag'd him to come down from the Mountains into the Plains, with the greateſt Part of his Forces. This Counſel prov'd fatal to him, for being ſhortly after attack'd by King *Edward*'s Forces, his Army was defeated, and he himſelf was ſlain, and his Head was ſent to King *Edward*, who order'd it to be ignominiouſly crown'd with Ivy, and to be ſet upon the Tower of *London*.

A. D. 1282. Reg. 10/11.

The King marches againſt them.

Lewellyn *the laſt Prince, ſlain.*

Walſing. Powel. &c.

This was the End of *Lewellyn*, the laſt Soveraign Prince of *Wales*, of the moſt noble and ancient Family in *Europe*; with whom the Liberty of that Nation did ſhortly after expire. For the *Welſh* being now diſhearten'd and confounded, it was not long before the valiant *Edward* made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of the Country; reſerving to himſelf the Port Towns and Forts towards the Sea, and diſtributing the Inland Parts to the Lords his Followers. In which he wiſely follow'd the Methods of *Auguſtus*, who thus under the ſpecious Pretext of a Defence for the Provinces, had the command of all their Forces at his Pleaſure. Nevertheleſs the whole Flame was not yet extinguiſh'd, for *David* the Prince's Brother, and chief Incendiary in this fatal Conteſt, was ſtill with ſome Forces at large. This Man being at length taken and brought to King *Edward* at the Caſtle of *Rothelan* could not obtain the Favour of his Speech or Sight, but was immediately ſent away Priſoner to *Shrowsbury*; where a Parliament being ſummon'd, after a legal and judicial Trial, the King caus'd *David* to be put to a terrible Death, by Hanging, Beheading and Quartering; his Head being ſet up at *London*, and his Quarters at *Briſtol*, *Northampton*, *York* and *Wincheſter*, to be a Terror to all ingrateful and diſloyal Perſons: A manifold Execution, and the firſt of that Kind in this Kingdom, in the Perſon of a Prince's Son, or any Nobleman we find in our Hiſtory. The *Welſh* Line thus extinct, King *Edward* upon the twenty fifth Day of *April* had a Son born at *Caernarvon* in this Country, who was alſo call'd *Edward* and reign'd after him, being the firſt of the Sons of the Kings of *England* that had the Title of *Prince of* Wales. And that the *Welſh* might be inur'd to new Laws, with the Birth of a new Lord, King *Edward*, after the Example of his Grand-father King *John* in *Ireland*, eſtabliſh'd all the *Engliſh* Laws and Offices amongſt them. Thus came *Wales*, that ſmall Portion left to the ancient *Britains*, to be ſubject to the Crown of *England*: And it is wonderful that it ſhould ſo long ſubſiſt againſt ſo great a Power; having had but ſmall Aſſiſtance from others, no Strength by Sea, no Alliances or Intelligence with Princes out of this Iſle; and being ſo often invaded, ſo often diſtreſs'd, ſo eagerly purſu'd, by almoſt every King of *England*, and thought to have been by many of them ſubdu'd, it muſt needs ſhow the real Worthineſs of the Nation, and their noble Courage in preſerving their ancient Liberty.

A. D. 1283. Reg. 11/12.

All Wales *reduc'd,*

A. D. 1284. Reg. 12/13.

and made ſubject to the Engliſh *Laws.*

A. D. 1285. Reg. 13/14.

II. *Wales* being reduc'd, and *England* in a profound Peace, we do not find many Matters of Moment for five or six Years together. After the King had eſtabliſh'd the *Welſh* Affairs, he kept a ſolemn *Chriſtmaſs* at *Briſtol*, which none of the *Engliſh* Kings had done before; and from thence went to *London*, from whence he had been almoſt three Years abſent. Not long after he ſeiz'd upon the Privileges of the City, diſcharg'd the preſent Mayor, and put another in his Room; becauſe, as we are told, he had taken Bribes of the Bakers, and ſuffer'd them to ſell Bread that wanted ſix or ſeven Ounces Weight in a Penny Loaf. The King alſo held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in which the Statutes call'd *Additamenta Gloceſtriæ* were enacted, or rather the Statutes of *Weſtminſter* the Second. About which Time all the new Work in the Abby Church of *Weſtminſter* was compleatly finiſh'd, which had been begun above ſixty Years before. In the ſucceeding Year the *Jews* in one Night were generally apprehended, and kept in ſtrict Cuſtody throughout all Parts of *England*, 'till they had purchas'd their Liberty from the Crown. It is reported that the Commons of *England* granted to the King the fifth Part of all their Moveables, to procure the Baniſhment of all the *Jews* from the Land; but this ſubtle Generation, to defeat all their Deſigns, preſented the King with ſuch large Sums of Mony, as ſtopp'd the Execution.

The King ſeizes on the Privileges of London.

Weſtmin. &c.

A. D. 1286. Reg. 14/15.

The Jews diſturb'd.

The King of *France* having in the laſt Year deſir'd the Mediation of King *Edward* between him and the Kings of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, he comply'd with his Requeſt, and this Year with a noble Retinue paſs'd over into *France*, where he receiv'd many Honours, and ſate in Perſon with the *French* King at his Parliament in *Paris*. He continu'd above three Years in ſeveral Parts of *France*, to make a full and final Eſtabliſhment of his Dominions in that Country; during which Time, beſides his Mediation ratify'd, by demanding the Territories his Grand-father King *John* had loſt, he is ſaid to obtain ten thouſand Pound Sterling of the *French* King, to be yearly paid at the Tower of *London*, together with ſome Arrears for *Normandy*. During his Continuance in *France*, a violent Conteſt aroſe between the Lord *Pain Tiptoſt*, Governor of ſome Caſtles in *Wales*, and a *Welſh* Knight call'd *Rees ap Meridoc*; inſomuch that ſeveral Skirmiſhes were fought between them, to the great Diſturbance of the whole Country. Upon which King *Edward* wrote out of *France* to the ſaid *Rees*, requiring him to keep the Peace 'till his Return, when he ſhould receive reſonable Satisfaction; but *Rees* having already taken up Arms, reſolv'd to revenge his own Cauſe, and by the Aſſiſtance of great Numbers of his Countrymen, burnt and deſtroy'd many Towns in *Wales*. Theſe Ravages ſo far increas'd, that the King thought fit to ſend to the Earl of *Cornwall* his Lieutenant in *England*, requiring him to march with an Army into *Wales*, to ſuppreſs the Attempts of thoſe People. Accordingly the Earl, with ſome other Noblemen, enter'd *Wales* with a ſufficient Power, and purſuing the Forces of *Rees*, diſpers'd them, and deſtroy'd ſeveral of his Caſtles; but by Undermining the Walls of the Caſtle of *Druſlan*, the Baron *Stafford*, the Lord *Montchenſy*, with many Knights and Eſquires were bruis'd to Death by the Fall of them. In the next Year *Rees* renew'd his violent Attempts, and gather'd together a numerous Force; upon which the Lord *Tiptoſt*, Deputy of *Wales*, with what *Engliſh* Troops he could procure in a ſhort Time, march'd directly to oppoſe him. *Rees* underſtanding that the *Engliſh* were far leſs in Number, did not doubt of Succeſs, and fell down upon them with great Fury and Precipitation; but at length the Valour and Conduct of the *Engliſh* prevail'd, ſo that *Rees* himſelf was taken Priſoner, and the greateſt Part of his Men, to the Number of four thouſand, were cut in Pieces. Thus were the *Welſhmen* chaſtis'd for their rebellious Inſurrection; and *Rees* himſelf was brought to *York*, where in the following Year he ſuffer'd the new introduc'd Execution of being hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

The King goes into France.

Trivet. Higden.

A. D. 1287. Reg. 15/16.

Diſturbances in Wales.

A. D. 1288. Reg. 16/17.

They are ſuppreſs'd.

At

Weſtminſ. Yvivet. Waſſing. At length, after a full Eſtabliſhment of the Affairs in *France*, and above three Years Continuance in that Country, King *Edward* with his Queen return'd into *England*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Nation. Shortly after, like a Father of his Country, he undertook to purge the Land from all Corruptions and Oppreſſions of his Officers, and becauſe ſeveral of his Juſticiaries had to inrich themſelves taken Bribes, and perverted Judgment, he took care to puniſh them according to the Nature of their Crimes, and not only remov'd them with all the Marks of Diſhonour, but alſo laid ſevere Fines upon them. We have the Names of twelve that were found guilty, among whom Sir *Thomas Weyland*, the King's chief Juſticiary, and *Adam de Stratton*, were principal; the former had all his Goods confiſcated, and alſo ſuffer'd Baniſhment, and the latter was oblig'd to pay a Fine of no leſs than three hundred and twenty thouſand Marks. After this the King compell'd all his Juſticiaries to take an Oath that from that Time, they would take no Penſion, Fee or Preſent from any Man, but only the Civility of an ordinary Breakfaſt. Then calling a Parliament, the Statutes of *Weſtminſter* the Third were enacted; at which Time it was decreed that all the *Jews* ſhould quit the Nation, in Conſideration of which the Parliament gave the King a Fifteenth upon all Goods. Upon which all the *Jews* were for ever baniſh'd out of the King's Dominions, and could by no Methods obtain leave to return: All their immoveable Goods were confiſcated, with their Bonds and Tallies; but their Moveables, Gold, Silver and Jewels, were allow'd them, and they had Liberty to carry them away with them. In the ſame Year the King, in a Journey towards *Scotland*, loſt his moſt beloved Conſort, the incomparable Queen *Eleanor*, who had been his inſeparable Attendant in all his Travels, Dangers and Labours. She dy'd at *Hareby* near *Bullenbroke* in *Lincolnſhire*; her Bowels were bury'd in our Lady's Chappel in the Cathedral of *Lincoln*, and her Body in the Abby Church of *Weſtminſter*, at the Feet of King *Henry* the Third. The King with extream Grief and Sorrow attended her Corps from *Lincolnſhire* to *Weſtminſter*, erecting ſtately Croſſes at *Lincoln*, *Grantham*, *Stamford*, *Northampton*, *Waltham*, *Cheapſide*, *Charing*, and in all other Places, where the Body reſted, to the renown'd Memory of this moſt admirable Wife, and excellent Queen.

A. D. 1289. Reg. 17/18.

The King makes ſeveral Regulations.

A. D. 1290. Reg. 18/19.

The Jews baniſh'd.

Queen Eleanor dies.

III. In theſe Times a terrible Storm began to threaten the Realm of *Scotland*, which prov'd much to the Diminution of the Name and Authority of that Kingdom, and no leſs to the aggrandiſing the Reign of King *Edward*; and which was introduc'd, as *Boetius* tells us, with formidable Preſages, as extraordinary Meteors, Floods, Fires and Peſtilence. The Beginning of it was occaſion'd by the Death of *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, who in the Year 1285 loſt his Life by a Fall off his Horſe, and left his Kingdom without any Heir, beſides one young Grand-Child nam'd *Margaret*, Daughter to *Eric* King of *Norwey*; upon which the Government of the Kingdom was manag'd by particular Guardians for about five Years. But the young Princeſs *Margaret*, whom King *Edward* had deſign'd for his Son's Wife, dying this preſent Year, there aroſe no leſs than twelve Pretenders to the Right of the Crown of *Scotland*, beſides *Eric* King of *Norwey*, which put the Nation into a great Confuſion. The Names of the twelve were *John Baliol*, *Robert Brus*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Partrick Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, *William Veſcy*, *William Ros*, *Robert Pinkny*, *Nicolas Soules*, *Patrick Galighty*, *Roger Mundevil*, *John Comyn*, and *John Haſtings*. Upon this Conteſt and Diſturbance, King *Edward*, as Superior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, call'd a Parliament at *Norham* in the Confines of that Kingdom, and went thither in Perſon to determine the Controverſie about the Right of Succeſſion between all the Competitors. The Account of which important Tranſaction we have from undoubted Records publiſh'd at large by Mr. *Pryn*, which diſcover ſeveral Miſtakes or Defects both in the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

A great Conteſt in Scotland *about the Succeſſion.*

In

A. D. 1291. Reg. 19/20.

In the nineteenth Year of this Reign, and the tenth Day of *May*, by King *Edward*'s Command the Nobility, Prelates and Community of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* met at *Norham*; where *Roger Brabancon*, the King's Juſticiary, in the King's Name, publickly declar'd to the whole Aſſembly the Reaſon of his Majeſty's Coming, and of their Summons to that Place, *That his Majeſty taking notice of the Confuſions of* Scotland *ſince the Death of* Alexander *their laſt King and his Progeny, out of the Affection he had for them and all the Inhabitants, whoſe Safety and Protection was well known to belong to him, for the doing Juſtice to all that claim'd the Kingdom, and for the Preſervation of the Publick Peace, he appear'd there: And likewiſe, without Uſurpation or Diminution of their Liberties, to ſhew them his Superiority and Direct Dominion out of divers undoubted Chronicles and Monuments, and to demand their Aſſent, and Recognition of his Authority.* Upon this Declaration, the Nobility and Repreſentatives of *Scotland* requir'd Time to conſult with their abſent Members, which the King granted only 'till the next Day; when meeting again, they preſs'd for a longer Time to anſwer to his Demand *concerning their Recognition of his Superiority and Direct Dominion over the Kingdom of* Scotland, *which he had declar'd to be his Right.* Upon Deliberation, the King appointed the ſecond Day of *June*, on which Day *They were poſitively to anſwer his Demand, and if they had any Writings, Evidences or Antiquities that might exclude him from the Right and Exerciſe of his Superiority and Direct Dominion, or overthrow his Reaſons and Arguments for it, they were then to exhibit them openly*; proteſting, *That he was ready to grant what Law and Juſtice had eſtabliſh'd.* And that they might the better underſtand his Title, and make their Objections againſt it, the Biſhop of *Durham* was appointed to declare to the Aſſembly, *That the Arguments the King deſign'd to uſe were Hiſtorical, and taken from the Writings of* Marianus Scotus, William *of* Malmesbury, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, *and* Matthew Paris, *implying,* '*That the* Scots *had been conquer'd by* '*ſeveral of the* Engliſh Saxon *Kings*; *That ſeveral of their Kings had ſub-* '*mitted, ſworn Fealty, done Homage to them, and receiv'd the Crown and* '*Kingdom from them*; *and that the* Scots *had alſo ſubmitted and been go-* '*vern'd by ſuch Kings, as the other had plac'd over them*; *and laſtly after* '*the* Norman *Conqueſt, the very ſame Thing had been acted, acknowledg'd and* '*ſubmitted to, in all the ſeveral Reigns ſince that Revolution.*

The Tower Rolls.

King Edward *claims the Superiority over that Kingdom.*

The Arguments he us'd.

Upon the ſecond Day of *June*, the Nobility and Community of *Scotland*, met in a green Plain over-againſt *Norham* Caſtle, where King *Edward* reſided; together with thoſe Noblemen who claim'd the Kingdom. Upon which the Biſhop of *Bath* was ſent to demand of them in the King's Name, *What they had done ſince the laſt Meeting, and whether they would exhibit or propound any Thing that could or ought to exclude the King of* England *from the Right and Exerciſe of the Superiority and Direct Dominion of* Scotland; proteſting in the Name of his Maſter, *that he would favourably hear them, allow what was juſt, and report their Anſwer to him and his Council.* Being often requir'd, and they alledging nothing to the contrary, the Biſhop reported the Subſtance of what had been ſaid and urg'd for the King of *England*'s Title, and what had been tranſacted in theſe ſeveral Meetings, and then declar'd to them, *That the King would make uſe of his Right of Superiority and Direct Dominion in* Scotland, *in deciding the Controverſie between the ſeveral Competitors for that Kingdom.* Then beginning with *Robert Brus*, one of the twelve Claimers, he ask'd him in the Preſence of all, *Whether in claiming the ſaid Right, he would demand and receive Juſtice before the King of* England, *as Superior and Direct Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland; who publickly, expreſly and without Contradiction, anſwer'd, *That he did acknowledge the King of* England *to be Superior and Direct Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and as ſuch he would before him demand and receive Juſtice.* The ſame Anſwer was return'd by all the reſt

1291.

He offers to determine the Right of the Succeſſion.

The Competitors ſubmit to it.

reſt of the Competitors, who did not only make this publick Recognition, but alſo ſet their Hands and Seals to a certain Inſtrument, ſtill upon Record, in which they declar'd *That to the King of* England *belong'd the Soveraign Seigneury of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and the Cognizance of hearing, trying and determining their Right; and that they would keep firm and ſtable to his Act and Determination.*

Ibid. This done, King *Edward* and his Council treated with the *Scotch* Nobility and Competitors about a Method of Proceedings, and the Reformation of the State of the Nation: And it was unanimouſly agreed by both Kingdoms, That *John Baliol* and *John Comyn* ſhould chuſe forty Perſons, and *Robert Brus* as many, whoſe Names within three Days ſhould be deliver'd to the King, to whom he was to add twenty four, more or leſs, who ſhould hear and diſcuſs the Rights of all the Pretenders, and to make a faithful Report to him, *That he might give the definitive Sentence.* But becauſe for want of Poſſeſſion the King had not full Power to put his Sentence in Execution, on the fourth Day of *June*, by a ſecond Inſtrument the Competitors, with the Conſent of the Community of the Nation, gave him actual Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom and Caſtles of *Scotland*. In which it was declar'd *That they did it freely and without Compulſion; that as Soveraign Lord they had given King* Edward *Seiſin of all the Land and Strength of* Scotland, *upon Condition That he ſhould reſtore all Things as he had found them, within two Months after he had determin'd the Right of Succeſſion; ſaving to the Crown of* England, *the Homage of him that ſhall be King.* On the fifth of *June*, the Names of the Eighty elected to examine and report the Rights of the Competitors, were deliver'd to the King; and on the ſixth, they were order'd to appoint the Day and Place for hearing and diſcuſſing their Right. *Berwick* upon *Tweed* was appointed for the Place; but not agreeing upon the Day, the King as ſuperior Lord, by the Conſent of both Nations, appointed the ſecond of *Auguſt*, as a peremptory Day for the Competitors to plead their Rights and Titles. On the eleventh Day of *June*, all the Guardians of the Kingdom, with the Governors of the Caſtles, deliver'd up their Guardianſhips and Offices to the King as ſuperior Lord; which when he had receiv'd, he committed the Charge of the Kingdom to the ſame Perſons, to govern it under him, and in his Name. This being finiſh'd, the next Day, all Perſons preſent, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, who were oblig'd to ſwear Fealty to their own King, did it in a ſolemn Manner to King *Edward*, as ſuperior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, in a Green Plain within the Bounds of that Kingdom. From that Time, 'till the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the reſt of the People were, to ſave Labour and Expences, ſworn by Commiſſioners in all Parts of the Kingdom, of which the Names of great Numbers are ſtill upon the Rolls; and in every Place, when they had ſworn, the King of *England*'s Peace or Pardon was proclaim'd.

The Manner of Proceeding.

King Edward *has Poſſeſſion given him of* Scotland.

Weſtminſ. &c. While the King was deciding this great Controverſie, his Mother Queen *Eleanor* dy'd about Midſummer, upon which he return'd into *England* to ſee her Funeral ſolemniz'd with all filial Duty and Honour. After which he came to *Berwick* upon the third Day of *Auguſt*, where the twelve Competitors appear'd before him and a Parliament of both Nations, and with them the twenty four *Engliſh* Examiners of their Titles choſen by the King, and the eighty choſen by *Robert Brus* and *John Baliol*. The Petitions, with the Reaſons of their Claims having been propounded and ſhown to the Examiners, they reported them to the King before the whole Aſſembly, and in the Preſence of every one of the Demandants. The King finding it to be an Affair of great Weight and Moment, by their own Conſent, appointed them a longer Time 'till the ſecond Day of *June* in the following Year 1292, for the further Proceeding in this uncommon Controverſie.

The King's Mother dies.

A. D. 1292. Reg. 20/21.

The Tower Rolls. At the appointed Time, the King met again at *Berwick*, where the Communities of both Nations being aſſembled, and the Competitors preſent, the Auditors

tors appointed to diſcuſs their Rights and Pretenſions, after an attentive Hearing related all that had paſs'd to the King; who, with the Nobility of both Kingdoms, carefully examin'd them. But becauſe he found there would be many Delays, and much Time expended, to the Inconveniency and Peril of the Kingdom, it was order'd by the expreſs Conſent of all the Pretenders, and by the Aſſent of the whole Aſſembly, That the Rights and Titles of *Robert Brus* and *John Baliol* ſhould be firſt examin'd and diſcuſs'd, and that afterwards all others might proſecute their Claims if they thought fit. The King, tho' he had it in his Power to determine the Cauſe alone, yet that he might proceed with more Prudence and Security, he caus'd the eighty Examiners to take an Oath, That they would adviſe him how and by what Laws and Cuſtoms he was to paſs Judgment in this Matter. Theſe eighty alledg'd great Difficulties, and deſir'd that the twenty four appointed by the King might be added to them; and theſe alledg'd greater, and refus'd to undertake the Charge, without the Advice of thoſe *Engliſh* Prelates and Nobility that were abſent. Wherefore, by the unanimous Conſent of all preſent, the King appointed the fourteenth Day of *October* next, for the further Proceeding in this Affair, in his Parliament to be held in the ſame Place.

The Nobility and Auditors met according to Appointment; and the King demanded *By what Laws and Cuſtoms Judgment was to be given in the preſent Caſe; if none were found, how it was to be determin'd; and whether otherwiſe concerning the Kingdom, than concerning Earldoms, Baronies and other Tenures?* They all unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That Judgment was to be made by the Laws of the Kingdom, if any were found; if not, the King ought, by the Advice of his Nobility, to make a new One: And as to the Right of Succeſſion in* Scotland, *Judgment was to be given as in Earldoms, Baronies, and other individible Tenures.* Upon this Anſwer, the King order'd the Auditors favourably to hear *John Baliol* and *Robert Brus* from Day to Day what they had to alledge; and *Robert Brus* began with ſhewing the Reaſons and Arguments for his Claim, and then *John Baliol* ſet forth his, in a long Plea, and anſwer'd all that the other had ſaid. Now of the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, undoubted Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, *John Baliol* was Grand-ſon to the Eldeſt, and *Robert Brus* was Son to the Second; wherefore the King before the whole Aſſembly deſir'd their Advice; and the Force of the Arguments on both Sides were drawn into this Queſtion: *Whether the more Remote by one Degree in Succeſſion, coming from the eldeſt Siſter, ought, according to the Laws of both Kingdoms, to exclude the Nearer by one Degree coming from the ſecond Siſter; or whether the Nearer by one Degree coming from the ſecond Siſter, ought to exclude the more Remote by one Degree coming from the eldeſt Siſter?* To which they unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That the more Remote by one Degree lineally deſcending from the eldeſt Siſter, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of both Kingdoms, was to be preferr'd to the Nearer by one Degree coming from the ſecond Siſter, in every Hereditary Succeſſion.* Ibid.

The Nature of the Scoth *Succeſſion.*

Upon this Anſwer, the King caus'd the Matter to be re-examin'd before the Nobility of both Kingdoms, and appointed the ſixth Day of *November* for *John Baliol* and *Robert Brus* to hear their Sentence; which was pronounc'd by the King Judicially, by the Advice of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, the Auditors, and others of the Council: Namely, *That* Robert Brus *ſhould receive nothing by his Petition concerning the Kingdom of* Scotland; *and the Sentence concerning* John Baliol *ſhould be ſuſpended, 'till the other Competitors were heard.* Then the King commanded *John Baliol*, with the other Competitors, to proceed in their Petitions; among whom *Robert Brus* proteſted That he would proſecute his Claim to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or a Third Part of it, after another Form and Manner than before. Upon this, *John Haſtings*, one of the Competitors, who was Son to the youngeſt of Earl *David*'s three Daughters, Ibid.

Several Claims

Daughters, claim'd his Third Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* as of a partible Inheritance, which ought to be divided between *John Baliol*, *Robert Brus* and *John Haſtings*, as Heirs to the three Daughters; alledging, *That all the Lands, Tenements, Fees, Liberties, Demeaſns and Honours that were holden of the Crown of* England in Capite *were partible.* The Arguments of *Robert Brus* were to the ſame effect; and he further claim'd *To hold his Third Part* in Capite, *of his Lord the King of* England *by Homage*, and requeſted of the King, *That he might receive Judgment according to the Common Law of* England. Upon this Plea, the King enquir'd of the Auditors and his Council, *Whether the Kingdom of* Scotland *was partible or not*; and they all anſwer'd in the Negative. Whereupon the King appointed the ſeventeenth of *November* as a peremptory Day, for all the Competitors to hear their Judgments, in his Parliament at *Berwick*; deſigning in the mean Space to deliberate and examine Things with the wiſeſt Men of both Kingdoms, the Auditors, and others of his Council, that he might be fully inform'd how to do Juſtice to all.

Ibid. On the appointed Day, there was a full Aſſembly of both Nations in the Hall of *Berwick* Caſtle, together with a great Multitude of the Populace; where nine of the twelve Competitors, for not proſecuting their Petitions, were diſmiſs'd without further Debate. The Petitions of *Robert Brus* and *John Haſtings* were next diſcuſs'd, who had claim'd the Third Part of the Kingdom for their Shares, as of a Partible Inheritance; but becauſe it had been agreed and adjudg'd by the Communities of both Nations, That the Kingdom ought to be poſſeſs'd by one ſingle Heir, by reaſon it was undividible in its nature like other Kingdoms, therefore it was judicially declar'd by the King, *That they ſhould gain nothing by their ſaid Petition.* As to the Petition of *John Baliol*, who claim'd the whole Kingdom, the King caus'd it to be re-examin'd by the Council of both Nations, and after a full Diſcuſſion, it was unanimouſly decreed, *That the Kingdom of* Scotland *was impartible, and ought to remain in one Heir.* And becauſe the King was Judge of the Rights of his Subjects, by the Laws of the Kingdoms approv'd by the Chief of both Nations; and by the ſame Laws, in the Caſe before them, it was judicially declar'd, *That the more Remote by Deſcent in the firſt Line, was to be preferr'd to a Nearer in the ſecond, in the Succeſſion of an impartible Inheritance*; and alſo, That none had deny'd him to be Heir of the firſt Line, and therefore to be preferr'd before all others as next Heir by Hereditary Succeſſion; Therefore the King of *England*, as Superior and Direct Lord of *Scotland*, adjudg'd, *That the ſaid* John Baliol *ſhould have Seiſin and Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, with all its Appurtenances, upon Condition, That he ſhould rightly and juſtly govern the People ſubject to him, that none might have Occaſion to complain of Injuſtice, nor the King, as Superior Lord of the Kingdom, to interpoſe his Authority; always reſerving the Right of the King of* England *and his Heirs in ſuch Caſes, when he would make uſe of it.* Accordingly on the nineteenth Day of *November*, King *Edward* deliver'd him his Writ or Inſtrument of Poſſeſſion, reſerving the Right of him and his Heirs; and alſo iſſu'd out others directed to the ſeveral Caſtellans and Governors of Caſtles in *Scotland*, to give him full Poſſeſſion of them. The next Day at *Norham* he ſwore Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Liege and Superior Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and afterwards at *Newcaſtle* he did Homage to him in Form for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; in Teſtimony of both which he gave to King *Edward* his Letters Patents. About the ſame Time he was put into Corporal Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom at the Monaſtery of *Scone* near *Perth*, and plac'd in his Royal Throne, according to the ancient Cuſtom of *Scotland.*

John Baliol *declar'd King of* Scotland *by King* Edward.

Ryley, &c. Thus did King *Edward* diſplay his Grandeur by his Eſtabliſhment of *Scotland*, and not long after he met with an Occaſion to manifeſt his Authority over that Kingdom. And this was by means of an Appeal to him, by *Magdulph* Earl of *Fife*, againſt *John* King of *Scotland*: The Subſtance of whoſe Com-

A. D. 1293. Reg. 21/22.

plaint was, That King *Edward* having at *Berwick* reſtor'd to him certain Lands and Tenements in the County of *Fife*, King *John* had notwithſtanding diſſeis'd him of the ſame; and to hinder him from proſecuting his Right, had impriſon'd him, and caus'd an unjuſt Sentence to paſs againſt him, in Contempt of the King of *England* and Superior Lord of *Scotland*. Upon which Com-

King Edward ſummons the King of Scotland before him

plaint, King *Edward* directed his Writ to the King of the *Scots*, ſummoning him to appear before Him and his Parliament in *England*, to anſwer to what *Magdulph* had to ſay againſt him. After *Michaelmaſs* he according to Summons appear'd, where he deny'd all Contempt of the Lord his King, but alledg'd, *As he was King of* Scotland, *he durſt not anſwer to* Magdulph's *Complaint, or any Thing concerning his Kingdom, without the Advice of his own Subjects.* Upon this *Magdulph* demanded Judgment againſt him as One who refus'd to anſwer; and the King expreſly told him, *That he was his Liege-Man and Homager for the Kingdom of* Scotland, *therefore he had ſummon'd him to anſwer before him, or to ſhew Cauſe to the contrary.* To which he reply'd as before, *That he neither could nor durſt anſwer to any Thing concerning his Kingdom, without conſulting his People*; and when he was told, *That he might require another Day*, he anſwer'd, *He would require none.* At this it was agreed, That King *John* had made no Defence againſt *Magdulph*; and becauſe he would not require a Day, nor ſhew Cauſe why he ought not to anſwer, in Eluſion of the King's Juriſdiction and Superiority, it was judg'd a Contempt and Diſobedience to him, and that three of his principal Caſtles of *Scotland* ſhould be ſeiz'd into his Hands, 'till he had given a full Satisfaction. But before the Sentence was pronounc'd, he in Parliament made Supplication to the King with his own Mouth, and alſo deliver'd a Petition in

who ſubmits to him.

Writing, wherein he acknowledg'd the Superiority of the King of *England*, deſiring *That he would firſt permit him to adviſe with his own Nation, and he would anſwer at his firſt Parliament after* Eaſter *next, and would behave himſelf towards him as he ought to do.* King *Edward* adviſing upon this, at the Inſtance of his Nobility, and with the Conſent of *Magdulph*, granted his Petition, and gave him Time 'till the Parliament after *Eaſter*, in the following Year.

A. D. 1294. Reg. 22/23.

From this Time forwards, the King of the *Scots*, inſtead of complying, ſeem'd to have ſtudy'd nothing ſo much as ſhowing his Reſentments, and to take the firſt Opportunity to revenge himſelf of theſe ſuppos'd Indignities. In the mean Time there happen'd a violent Conteſt between the *Engliſh* and the *Normans*, occaſion'd firſt by a *Norman* being caſually ſlain by the *Engliſh*. Upon which Accident the *Normans* ſlew ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, and hung up one upon the Maſt of a Ship, whom they had taken at Sea; but not long after, ſixty ſtout Ships of the *Engliſh*, meeting with two hundred Sail of *Normans*, loaden with Wines, after a ſharp Encounter, in which great Numbers of the *French* were ſlain, they took their whole Fleet and brought them triumphantly into *England*. The King of *France*, who had privately promoted this Conteſt, in a great Anger now declar'd himſelf publickly, demanded Reſtitution, and cited King *Edward* judicially to appear and anſwer for ſome Injuries done in *Gaſcony*. Upon his Non-Appearance, and finding that he was buſily imploy'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, the *French* King with his Forces gain'd Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Places in *Gaſcony*. To add to theſe Inconveniencies, the *Scots*, having by Time and ſeveral Steps ſtrengthen'd themſelves, reſolv'd at length to throw off the *Engliſh* Yoke: And firſt King *John*, with an Excuſe for his Non-Appearance before the *Engliſh* Parliament, according to his Promiſe, ſent over heavy Complaints of many and great Injuries, Oppreſſions and Grievances ſuſtain'd by his own Subjects from the *Engliſh*; for which he demanded Satisfaction of King *Edward*. After this, by the Conſent of his Nobility and others, he enter'd into a ſolemn League of Confederacy with the *French* King againſt the King of *England*, promiſing all mutual Aid and Aſſiſtance

Walſing. Knighton &c.

The French King is againſt King Edward.

A. D. 1295. Reg. 23/24.

The Scots join with the French

ſiſtance to each other. This was ſeal'd with both the Kings Seals, and Counter-chang'd, conſiſting of ſeven main Articles; one of which was, That *Edward*, Son to *John* King of *Scotland*, ſhould marry the Daughter of *Charles* of *Valois* Earl of *Anjou*, and Brother to the King of *France*. And to ſecure their Conſciences, as well as their Cauſe, the *Scots* ſent to *Rome* to have Abſolution from their Oaths and Homage; and by means of falſe Suggeſtions made to Pope *Celeſtin*, they were all abſolv'd by a particular Bull.

Walſing. Boeth. In the following Year, King *John* ſhow'd himſelf more openly, return'd the Homage and Fealty for himſelf, and all others of his Kingdom to King *Edward*, and defy'd him by a particular Inſtrument or Writing; and the *Scots* declar'd themſelves abſolv'd from all former Obligations. Upon which Declarations, King *Edward*, rouſing himſelf, advanc'd with a powerful Army to *Newcaſtle*. But the firſt Blood that was ſhed was on the *Engliſh* Side, of whom the *Scotch* ſlew almoſt a thouſand in a private Village, and proceeded to ravage, burn and deſtroy the County of *Cumberland*, and other Parts: Which was not extreamly diſpleaſing to the undaunted King of *England*, ſince the firſt Acts of Hoſtility proceeded from them whom he had a full Reſolution to conquer, *That at length he might be ſole Monarch of* Albion. Here began ſuch a mortal Diſſention between the two Nations, ſuch Ravages and Bloodſheds, ſuch Jealouſies and Pretenſions, as could not be intirely reconcil'd in leſs than three hundred Years. The valiant *Edward*, to chaſtiſe the *Scots* for their Breach of Oaths, enter'd their Kingdom with a brave Army, and beſieg'd and took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Berwick* with a great and terrible Slaughter. From thence he ſent Part of his Army to reduce the Caſtle of *Dunbar* lately revolted, which was effected by the Death of great Numbers of the *Scots*, and by the Captivity of ten thouſand Men, of whom were ſeven Barons, a hundred Knights, and thirty one Eſquires. The *Scots* with all their Forces coming to relieve this Caſtle, King *Edward* by his mighty Valour defeated them, and kill'd no leſs than twenty two thouſand upon the Spot. King *Edward* knowing as well how to uſe, as to gain a Victory, proceeded and took the Caſtle of *Rocksborough*; and to put an End to the War, he march'd to *Edinburgh* it ſelf, and in eight Days took that ſtrong Caſtle. From thence he march'd to *Sterlin*, *Perth* and other Places, reaping freſh Laurels where-ever he paſs'd; 'till at length King *John* and his Nobility ſubmitted and ſu'd for Mercy; which was granted, upon Condition, That they all ſhould ſurrender themſelves to him as his Subjects. Shortly after, the King of *Scotland* with a white Rod in his Hand, according to the Cuſtom of Surrenders, preſented himſelf before King *Edward* at *Brechin*, and reſign'd to him and his Heirs the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, without any Condition; and confirm'd this Reſignation by a Charter under his Hand and Seal, dated the tenth Day of *July*, and the fourth of his Reign.

A. D. 1296. Reg. 24/25.

Wars break out between England *and* Scotland.

King Edward *obtains a great Victory.*

All Scotland *ſubmitted to him.*

Walſing. Boetius, &c. This being done, King *Edward* immediately held a Parliament for *Scotland*, at *Berwick*, where the Nobility of that Kingdom, and great Numbers of others, did Homage to him as their Soveraign Lord and their Supream Governor, and confirm'd the ſame under their Hands and Seals; the Names of whom are ſtill upon Record: And for the greater Security, they ſurrender'd into his Hands all the Caſtles and Forts of that Kingdom; except thoſe of *William Douglas*, who choſe any Puniſhment rather than yield to the Subjection of *England*. Notwithſtanding this Agreement *John* the late King was ſent to the Tower of *London*, where he was decently attended, and allow'd the Liberty of ten Miles Riding; and the Noblemen of *Scotland*, which he brought into *England*, were forbidden to paſs the River *Trent*, under Forfeiture of their Heads. The Government of *Scotland* was committed to *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*; *Hugh de Creſſingham* was made Treaſurer, and *William Ormesby* chief Juſticiary. And the more to ſhow his Reſolution of diſſolving the diſtinct Soveraignty of *Scotland*, and like *Wales* to unite it to the *Engliſh* Monarchy, he took from *Edinburgh* the Crown and Scepter with all the *Regalia*, and brought them

The King of Scotland *and others brought to* London.

them to *London*; and alſo remov'd the famous Marble Chair out of the Monaſtery of *Scone*, which in Coronations ſerv'd for a Throne to the Kings of *Scotland*, and which was believ'd in an extraordinary Manner to be conſtantly attended with the Power and Fate of that Kingdom. Then to manifeſt the moſt compleat Marks of a Conqueſt, he proceeded, according to *Boetius*, to the Burning of the *Scotch* Records, the Abrogation of the Laws, altering the Forms of Divine Service, and tranſporting the moſt learned Men to his Univerſity of *Oxford*.

IV. King *Edward* in a great Meaſure had now been a Conqueror both of *Wales* and *Scotland*; but while he was imploy'd about the latter, he met with great Diſadvantages from the King of *France*, who had fraudulently got Poſſeſſion of all or the greateſt Part of *Gaſcony*. To obviate theſe Miſchiefs, the King enter'd into a Confederacy with *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe Dominions the *French* King had unjuſtly invaded; and for a Supply for this and all other Occaſions, he call'd a Parliament at St. *Edmund's Bury*; in which the Citizens and Burgeſſes gave an eighth Part of all their Goods, the reſt of the Laity a twelfth, but the Clergy refus'd to give any Thing, by reaſon of a Conſtitution made and publiſh'd this Year by Pope *Boniface*, which prohibited all Eccleſiaſticks to pay any Secular Taxes without the Conſent of the *Roman* See, and that upon the ſevereſt Penalties. The Clergy refuſing in two ſeveral Meetings, the King proceeded to a higher Strain than any of his Predeceſſors, ſeiz'd upon all their Lay Fees, and put the whole Body of them out of his Protection, ſo that they could receive no Benefit from his Laws, nor Juſtice from his Courts. This venturous Proceeding ſo terrify'd the Clergy, that finding themſelves expos'd to all Injuries without Means of Redreſs, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury* and *Lincoln* ſoon yielded to lay down in their Churches the fifth Part of all their Goods, towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; by which they appeas'd his Diſpleaſure, and were receiv'd into Favour. But the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, by whoſe Incitement the reſt ſtood out, had all his Goods ſeiz'd, and the Monaſteries within his Dioceſe and Part of *Lincoln* were poſſeſs'd by publick Officers, who were appointed to adminiſter bare Neceſſaries to the Monks, converting the reſt to the King's Uſe. At length by much Suit, and by giving a fourth Part of their Goods, they redeem'd themſelves, and purchas'd the King's Favour. Thus will valiant and martial Princes have their Ends ſerv'd in Times of Neceſſity, notwithſtanding the greateſt Oppoſition.

Walſing. &c.

A Parliament call'd.

A. D. 1279. Reg. 25 26.

The Clergy are put out of the King's Proteſtion.

They ſubmit.

Yet ſtill he met with ſome Checks from the Laity, upon ſummoning his Nobility at *Salisbury*, where he requir'd ſeveral of them to go into the Wars of *Gaſcony*. But they all making Excuſes, every Man for himſelf, the King in a great Paſſion threaten'd, *That they ſhould go, or elſe he would give their Lands to others that would.* Upon which *Humfrey Bohun*, High-Conſtable and Earl of *Hereford*, and *Hugh Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk* and Marſhal of *England*, boldly declar'd, *That if the King went in Perſon, they would attend him, or otherwiſe not*; and further the Earl-Marſhal ſaid, *That he was deſirous to go with his Majeſty, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought.* But the King told him expreſly, *That he ſhould go with any other, tho' he himſelf went not in Perſon.* The other anſwer'd, *He was not oblig'd to go, therefore he would not without him.* Upon which the King ſwore by the Eternal God, *That he ſhould either go or hang*; the other ſwore the ſame Oath, *That he would neither go, nor hang*, and ſo departed without leave, and afterwards, with the other Earl, ſtood upon his own Guard. Inſulting of Kings had been too faſhionable in his Father's Reign, therefore this Prince wiſely conceal'd and ſtifled his Reſentments, and prepar'd for his Voyage into *Flanders*; there to relieve the Earl of that Country, now diſtreſs'd by the *French*. But firſt he left the Care of the Government to Prince *Edward* his Son,

Ibid.

The King meets with Checks from the Nobility.

Son, the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Gray* and *Clifford*; and to recover the Clergy, he reconcil'd himſelf to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and receiv'd him into Favour. Being ready to take ſhipping, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons and the Commons, ſent him a Roll of Grievances, alledging ſeveral unwarrantable Impoſitions upon Wool, and other Commodities, and ſeveral unjuſtifiable Practices, and complaining of the negligent Obſervance of the Great Charters. To all which the King return'd a civil and ſeaſonable Anſwer, promiſing to redreſs all Things at his Return, and requeſting the Nobility to raiſe no Diſturbance in his Abſence. And ſhortly after a Parliament was call'd by the Prince, where a new Tax being granted, the great Charters were again confirm'd, and afterwards ſeal'd in *Flanders* with the King's great Seal. This Statute or Charter is in *Coke*'s Second Inſtitutes, and our common Statute Books, going by the Title of *Confirmatione Chartarum*, in the twenty fifth of this Reign.

Magna Charta, &c. *confirm'd.*

Walſing. Bostius. Before the Finiſhing of theſe Tranſactions, the reſtleſs *Scots*, by the Inſtigation of *William Waleys*, whom they choſe for their Commander, arm'd themſelves and killed all the *Engliſh* they could find, and practis'd ſtrange Cruelties beſides. Upon Notice of which King *Edward* directed the Earl of *Surrey* with the Militia beyond *Trent*, to march into *Scotland*, and ſuppreſs this Inſurrection. The Earl raiſing an Army in the North, ſent his Nephew *Henry de Percy* with it into *Scotland*, who upon marching towards the *Scots*, found the Heads of them, *William Waleys*, and others, inclinable to a Peace, upon Condition of the Safety of their Lives and Limbs, Lands and Goods, and a general Pardon of all that was paſt. *Henry de Percy* admitted of the Peace, upon Promiſe of Hoſtages, and Articles in Writing, if it ſatisfy'd the King, who in a ſhort Time conſented to it, that his Voyage to *Flanders* might not be retarded. But ſoon after, the *Scots* taking Advantage from ſome Diſcontents in *England*, upon ſeveral Pretences delay'd to give Hoſtages for the Peace; and towards the latter End of *Auguſt* took Arms again under the Conduct of *Waleys*, and in a ſhort Time drove almoſt all the *Engliſh* out of *Scotland*. *William Warren*, the Governor of *Scotland*, fled from *Berwick* into *England*, with many *Engliſh* that quitted the Town to the *Scots*; yet ſtill the Caſtle was kept, and well defended by thoſe that were lodg'd in it.

Insurrections in Scotland.

Ibid. King *Edward* in *Flanders* hearing of theſe Troubles and Diſturbances, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*, made a two Years Truce with the King of *France*, and came over into *England*; and having redreſs'd ſeveral Things according to Promiſe, he ſummon'd the Militia of the whole Nation to meet him at *Carliſle* on *Whitſun*-Eve, to march againſt the *Scots*, whoſe Power was now formidable, and their Forces numerous. But before that Time, on the tenth Day of *April*, he held a full Parliament at *York*, to treat with him about certain Affairs that concern'd him and the whole Kingdom. Here the Lord High-Conſtable and Earl-Marſhal demanded *That, becauſe the great Charters had been confirm'd beyond Sea, for the greater Security they might be confirm'd again*; which the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earls of *Surrey*, *Warwick* and *Gloceſter*, promis'd that the King ſhould perform, upon his Return with Victory. After which the King commanded his Army to be ready at *Roxburg* upon *Tweed*, on the twenty fourth Day of *June*; and going aſide to viſit the Tomb of St. *John* of *Beverly* in *Yorkſhire*, he found his Army at the Time and Place appointed. With this he march'd like a Conqueror into the Bowels of *Scotland*, and upon the twenty firſt Day of *July* came within Sight of the Enemy, in a large Field near *Falkirk*, where both Armies encamp'd. In the Morning a terrible Shout being heard from the *Scotch* Army, the *Engliſh* ran to Arms; but the King's Horſe, affrighted at the tumultuous Noiſe, as he was putting his Foot into the Stirrup, threw him to the Ground, and by his Legs broke two of his Ribs; who notwithſtanding proceeded couragiouſly to the Battel. *William Waleys*, who by his bold Enterpriſes had gain'd a ſingular Opinion from his Country-

A. D. 1298. Reg. 26/27.

The King marches into Scotland.

Countrymen, having drawn up his numerous Army, inſtead of a formal Oration, in all Parts us'd this ſhort Speech, *I have brought you to the King, fly if you can.* But notwithſtanding the Numbers of the *Scots*, the *Engliſh* being led on by a mighty Warrior, attack'd them with ſo much Conduct and Bravery, that they ſoon broke their Troops, and defeated them, with a dreadful Slaughter of no leſs than ſixty thouſand Men, according to ſome Authors, tho' others ſay fewer. *Waleys* and the great Men of *Scotland* fled into the Woods; and the King, after he had taken in ſeveral Places, and us'd ſome Severities, return'd triumphantly into *England*, in the latter End of this Year, after he had in ſome Meaſure made a ſecond Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

and gains a mighty Victory over the Scots.

A. D. 1299. Reg. 27/28. The two Years Truce made between the *Engliſh* and *French*, was now by the Means of Pope *Boniface*, turn'd to a ſetled Peace; in which Articles, beſides the Reſtoration of *Gaſcony*, it was agreed, That King *Edward* ſhould marry the *French* King's Siſter *Margaret*, and Prince *Edward* his Son the ſame King's Daughter *Iſabel*; Tho', ſays *Walſingham*, he by this Alliance promoted not the Good of the Realm in any Point. To this Affinity were added the greater Fences of a Domeſtick Quiet; for the King, whom Wars and Years had made renown'd and experienc'd, graciouſly and wiſely yielded to grant all that had been promis'd before his laſt Expedition into *Scotland*. And at a Parliament held at *London*, fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, he confirm'd the Charters, and for the fuller Satisfaction of the Nobility, he left out that Clauſe *Salvo Jure Coronæ noſtræ*; and what was wanting at this Time, he afterwards compleated at a Parliament held at *Stamford*. But that he might ſeem willing to deny the Pope no reaſonable Requeſt, he deliver'd into the Hands of his Nuntio *John Baliol* late King of *Scotland*, who was convey'd to his Inheritance in *France*, where he remain'd with the Brand of a falſe Seducer, and of a perjur'd Perſon to King *Edward*'s Judgment, without any Part of his Regal Power over the *Scottiſh* Nation. *Walſing.*

Magna Charta *again confirm'd*

Walſing. Boſſius. &c.

The Peace which King *Edward* made in other Places, prov'd a greater Affliction to the *Scots*; for tho' they had recover'd *Sterlin* by Surrender of the *Engliſh*, and began with a noble Aſſertion of their ancient Liberty to aſſemble again under *Waleys*, yet the Time was not come for their Deliverance. For King *Edward*, according to Articles, having accompliſh'd his Nuptials with the *French* King's Siſter at *Canterbury*, and again confirm'd the great Charters, now made it his whole Buſineſs to finiſh his Deſign of annexing *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*. Accordingly, being accompany'd with his Son, and a formidable Army, he purſu'd the Affair ſo vigorouſly, that the *Scots*, tho' very numerous, fled before him, whoſe Valour had juſtly render'd him terrible; and that Day, in *Walſingham*'s Opinion, had been irrecoverably fatal to the *Scottiſh* Name and Nation, if the *Engliſh* had been able to have follow'd them in their Armor, over their Bogs, Moraſſes and Mountains; or if the *Welſh* by their own Skill had ſupply'd the Defect. However King *Edward* held ſo cloſe a Poſſeſſion, that he would neither grant the *Scotch* Nobility their *Baliol* to reign over them, according to their Petition, not permit them to redeem ſuch Lands as he had given to his *Engliſh* Adventurers. The *Scots* being driven to Extremities, had recourſe to the Court of *Rome*, and procur'd inhibitory Letters from the Pope to King *Edward*; who upon Sight of them ſwore a terrible Oath, *That he would not deſiſt.* Nevertheleſs the *Scots* after a few Days requeſted the King to ſuffer them to live in Peace, 'till they had taken Council of the Peers and the King of *France*, threatning him alſo with the utmoſt Power of *Rome*. Upon which the King with a diſdainful Smile anſwer'd, *Have you done Homage to me as the Direct Lord of your Kingdom, and believe that I can be terrify'd with Pretences? as if I, like one who has no Power to compel, would tamely give up my undoubted Right? Let me hear no more of this; for if I do, I ſwear by all that's Sacred, I will deſtroy all* Scotland *from one Sea to the other.* On the other Side the *Scots* bravely reply'd, *That they would ſpend the*

King Edward *marries the* French *King's Siſter.*

A. D. 1300. Reg. 28/29. *He makes a third Expedition into* Scotland.

the laſt Drop of their Blood for the Defence of Juſtice, and the Liberty of their Country. But becauſe the *Scots* had put themſelves under the immediate Protection of the Pope, who now began to claim the Right of that Kingdom, as before he had done of *England*, the King order'd the moſt learned Men of his Nation to ſearch the Archives of the Univerſities and Monaſteries, and order'd them to make an Hiſtorical Deduction of his Right and Title to *Scotland*; which was almoſt the ſame, but more full and particular than what he deliver'd to the *Scots*, when in the nineteenth Year of his Reign he claim'd the Superiority and Direct Dominion over their Kingdom. This was ſent in a Letter from the King to the Pope, with a Narrative concerning the whole Nation of *Scotland*, 'As their having done Homage and ſworn Fealty to him, and acknow-'ledg'd him to be their King and ſupreme Lord ſeveral Times; and notwith-'ſtanding they had againſt their Oaths, invaded, ravag'd and waſted *England* 'as they thought fit; therefore he caution'd his Holineſs againſt the falſe 'Inſinuations and Suggeſtions of that perfidious People; concluding with a Pe-'tition, *That he would have a Paternal Care and Affection to his Royal* 'Rights.

A. D. 1301. Reg. 29/30.

He vindicates his Right to Scotland.

Walſing. Bocchas. Yet by the Interceſſion of the King of *France*, King *Edward* granted the *Scots* a Truce 'till *Whit-Sunday* following: About which Time he made his Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Cheſter*, being then about ſeventeen Years of Age; with which the *Welſh* were highly pleas'd, as being born at *Caernarvon* in their own Country. The Truce being ended, the King not long after went into *Scotland*, where he continu'd all Winter, but loſt many of his military Horſes for want of Forage. After *Chriſtmaſs*, at the Inſtance of the *French* King, he again granted a Truce to the *Scots* 'till the firſt Day of *November* enſuing; and towards the Spring, having ſetled all Things in *Scotland*, he return'd into *England*. Here to prevent Inconveniencies and Tumults, the King by his Proclamations prohibited thoſe Tournaments, Juſts, and other Warlike Exerciſes, which had been very frequently in uſe among the young Nobility and Gentry. The Truce with the *Scots* being expir'd, the King ſent *John de Seagrave* with an Army into *Scotland*, making him Governor of *Berwick*, and Guardian of the whole Kingdom. This Perſon marching with a Party of Men towards *Edinburgh*, the *Scotch* Army, which lay in Ambuſcade, ſurpriz'd him, and took him Priſoner with many others: But a freſh Party fortunately arriving, reſcu'd him out of their Hands. The *Scotch* Writers ſay that the *Engliſh* loſt great Numbers in this Action, and magnifie it as very noble and honourable to their Nation.

He makes his Son Prince of Wales.

A. D. 1302. Reg. 30/31.

The Scots *gain Advantage.*

Walſing. Weſtminſ. Bertini. &c. The King hearing of this Succeſs, and that the *Scots* began to encreaſe in Power, enter'd into their Country with a formidable Army, and by deliberate Marches paſs'd near three hundred Miles, as far as *Cathneſs* the utmoſt Limits of the Kingdom; while the *Scots* unable to withſtand his Arms, for the moſt part betook themſelves to the inacceſſible Woods and Mountains. But finding the King vigorous in his Purſuit, and reſolute in his Deſigns, they at length ſent Mediators, and humbly begg'd Peace of him, and that they might be permitted to compound for their Eſtates with thoſe *Engliſh* to whom they had been given; to both which the King readily condeſcended. In his Return from the North, he beſieg'd *Sterlin* Caſtle, which had been ſtrongly fortify'd againſt him, and ſtay'd all the Winter at *Dumferling* not far from that Place. *M. Weſtminſter* ſays That the great Men of *Scotland*, as well Earls as Barons, being wholly reduc'd and overcome, ſubmitted themſelves to the Pleaſure of the King of *England*, who admitted them to his Grace and Mercy, impoſing pecuniary Mulcts upon them, appointing them Days and Years, and certain Times for Payment: After Winter the King went in Perſon to the Siege of *Sterlin* Caſtle, which was vigorouſly attack'd and ply'd with extraordinary Engines, yet ſtill the Beſieg'd made a noble Defence; but being hard preſs'd by the *Engliſh*, who were continually animated by the Preſence of their King, the Caſtle was fur-

A. D. 1303. Reg. 31/32.

The King's fourth Expedition into Scotland.

A. D. 1304. Reg. 32/33.

surrender'd upon Discretion, on the twentieth Day of *July*; the Governor of which, *William Olifard*, who had before surpriz'd it, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and others to divers Castles. This put an End to the whole Expedition; and the King having setled all Things according to his Desire, appointed *John de Seagrave* Governor of the Kingdom, and return'd into *England* in great Triumph: And coming to *York*, he remov'd the Courts of the *King*'s *Bench* and the *Exchequer*, which had been there seven Years, to their ancient Place at *London*. Thus was *Scotland* in a manner conquer'd a third Time by the valiant King *Edward*; and had not Providence in Favour of that Kingdom, ordain'd some inaccessible Places, and natural Strengths where no Armies could march or be maintain'd, the *Scots* from this Time would have probably lost all their ancient Liberties.

His great Success.

A. D. 1305. Reg. 33/34.

V. And now King *Edward* being possess'd of all his Aims, an universal Lord at home, mighty in Alliance and Power abroad, began to look more severely to the publick Administration: And for a Terror to all Opposers, he caus'd *William Waleys*, who had been betray'd into his Hands by his Companion, to be try'd by the Laws of *England*; and notwithstanding he had never acknowledg'd or submitted to those Laws, he was condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and his Limbs to be set up at several distant Towns: A hard Fate for one who had so bravely defended his own Country, and whom the *Scotch* have plac'd among the best Examples of Fortitude and Piety; tho' the *English* have accus'd him of the greatest Cruelty and Barbarity. About the same Time the King began to exercise his Power and Authority upon Sir *Nicolas Seagrave*, one of the greatest Knights of the Kingdom, who being formerly reproach'd with treasonable Practices by Sir *John Cromwell*, offer'd to justifie himself by a Duel; which the King refus'd to grant, in regard of the War then depending. Upon which *Seagrave*, contrary to the King's Prohibition, left the Camp, and went over Sea to fight with his Adversary; for which the King requir'd that Justice should proceed against him, as a Contemner of his Royal Authority. The Judges consulted three Days upon this Affair, and at length adjudg'd *Seagrave* guilty of Death, and all his Goods to be forfeited to the King; but in regard of his Blood they added, *That he went not out of* England *in Contempt of the King, but to be reveng'd of his Accuser, therefore it was in the King's Power to shew Mercy.* Upon which the King in a great Passion reply'd, *Have you been all this while consulting for this? I know it is in my Power to shew Mercy to whom I please, but not for your Sakes: Who ever submitted himself to my Favour, and met with a Repulse? However, let this your Judgment be recorded, and for ever held as a Law.* And so this Knight, for an Example to others, was committed to Prison; tho' shortly after by the Labour of many Noblemen, and thirty Peers being bound for his Behaviour, the King restor'd him to his Estate.

Reyn. Walsing. &c.

The Punishment of Waleys

The King's Regulations.

In the same Year, the King to establish the Peace of the Nation, sent out a new Writ of Inquisition call'd *Trailbaston*; for Intruders on other Mens Lands, who to oppress the right Owner, would make over their Land to great Men; for Batterers hired to beat and hurt others; for Breakers of the Peace; for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murderers, Fighters, False Assizors, and other such Criminals: Which Inquisition was so severely executed, and such Fines rais'd, as brought in great Treasure to the King, So did likewise another Commission at the same Time sent forth to examine the Behaviour of Officers and Ministers of Justice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly in their Purses. As the King was strict and severe upon all Criminals in general, so he would not spare his own Son, Prince *Edward*, who having been corrupted by a vicious insinuating Companion call'd *Piers Gaveston*, riotously broke the Park of *Walter Langton* Bishop of *Chester*; for which the King disgrac'd him so far, as to put him into a publick Prison. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at the same Time

Walsing. Westmin. &c.

Time being accus'd of disturbing the Peace in the King's Absence, he sent him over to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, there to be crush'd by a double Power. This Pope was a Native of *Bourdeaux*, and so the more mindful of the King's Desire, and the King more confident of his Favour, sent him a noble Present of several Golden Vessels: Which so affected the Mind of the Pope, that he let loose this Lion, and unty'd the King from the Covenants made with his Subjects, concerning their Charters and Privileges, wholly absolving him from his Oath: An Act of small Piety in the Pope, and of as little Conscience in the King; who, as if he had no further Occasion for his People, began to assume too much Power, and to take too much Liberty from these unjustifiable Grants. A. D. 1306. Reg. 34, 35. *The Pope absolves the King from his Oaths.*

Walsing. Westminst. Dicets. But on a sudden there happen'd an Occasion which brought him back to his right Orb again, causing him both to see his Error and to reform it; and this was a new Storm from *Scotland*, from whence he expected nothing but Peace and Compliance. For the *Scots*, who had twice or thrice done Homage and sworn Fealty to King *Edward*, and the Bishops also who had done the same, join'd with *Robert Brus*, Son to the former great Competitor, lately escap'd out of *England*, in setting up his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, and so began a War more mischievous and lasting than any before: And because *John Comyn*, who was of great Power and Interest in the Kingdom, was resolute in keeping his Oath to King *Edward*, *Robert Brus* and his Followers treacherously murder'd him in the very Church of *Dumfres*, on the twenty ninth Day of *January*; and on Lady-Day following, *Robert* was solemnly crown'd King at *Scone*, in the Presence of two Bishops, many Earls, Barons and Knights. King *Edward* being inform'd of the Proceedings of this new King and his Confederates, sent *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, with *Robert Clifford* and *Henry Percy* into *Scotland*, to suppress this threatning Insurrection. The King likewise designing to follow them, summon'd his Army to rendezvous at *Carlisle*, fifteen Days after *Midsummer*; and to make the Expedition more great and glorious, he knighted his Son at *Westminster*, and with him three hundred young Gentlemen, the Sons of Earls, Barons and great Men, who had sufficient to maintain their Honour, and gave them their military Garments out of his own Wardrobe. These with the Prince were to march into *Scotland* against those of that Nation; but before they could arrive there, the Earl of *Pembroke* had attack'd and routed the *Scots*, and put their King to Flight at *Metfen* near St. *John*'s *Town* or *Perth*; in which Battel great Numbers were kill'd, and many Persons of Note taken Prisoners, most of whom were try'd and hang'd for Perjury and Rebellion. Afterwards King *Edward*, the Prince, and many great Men went into *Scotland*, where some receiv'd them very honourably, and others left their Habitations and fled. The Army ranging from Place to Place after the Fight, pursu'd the Fugitives, kill'd some and took others alive, among whom were the two Bishops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glasco*, with the Abbot of *Scone*, arm'd with their Surcoats; who were sent into several Prisons in *England*. The Age of King *Edward*, his Rage, and Desire of Revenge made him almost inexorable, and to spare scarce any of what Degree soever: The Earl of *Athol*, tho' of the Royal Blood and ally'd to him, was sent to *London*, and dishonourably preferr'd to a higher Gallows than any of the rest: The Wife of King *Robert*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, was sent Prisoner to *London*, and his Daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*; and the Countess of *Boughan*, who assisted in the Coronation of *Robert*, was put into a wooden Cage, made in the Shape of a Crown, and hung out upon the Walls of *Berwick*, for a dismal Spectacle to be gaz'd on by the People.

New Disturbances in Scotland.

Robert Brus *crown'd King.*

King Edward's *last Expedition into* Scotland.

Westminst. Walsing. &c. After this Summer's Expedition, the King pass'd the Winter at *Carlisle*, resolving old as he was never to desist 'till he had finish'd his Work. Here on the twentieth Day of *January*, he held his last Parliament, in which, besides the Provisions for the *Scotch* Establishment, several Consultations and Methods were prosecuted for repelling another Kind of Enemy no less troublesome to the State; namely A. D. 1307. Reg. 35. *The last Parliament.*

namely the Pope, and his ſtill continu'd Extortions in this Kingdom, of which great Complaints were made in this Aſſembly: Inſomuch that the Clergy were forc'd to appeal from the Pope's Bulls, and his Cardinal Legate's Exactions; and alſo the King's Council was oblig'd to enact ſeveral Orders and Conſtitutions for the reſtraining of their exceſſive Oppreſſions. In the Time of this Parliament, Obſervations being made of the extraordinary Familiarity between Prince *Edward* and *Piers Gaveſton*, and what mighty Influence that vicious Perſon had over him, the King wiſely commanded him to depart the Land, and oblig'd him by a ſolemn Oath not to return without his Licence. At the ſame Time he oblig'd the Prince to ſwear That he would not receive, retain or permit the ſaid *Gaveſton* to be with him, contrary to his Pleaſure; and for his Subſiſtance beyond Sea, he was allow'd a hundred Marks *per Annum*.

Gaveſton baniſh'd.

During theſe Tranſactions, the great Deliverance of *Scotland* drew near; for the noble King *Robert*, who for a while had liv'd in the moſt deſolate and abandon'd Condition, having gather'd together the ſcatter'd Remains of his Army, ſuddenly attack'd the Earl of *Pembroke*, and gave him a great Defeat, and immediately after chas'd the Earl of *Gloceſter* into the Caſtle of *Ayr*, which he beſieg'd, tho' without Succeſs. Upon which King *Edward* ſent into *England*, and under great Penalties commanded all that ought him Service to be ready at *Carliſle*, three Weeks after *Midſummer*; reſolving with this Force to march into the Bowels of *Scotland*. But before he could effect this Deſign, God was pleas'd to viſit him with his laſt Sickneſs; upon which he ſent for the Prince his Son to come before him, to whom, beſides many Admonitions to Piety, and the good Government of a Kingdom, he ſolemnly and upon his Bleſſing commanded three Things in a more eſpecial Manner; 'That he would carry his 'Bones about with him through *Scotland*, 'till he had ſubdu'd that Nation, not 'doubting but his Skeleton alone would produce Victory: That he would ſend 'his Heart to the *Holy-Land*, with a hundred and forty Knights to that War, 'and the thirty two thouſand Pounds he had provided for that Purpoſe: Laſt-'ly, That he would never recall *Piers Gaveſton* from the Baniſhment he ſo 'juſtly merited. After this he ſent him to *London* to conſummate the Match with the *French* King's Daughter; and ſhortly after, moving by ſmall Journies towards *Scotland* from *Carliſle*, he arriv'd at a ſmall Town call'd *Burgh* upon the Sands, where by his Diſtemper being put in Mind of his latter End, he piouſly broke forth into this memorable Ejaculation; *O Lord! if thou thinkſt it good for theſe my People to have me continue longer with them, I am ready to venture my Life for them; but if otherwiſe, thy Will be done.* Then in a ſhort Time after, being ſeiz'd with a Dyſentery or Bloody-Flux, while his Servants were going to lift him up in his Bed, to give him ſome Nouriſhment, he expired in their Arms, upon *Friday* the ſeventh of *July*, in the ſixty eighth Year of his Age, after a moſt vigorous and triumphant Reign of thirty four Years, ſeven Months, and twenty one Days. He was infinitely lamented by his Subjects, and his Corps was brought to *Waltham*, where it remain'd ſixteen Weeks, and on the twenty eighth Day of *October* it was bury'd in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, at the Head of King *Henry* his Father, on the North Side of St. *Edward*'s Shrine.

A great Change in Scotland.

Bartlet. Weſtmonaſt. &c.

King Edward *dies.*

This was the End of the mighty King *Edward*, the Firſt of that Name of the *Norman* Line, and the Fourth from King *Egbert*: A Prince of great Renown, in whoſe valiant Breaſt, as Mr. *Camden* expreſſes it, God ſeem'd to have pitch'd his Tent; and as well by his Courage and Wiſdom, as by Gracefulneſs and Strength of Body, to have rais'd him to the higheſt Pitch of Majeſty; ſo that he is deſervedly rank'd among the greateſt Ornaments of *Britain*. He was taller than ordinary Perſons by the Head and Shoulders, of a comely Aſpect, having black and curl'd Hair, and Eyes often ſparkling like Fire; being born and bred up to great and military Actions. Yet his Wit and Underſtanding was no leſs than his Valour and Bravery; and he had both an Ability of Judgment within

His Character.

within himſelf, and alſo a Readineſs to hear the Judgment of others. He was a wiſe Obſerver of Opportunity, wary and provident of his own Buſineſs, vigilant and vigorous in all publick Affairs, ſevere in Points of Juſtice, and not eaſily appeas'd when throughly provok'd, and in Continency equal to his Father, whom he far exceeded in all other Reſpects. He was alſo an excellent Governor, yet his Vigour and Ambition did ſometimes overflow and bear hard upon his Subjects; ſo that his Valour and Power was more for the Grandeur than for the Quiet of *England*; and never any King before or ſince him ſhed ſo much Chriſtian Blood within the Iſle of *Britain* as this Chriſtian Warrior did in his Time, with what he occaſion'd afterwards. He advanc'd the Soveraignty of the Crown of *England*, over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, more than any of his Predeceſſors; but leaving the Work not fully finiſh'd, from henceforth the Dominion of the Kings of *England* over that Realm, became leſs and leſs, 'till at length it diminiſh'd to nothing. He had by his firſt Queen *Eleanor* a numerous Iſſue of four Sons and nine Daughters; of theſe Sons only *Edward* ſurviv'd him; and by his ſecond Queen he had two Sons, *Thomas* made Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*. As this *Edward* was the firſt Son of a King of *England* that differenc'd his Arms with a *File*, ſo he was the firſt King of *England*, that bore his Arms upon the Capariſons of his Horſe, as may be ſeen by his Royal Seal.

From the twenty ſecond Year of this Reign we have an uninterrupted Series of Parliaments down to our own Times, in *Sumonitiones ad Parl.* by Sir *William Dugdale*; and in his Time the preſent Conſtitution of our Parliaments was ſo far eſtabliſh'd, that by a Law ſolemnly publiſh'd as an Addition to *Magna Charta*, with Excommunications, it was enacted, That no Tax ſhould be levy'd without the Conſent of the Knights and Burgeſſes in Parliament. In the twenty ſeventh Year of this Reign an Order was made concerning the Price of Victuals; a fat Cock to be ſold at three-half-Pence, a fat Capon for two Pence half-Penny, two Pullets for three-half-Pence, a Gooſe for four Pence, a Mallard for three-half-Pence, a Patridge for three-half-Pence, a Pheaſant for four Pence, a Heron for ſix Pence, a Plover for a Penny, a Swan for three Shillings, a Crane for twelve Pence, two Wood-Cocks for three-half-Pence, a fat Lamb from *Chriſtmaſs* to *Shrove-Tide* for ſixteen Pence, and all the Year after for four Pence. Wheat was once ſold for twenty Pence a Quarter, and in ſome Places for ſixteen Pence.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Second.*

Containing 19 Years, 6 Months, and 15 Days.

La Mort. Walſing.

I. UPON the Death of the great King *Edward* the Firſt, his Eldeſt Son, *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, now twenty three Years of Age, ſucceeded him with a general Applauſe, tho' he was far his Inferior in all Reſpects. Never any Prince came to the Crown with greater Love of the Nation, or loſt it in ſo ſhort a Time. For before his Father's Funeral Solemnities were finiſh'd, he contrary to all Advice ſhew'd a fatal Diſregard to all his dying Precepts; and the firſt publick Act he did was the recalling his looſe and beloved Aſſociate *Piers Gaveſton* from Exile, whom he immediately rais'd from the Son of an ordinary *Gaſconian* Knight to be Earl of *Cornwall*, Lord of *Man*, Guardian and Lieutenant of *England*, and Diſpoſer of

A. D. 1307. Reg. 1.

Edward *the Second begins his Reign ill.*

innumerable Preferments. And becauſe *Walter Langton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Treaſurer of *England*, had like a juſt Servant in his Father's Reign reprov'd him for ſome lewd Extravagancies; and complain'd of *Gaveſton*, as the Promoter of Vices ſo unbecoming a Prince; he remember'd to puniſh a Man ſo full of troubleſom Virtues, and arreſted him by Sir *John Felton*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, impriſon'd him in *Wallingford* Caſtle, and ſeiz'd upon all his Goods and Temporalties: And his Prejudice was ſo great againſt him, that no Man durſt ſpeak in his Favour; 'till afterwards, by means of the Papal Authority, he was reſtor'd, and in ſome ſort reconcil'd.

A. D. 1308. Reg. 1/2.

He marries the King of France's Daughter.

That which beſt ſuited with this King's youthful Affections, the Marriage with the Princeſs *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Philip* King of *France*, he perform'd with extraordinary Magnificence at *Boloign*; at which Solemnity were preſent the King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, the King of *Almain*, and the King of *Sicily*, with three Queens beſides the Bride, and a glorious Concourſe of other Princes, Noblemen and Ladies: Among whom Earl *Gaveſton* by his graceful Mien and rich Attire, ſo far exceeded the reſt in Splendor and Magnificence, that it rais'd the Envy and Indignation of the whole Aſſembly. This foreign Favourite, who had a beautiful Body, a quick Wit, and a daring Courage, had ſo far exaſperated the *Engliſh* Nobility, that they threaten'd to hinder the King's Coronation, which had been appointed ſhortly after, if he was not remov'd from the Court and Kingdom. Upon which the King, to avoid ſo great a Diſhonour, promis'd upon his Faith to yield to what they deſir'd in the next Parliament. But upon the Solemnity, *Gaveſton* with the utmoſt Pomp was appointed to carry St. *Edward*'s Crown before the King, which belong'd only to thoſe of the Royal Blood, which more encreas'd the Hatred of the Prelates and Nobility againſt him. And now having got Poſſeſſion of the Heart of this weak Prince, he by his riotous Practices ſoon fill'd his Court with Buffoons, Paraſites, and the like pernicious Inſtruments, drawing *Edward* from the Thoughts of all noble Enterprizes, in Accompliſhment of his Father's Will, or Diſcharge of his particular Duty, inclining him to all Sorts of diſhonourable Vanities and ſoft criminal Pleaſures: While he himſelf revell'd in outward Felicity, waſting the Riches of the Nation, or converting them to his private Uſes. He had ſo great an Aſcendent, that the King's Favours were his continual Advantages; and he wore the very Jewels of the Crown, which the King imprudently declar'd, *ſhould have deſcended to him, were his Power equal to his Affection.*

Ibid.

His Coronation.

La Mort. Walſing. &c.

By reaſon of the King's extravagant Favours, and eſpecially for his marrying him to his Niece *Margaret*, Siſter to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Nobility were much exaſperated, who vehemently preſs'd the King, That he would oblige him to avoid the Realm. Upon which Importunities, the King with great Reluctancy ſent him into *Ireland*; not as an Exile, but as his Lieutenant there, to direct and act all Things in his Name, as if he had been preſent himſelf. But he continu'd not long in that Country; for in the ſecond Year of this Reign, to the King's great Satisfaction, he procur'd a Tournament to be proclaim'd at *Wallingford*, where he appear'd with ſo many Military Men out of Foreign Parts, that he inſulted over the *Engliſh* Nobility that came to meet him; among whom the chief were the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke* and *Warren*, to whom this Favourite gave ridiculous and opprobrious Names. The Prelates, Earls and Barons, taking advantage of the King's exorbitant Kindneſs to him, and his heaping ſuch vaſt Riches upon him, to the great Diminution of the Crown Revenues, by their daily Care at length obtain'd of the King to make a formal Grant or Commiſſion to them, enabling them to appoint a ſelect Number amongſt them, that ſhould have Power to make *Ordinances* for the Government of the King's Houſhold and his Kingdom. Accordingly ſeven Prelates, eight Earls, and ſix Barons were nominated and ſolemnly ſworn; who after that drew up forty one Articles, Ordinances or Conſtitutions, which were all

Gaveſton *ſent to* Ireland.

A. D. 1309. Reg. 2/3.

The Nobility diſoblig'd by him.

Ordinances made by the Nobility.

all confirm'd by a particular Inſtrument from the King. Thus he who before ſeem'd jealous of truſting his Subjects, now gave them an Opportunity of puniſhing that Miſtruſt; and to add to the King's Troubles, he now receiv'd many Complaints from the Pope, with a particular Demand of the Rent of a thouſand Marks *per Annum* due to the *Roman* Church, and Arrears for fifteen Years in his Father's Time: But we do not find how he ſatisfy'd theſe Demands.

Ibid. By the twentieth Article of the Ordinances Earl *Gaveſton* was oblig'd with great Uneaſineſs to quit the Nation and go into Baniſhment; yet in no long Time after, the King recall'd him with infinite Fondneſs, declaring, *That he had been baniſh'd contrary to the Laws and Uſages of the Kingdom, which he was bound to maintain by his Coronation Oath.* Therefore he wrote to all the Sheriffs in *England*, 'That ſince in the Inſtrument of Exile he had no 'other Appellations but of Good and Loyal, he return'd at his Commandment, 'and was ready to anſwer all that could be objected againſt him: Wherefore he 'ſhould always eſteem him Good and Loyal, and expected them to repute him 'ſo, and to publiſh the Matter through their whole Counties. The Lords did not neglect this Occaſion of the King's Tenderneſs, but publickly declar'd, *That the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, together with the late made Ordinances, were not obſerv'd nor regarded.* The King to obviate the Effects of ſuch Reports iſſu'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd in all Parts, manifeſting his Deſire of Peace and an Obſervance of the Laws, and the late Ordinances; and not long after he wrote to the Community of the City of *London*, to ſecure that City, ſo that no Miſchiefs might ariſe from the Meeting of the Nobility. Theſe and ſome other Methods proving ineffectual, he deſign'd to proceed amicably with the diſſatisfy'd Biſhops and Barons, and according to the Power reſerv'd in his Proteſtation when he confirm'd the Ordinances, he appointed thirteen Commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of the Nobility who had made the late Ordinances, and to correct and reform all ſuch Things as were prejudicial and injurious. Theſe Propoſals were very reaſonable and amicable; but ſtill the Inſolencies and Extravagancies of Earl *Gaveſton* ſo far increas'd, as prevented all Accommodation. And alſo the young Queen thought her ſelf not a little injur'd by this ungrateful Man's Predominancy, for which ſhe ſent her Complaints to the King of *France* her Father, *That her Lord's Affection to him was ſo great, that it had both alienated his Love for her, and himſelf from her Bed.* Which occaſion'd ſome Writers to ſay, That the King was as looſe in a perſonal Affection to him, as he was in his publick Favours.

A. D. 1310. Reg. 2/4.

Gaveſton *baniſh'd and then recall'd.*

Trokelow. Walſing. In the mean Time the Lords purſu'd their Deſigns both privately and publickly, which were much promoted by the old Earl of *Lincoln*'s dying Speech to the powerful Earl of *Lancaſter*, who had marry'd his Daughter and Heir; in which he alledg'd, *That God had bleſs'd him with greater Riches and Authority than any Nobleman in* England; *for which he ow'd the greater Honour and Service: That he ſaw the Church of* England, *formerly in a State of Liberty, now reduc'd to Servitude by the Oppreſſions of the* Romans, *and the Exactions of Crown'd Heads; and the People, who had enjoy'd many Privileges, brought to the ſame Condition by divers Tallages and Vexations:* Adjuring him by God's Bleſſing and his own, *That when he had an Opportunity, he would deliver the Church and People from ſuch Oppreſſions; That he would pay all due Honour and Reverence to the King his Lord, yet cauſe him to remove from his Preſence all evil Counſellors and Strangers, and effectually to obſerve the Tenor of* Magna Charta, *and all other Ordinances granted to the Clergy and Laity; for accompliſhing of which he ſhould contract a ſtrict Alliance with the Earl of* Warwick, *who better underſtood them than any other.* Having ended this Speech, he took his leave of the World; and ſhortly after the great Earl of *Lancaſter*, with his Adherents the Earls of *Hereford*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Warren*, and ſeveral Barons, joining with the Arch-

A. D. 1311. Reg. 4/5.

The Lords combine againſt the King.

Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, undertook to relieve the Holy Church from Oppreſſion, and recover the due Liberty of the Kingdom, as *Walſingham* our Author expreſſes it.

A. D. 1312. Reg. 5/6.

The great Earl of *Lancaſter* was choſen their General, who by common Conſent ſent to the King then at *York*, petitioning him, Either to deliver Earl *Gaveſton* to them, or oblige him to quit the Kingdom, according to the late Ordinances. The King took ſmall Notice of their Supplications, left *York*, and repair'd to *Newcaſtle*, where he continu'd for a conſiderable Space. Upon which the Lords, with what Forces they could raiſe, march'd with all Speed towards *Newcaſtle*; not that they would offer Injury, or create Trouble to their Soveraign, but only take Earl *Gaveſton*, and judge him according to the Laws made by common Agreement. Upon their Approach, the King and *Gaveſton* immediately fled to *Tinmouth*; and tho' the Queen, then great with Child, with a Flood of Tears begg'd of him not to leave her in that Place, he without any Pity took Shipping and ſail'd with his Favourite to *Scarborough*, commanding the Garriſon of the Caſtle to protect him, while he repair'd into *Warwickſhire*. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, having poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Newcaſtle*, ſent Meſſengers to the Queen at *Tinmouth* to comfort her, faithfully promiſing, *That he would not give over his Purſuit, 'till he had remov'd* Gaveſton *from the King*; excuſing himſelf for not coming to her in Perſon, *leſt for her ſake, he ſhould incur the King's Indignation*. Shortly after the Lords left *Newcaſtle*, march'd with all Speed to *Scarborough* Caſtle, and inveſted it; but the Earl of *Lancaſter* finding no Oppoſition from the Country, retir'd with his Forces, and left the Ears of *Pembroke* and *Warren* to take the Caſtle, who in a ſhort Time ſo ſtraiten'd it, that *Gaveſton* ſurrender'd himſelf upon Condition that he might ſtand to the Judgment of the Barons, and once more ſpeak to the King. Upon Notice of which, the King earneſtly deſir'd he might ſpeak with him, and heartily begg'd that his Life might be ſav'd; promiſing upon that Condition to ſatisfie the Deſires of the Nobility in all Things. Upon this Promiſe, the Earl of *Pembroke* perſuaded the Barons to grant the King's Requeſt, ingaging upon the higheſt Penalties to keep him ſafe, 'till he had ſpoken with the King, and then reſtore him to the Barons at a prefix'd Time and Place, deſigning to carry him to *Wallingford*. In his Way thither, at *Deddington* in *Oxfordſhire*, the Earl left him to the Care of his Servants, while he lodg'd with his Lady at a neighbouring Place; which being known to the Earl of *Warwick*, he came with a great Force, and at Night took him from the Servants, and carry'd him to his Caſtle at *Warwick*. The Lords now conſulting what to do with him, a ſubtle Man amongſt them declar'd, *That after all this Expence and Trouble, it would be very weak in them to hazard the loſing of him*; adding, *That it was much better he ſhould die, than a War ſhould be rais'd in the Kingdom*. Upon which Advice, they took him out of Priſon, and carry'd him to an Aſcent about a Mile North-Eaſt of *Warwick*, call'd *Black-Low*, and there beheaded this Favourite; notwithſtanding the earneſt Solicitations of the King, which nothing but the total Deſtruction of all Truſt and Confidence could have render'd ineffectual.

They take up Arms.

They take Gaveſton.

They behead him at Warwick.

La Mote. Walſing.

The Lords now finding their own Strength and the King's Weakneſs, proudly demanded of the King, That their Ordinances might be confirm'd and put in Execution, Threatning to conſtrain him by Force if not ſpeedily perform'd; and accordingly they quarter'd their Forces in the Country about *Dunſtable*, while the King continu'd at *London*. Yet at length by the Management and Mediation of the Pope's Nuncio's, the Biſhops and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, Articles were agreed upon, and the preſent Heats allay'd, upon Condition that the Lords ſhould reſtore to the King all they had taken at *Newcaſtle*, and what belong'd to Earl *Gaveſton*, all which was ſhortly after perform'd. But the Reſentments the King harbour'd for the Loſs of his dear Companion were by the Sycophancies of the *French* at *Windſor* reviv'd again in a ſhort Time; therefore

Ibid.

fore in a Parliament at *London*, the King vehemently charg'd thoſe preſumptuous Lords with their Contempt againſt him in the Spoils they committed at *Newcaſtle*, and the inhuman Murther of his Friend. To all which they boldly reply'd, *That they had not offended in any Point, but deſerv'd his Royal Favour, in proſecuting the publick Enemy of the Nation, who had been ſo juſtly baniſh'd by two ſeveral Kings.* Nevertheleſs, to prevent Civil Conteſts, by the careful Management of the young Queen and the Prelates, the Lords in the open Court at *Weſtminſter* humbled themſelves before the King, ſupplicating his Favour; and the King by Writing granted his gracious Pardon to all ſuch as deſir'd it. The whole Houſe of Parliament ſeeing the King's Wants, of their own Accord granted him a Fifteenth, and all Parties return'd home with Satisfaction; but not long after, *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, who in this Parliament was appointed to be of the Privy-Council, deceas'd, being poiſon'd by ſome of the King's ſecret Friends, as it was believ'd by many. In the ſame Year of this Reign, the King's Sorrow for *Gaveſton* was much alleviated by the Birth of a Son at *Windſor* on the thirteenth Day of *November*, and baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*; a Prince whoſe noble Acts afterwards redeem'd all the Blemiſhes with which his Father's Infelicities had darkned the *Engliſh* Name.

The Lords reconcil'd to the King.

King Edward III. *born.*

Baker. Barnes. Walſing. &c.

II. While the State of *England* ſtood thus diſtemper'd at home, through the Infirmity of a weak Head, that of *Scotland* grew ſtrong by the provident Care of a vigilant and couragious King; who not only overcame all Factions, but gradually recover'd moſt of his own Country, and made great Devaſtations in the Borders of *England*. Having taken *Edinburgh* and other Places, while King *Edward* ſeem'd inchanted with unworthy Languiſhments, he ſent his Brother to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtle of *Sterling*; but after ſome Continuance before it, and deſpairing of taking it by Force, both Parties agreed to theſe Conditions, That if the *Engliſh* did not relieve the Caſtle within a Year from the Day of the Treaty, it ſhould be ſurrender'd to the *Scots*, and the Garriſon ſhould have ſafe Conduct to march whither they pleas'd, with all their Goods. Rous'd with theſe repeated Advantages, King *Edward* ſummon'd all his Power and Force, and with a mighty Army began his March, conſiſting of a hundred thouſand Men, according to the *Scotch* Writers, and of thoſe of many Nations, who in Imagination had poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Strength and Riches of *Scotland*, before they enter'd that Kingdom. Beſides the King was gloriouſly attended with moſt of the Nobility and great Men of *England*, except the four Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, *Warren* and *Arundel*, who refus'd to go, becauſe the King had protracted the Ratification of their deſired Liberties and Proviſions. This ſplendid Army having enter'd *Scotland*, more with the Ornaments of Feſtival Solemnities than the Accoutrements of hardy Soldiers, was met near *Sterling* by the undaunted King *Robert* at the Head of a well appointed Army of thirty thouſand Men, harden'd with the continual Uſe of War and Domeſtick Evils, fierce and reſolute, carrying about with them all their Hopes of Life, Liberty, and whatever was dear to them. The Advantage of the Ground was theirs, having on one Side unacceſſible Rocks to defend them, on the other a mooriſh Spot of Land, where they made Pits and Trenches fill'd with ſharp Stakes, and cover'd over with Hurdles, ſo that the Foot might ſafely paſs over; but in the Battel they ſo hamper'd and confounded the *Engliſh* Horſe, that the *Scots* gain'd the Day, and gave *England* the greateſt Overthrow that ever that Nation ſuſtain'd. This fatal Battel was call'd *Bannock's-Bourn*, becauſe fought by the Brook or River *Bannock*, upon which the *Scotch* made ſeveral ſcoffing Rhymes upon the Loſſes and Misfortunes of the *Engliſh*. *Gilbert* Earl of *Clare* was ſlain, with many Noblemen of the higheſt Rank, ſeven hundred Knights and Bannerets, great Numbers of Gentlemen, and ten thouſand common Soldiers, tho' the *Scotch* Writers

A. D. 1313. Reg. 6, 7.

The Scots recover Strength.

A. D. 1314. Reg. 7, 8.

The King marches againſt them.

He receives a great Overthrow.

ters ſay fifty. Many great Men were taken Priſoners, great Riches and Booty loſt, and the King himſelf with great Difficulty eſcap'd by Flight. This Defeat gave ſuch Wealth and Power to the *Scots*, that they liv'd ſecurely for ſeveral Years after; yet King *Edward* upon his Return to *York* ſhew'd a great Inclination to repair this Diſhonour, but the People grew cold and languid, and return'd home without effecting any Thing. The Unhappy Borderers were great Sufferers by it, and became ſo diſheartned, that according to *Walſingham* a hundred of them would fly from three *Scotch* Soldiers; to ſuch a ſudden Faintneſs were the Inferiors brought, when the nobler Parts of the State were diſpirited.

A. D. 1315. Reg. 8/9. *Calamities in England.*

This great Diſaſter was attended and ſucceeded by terrible Inundations, Famines and Peſtilences, which exceedingly afflicted the Land. Upon the Dearneſs of Proviſions, at a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, it was ordain'd That all Victuals exceeding an eſtabliſh'd Price ſhould be forfeited to the King: Particularly the beſt Ox fatted with Graſs ſhould be ſold for ſixteen Shillings, if fatted with Corn for twenty four Shillings; the beſt Cow for twelve Shillings; a fat Swine of two Years old for three Shillings and four Pence; a fat Wether or Mutton unſhorn for twenty Pence, and ſhorn for fourteen Pence; a fat Gooſe for two Pence half-penny, a fat Capon for two Pence, a fat Hen for a Penny, two Chickens for a Penny, four Pidgeons for a Penny, and twenty four Eggs for the ſame. But this Act was in Time found to be ſo prejudicial, by reaſon of the Scarcity of all Things, that in the following Year it was repeal'd, and Men were left to their Liberty to make what Advantage they could in theſe calamitous Times. But neither the Diſhonours from *Scotland*; nor the Miſeries and Diſcontents at home, could divert King *Edward* from a publick Solemnization of his beloved *Gaveſton*'s Funeral; whoſe Body he remov'd with great Pomp and Splendor from his former Burial at *Oxford* to *King's Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*; where he in Perſon, with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, four Biſhops, many Abbots and Eccleſiaſticks, honour'd his Obſequies: But few of the Nobility could ſo far lay aſide their Reſentments, as to attend upon ſuch an Occaſion. *Walſing. La Mort. &c.*

Gaveſton's Funeral.

A. D. 1316. Reg. 2/10. *A great Famine.*

In the mean Time the State of the Kingdom became deplorable, there being no Love between the King and the Nobility, nor any great Care in Him, or Them, of the publick Affairs; yet they aſſembled at a Parliament in *London*, where nothing material was enacted, and the Famine and Peſtilence daily encreas'd. The Famine was become ſo exceſſive, as we are told, That not only Horſes and Dogs, but even Men and Children were ſtolen for Food; and, which is horrible to imagine, the Criminals newly brought into the Priſons, were torn in Pieces, and eaten almoſt alive by ſuch as had been there a longer Time. In *London* it was proclaim'd, That no Corn ſhould be converted to Brewers Uſes, which Act, the King, mov'd with Compaſſion towards the Nation, both follow'd himſelf, and caus'd to be executed throughout the Kingdom; otherwiſe, ſays *Walſingham*, the greater Part of the People had periſh'd for want of Bread. The Bloody Flux or Dyſentery, caus'd by crude and corrupt Humours, proceeding from unwholſome Diet, rag'd in all Places, and together with other Diſtempers brought ſuch Multitudes of the meaner Sort to their Graves, that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead. But all theſe Calamities could not extinguiſh the Rancour between the King and his Nobility, tho' he made the Head of them, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, Chief of his Privy-Council; for daily ſome Accident happen'd that increas'd the Averſion. Particularly this great Earl's Wife was taken out of his Houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, by one *Richard St. Martin*, a moſt deformed Dwarf, who claim'd her, the greateſt Heireſs in *England*, for his Wife, avowing that he had lain with her before ſhe was marry'd to the Earl; which the Lady her ſelf, to her perpetual Infamy and Diſhonour, voluntarily averr'd. By her this worthleſs Perſon claim'd and obtain'd both the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, to the

1314.

Hatred between the King and Nobility.

A. D. 1282. Reg. 10/11.

the great Diminution of the Earl's Power and Fortunes; which never could have been effected without the greateſt Supporters. The King was noted as a ſpecial Agent in this Affair, which being in ſo tender a Point as Marriage, added much to his other Violations of Order and good Government, and gave Occaſion and Boldneſs to inferior Perſons to reproach his Behaviour. Particularly at the Celebration of the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, at Dinner in the open Hall of *Weſtminſter*, a Woman fantaſtically diſguis'd enter'd on Horſe-back and deliver'd a Lettter to him at the Table, which reprov'd him for his great Neglect of ſuch as had done noble Service to him and his Father, and tax'd him with advancing of unworthy Men, and other Miſcarriages. This Letter being read, and the Woman retir'd, the King in a Rage blam'd his Guards for ſuffering her to enter in ſuch a Manner; who excus'd themſelves by alledging It was not the Cuſtom in Kings Palaces, at Times of Feſtivals, to keep out any that came to divert the Aſſembly. The Woman being found, confeſs'd that ſhe was hired by a particular Knight to do this Act; and he being examin'd, boldly declar'd, *That what he did was purely for the King's Honour*, and ſo eſcap'd without any further Noiſe or Diſturbance.

The Earl of Lancaſter diſguſted.

Still the Northern Parts were not only infeſted and waſted by the *Scots*, but likewiſe by ſuch *Engliſh* as under Colour of Protection and Aſſiſtance, robb'd and pillag'd where-ever they came, to the miſerable Ruin of the Inhabitants. Nor did the King ſeem to have any Will or Power to relieve the common Calamities, but rather to convert all his Thoughts and Forces againſt the Diſpleaſure of the Nobility, who under the Notion of maintaining their Proviſions and Eſtabliſhments, daily withdrew their Love, Service and Duty from him. Wherefore finding himſelf thus weak and abandon'd, he begg'd the Spiritual Aſſiſtance of the Pope; who thereupon ſent certain Cardinals to ſettle the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation. Theſe made a formal Reconciliation between the King and the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who in a certain Plain near *Leiceſter* amicably met with Kiſſes and Embraces; but when they could not work the ſame Effect with the *Scots*, they put their whole Country under an Interdict. For they had now ſo much increas'd in Strength and Power, that they began to caſt their Eyes upon the Kingdom of *Ireland*; whither *Edward*, Brother to King *Robert*, had paſs'd with an Army, and procur'd himſelf to be crown'd King of that Country, by the Favour of ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility. Yet after three Years from his firſt Entrance, the *Engliſh* under the Conduct of the Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, and *John* Lord *Brenningham* Juſticiary of *Ireland*, ſo valiantly encounter'd him, that he loſt both his uſurped Kingdom and his Life. In this Battel fell many of the *Scotch* Nobility, beſides above five thouſand of the ordinary Sort, which much diminiſh'd the Glory of all their former Succeſſes. But King *Robert*, like an expert and vigilant Prince, was no ways diſhearten'd, but proceeding with all Vigour, won the important Town of *Berwick*, which was ſoon ſurrender'd to him, by the Treaſon, as it is believ'd, of *Peter Spalding* the Governor. And when King *Edward* endeavour'd to recover it again, the *Scots* diverted him from the Siege with Incurſions and Slaughters of his People in other Parts of *England*, being near ſurprizing of the Queen her ſelf in a Village not far from *York*, where ſhe continu'd during the Siege of *Berwick*; which Contrivance was form'd by the *Scots* and ſome perfidious *Engliſh*, whom King *Robert* had brib'd for that purpoſe. The Inhabitants of *York* and the adjacent Country, having ſuſtain'd innumerable Loſſes by the *Scots*, gather'd together an Army of ten thouſand Men, and briskly attack'd them at *Wilton* on *Swaile*; but being neither well led, nor experienc'd, they were defeated with the Loſs of three thouſand Men. The King being inform'd of this Misfortune, and finding all Affairs in a melancholy Poſture, gladly concluded a formal Truce with the *Scots* for two Years, and again return'd with Diſhonour from the Northern Parts.

Bertius. Walſing. &c.

He is reconcil'd to the King.

A. D. 1318. Reg. 11/12.

The Scots paſs into Ireland.

They are defeated.

A. D. 1319. Reg. 12/13.

A Truce made with them.

A. D. 1320. Reg. 13/14

The Riſe of the Spenſers.

III. The Truce with the *Scots* gave no Eaſe to the Nation as was expected, but was ſucceeded with great Troubles and Confuſion. For it happen'd that about this Time, the King, upon the Recommendation of the Lords themſelves, had made *Hugh de Spenſer* Lord Chamberlain, who being a Man of equal Inſolence, Vices and Ambition with *Gaveſton*, ſo inſinuated himſelf with the King, that he obtain'd all the Favours and Authority that the other ever enjoy'd, and in like manner procur'd no leſs Envy and Hatred. *Hugh* his Father, an ancient Knight, the better to ſupport his Son in his Courſes, was likewiſe employ'd, and grew in great Favour with the King, who afterwards alſo created him Earl of *Wincheſter*; and tho' he was unlike his Son in Manners and Qualifications, yet his inordinate Affection to him was the Cauſe of his own Ruin. The Son, as he was of a noble Shape and Preſence, ſo the very Spirit of Pride and Rapine carry'd him to ſuch intollerable Actions and Oppreſſions. that *Gaveſton* might with good Reaſon ſeem to be wiſh'd for again. Againſt theſe two, who wholly govern'd the unfortunate King, the popular Earl of *Lancaſter* and moſt of the Nobility ſwell'd with ſuch Rage and Impatience, that gathering together above eleven thouſand Men, they enter'd upon their ſeveral Lands and vaſt Eſtates, waſted ſixty three Manors of the Father, and took away ſuch Quantities of Sheep, Oxen and Swine, together with ſuch Proviſions of Corn, Wine, and other Conveniencies and Neceſſaries from both, as amounted to about ſixty eight thouſand Pounds; as it was given in by themſelves afterwards. And not ſatisfy'd with theſe Waſtes, the Lords by the Terror of civil Arms, in Parliament procur'd theſe two Favourites to be baniſh'd; revenging at once both their own and the publick Injuries.

La More. Walſing. &c.

A. D. 1321. Reg. 14/15.

The Nobility riſe againſt them.

They are baniſh'd.

Ibid.

In all Conteſts which happen'd between the King and his Nobility, Queen *Iſabel* had been hitherto a Promoter of Peace, and a Performer of many worthy Offices; but the ill Fates of the Earls of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* would not permit her to continue ſo any longer: For the Queen being one Night deny'd Lodging in the Caſtle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, which belong'd to the Lord of *Badleſmere*, one of the Earl's Party, ſhe withdrew her good Opinion, and oblig'd the King to take a cruel Revenge for this Diſhonour. For immediately after coming in Perſon with many thouſand Men before the Caſtle, he took the Governor, and all the beſt of the Garriſon, and put them to a ſhameful Death. Then deſiring to be reveng'd on the Lords for their late Inſolencies, he march'd to *Circeſter*, took many Caſtles and beſieg'd others; while the Lords, not ſuſpecting ſuch ſudden Aſſaults, were providing for their Defence. At *Circeſter* *Hugh Spenſer* the Son repair'd to him according to Command, having been hovering upon the Sea, expecting the Event of theſe Affairs by Land. The Nobility, who had fallen from their Soveraign's good Opinion, and wanting now their uſual Mediatrix the Queen, lay expos'd to all the Miſchiefs that Enemies could raiſe or procure from the King; who, taking the Regal Power to be in Danger, reſolv'd couragiouſly to die in the Conteſt, or bring the Lords to a full Subjection. In the mean Time the Judgment of Baniſhment given againſt the two *Spenſers* was revers'd as erronious, and their Revocation decreed by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans.

The Beginning of a Civil War.

A. D. 1322. Reg. 15/16.

The Lords weaken'd.

The Lords, not all of the ſame Diſpoſition, began to be apprehenſive of the King's Power, and many of them forſook their Commander the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and ſurrender'd themſelves to the King; and others were apprehended, particularly the two *Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Caſtle. The Faction weaken'd by this Defection, drew together in the North under the Conduct of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who was now to fight for his Life as well as Eſtate. Upon which the King march'd thither, and with a Part of his Army conſtrain'd the Earl to fly from *Burton upon Trent*; whoſe Forces in their Retreat or Flight behav'd themſelves outragiouſly and barbarouſly. But they ſoon met with their deſerv'd Puniſhment;

La More. Walſing.

ment; for the King purſu'd them to *Burgh-Bridge*, while they were marching towards their Allies the *Scots*, where they were ſtopp'd by Forces brought from *Carliſle* by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and others from *York* by Sir *Simon Ward*. In forcing his Way over the Bridge, the Earl of *Hereford* was kill'd; and the Earl of *Lancaſter* not being able to ſuſtain the Shock of the Battel, nor yet to eſcape, was taken Priſoner by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and many other Barons, Bannerets and Knights, to the Number of ninety five. The Earl was immediately ſent Priſoner to *Pontfract* Caſtle, his own but lately ſurrender'd, where the whole Multitude derided him and call'd him *King Arthur*, which Name he is ſaid by ſome to have aſſum'd to himſelf, in an intercepted Letter written to the *Scots*. But this was not all his Fate, for on the third Day after his Apprehenſion, the King ſitting in Judgment at the ſame Caſtle, with his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, both the *Spenſers*, and others, Sentence of Death was given againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Rebel and a Traitor. The two firſt Puniſhments were remitted in regard he was of the Royal Blood; but he was beheaded on the ſame Day he was condemn'd without the Town of *Pontfract*, before his own Caſtle, and that without anſwering, or the Judgment of his Peers. And by the ſame Judgment were condemn'd the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Liſle*, the Lord *William Tokit*, *Thomas Manduit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *William* Lord *Cheyny*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, and *Joceline* Lord *D'eynvill*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*, the Lords *Badleſmere* and *Aſhburnham* at *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Gifford* at *Gloceſter*; all great Men and in great Cities, to ſpread the more Terror over the Kingdom; which was attended with the intire Confiſcation of all their Lands, Titles and Eſtates, by which many were inrich'd and advanc'd. Never was the *Engliſh* Nation ſo ſtain'd with the Blood of her Nobility ſhed in this Manner ſince the Conqueſt, which being caus'd in a great Meaſure by the Power of the *Spenſers*, and without regular Proceſs, it open'd Veins for more to follow, and afterwards procur'd a moſt diſmal Revenge.

A grand Execution of the Nobility.

Buchan. Walſing. King *Edward* conceiving that this Exploit had made him formidable to the *Scots*, as well as terrible to the *Engliſh*, march'd with a mighty Army, but with ſmall Proviſions into *Scotland*; from whence not long after, for want of uſual Subſiſtance, he was compell'd to retire without the Honour of any Action. And what prov'd ſtill more diſhonourable, the *Scots* purſu'd him many Miles into *England*, and at *Blackmore* Foreſt took all his Treaſure and Furniture, and were ſo near taking his Perſon, that he could hardly eſcape with a few Followers. They took the Earl of *Richmond* and the King of *France*'s Envoy, with many others, and waſted the Country with Fire and Sword almoſt to the Walls of *York*; they burnt *Ripon*, and compounded with *Beverly* for four hundred Pounds, and return'd home loaden with great Spoils and Booty. This was the Succeſs of this unfortunate King in his third *Scottiſh* Expedition; yet King *Robert*, having lain five Years under the Cenſure of the Pope's Interdict, deſir'd a Truce, which was granted him for thirteen Years.

The King worſted by the Scots.

La More. Walſing. And now being at Leiſure, and in a calmer Temper, the King began to have a Senſe of the Execution of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, which was diſcover'd upon this Occaſion: Some Perſons about him making earneſt Suit to grant a Pardon to a Man of low Condition, one of the Earl's Aſſiſtants and Followers, he fell into a violent Paſſion, exclaiming againſt them *as unjuſt and wicked Counſellors, who could urge him to ſave the Life of a notorious Villain, and would not ſpeak one Word for his near Kinſman the Earl of* Lancaſter; *who, if he had liv'd, might have been beneficial to him and the whole Kingdom; but for this Man, the longer he liv'd, the more Miſchief he would commit*: Therefore with a deſperate Oath he declar'd, *That he ſhould ſuffer that Death he*

The King concern'd for the Earl of Lanſter.

had deſerv'd. And notwithſtanding the Crimes and Treaſons of this Earl of *Lancaſter*, the People held him in ſuch Veneration, that they repair'd to his Tomb as to that of the greateſt Saint; and many Miracles and Cures were reported to have been wrought there. Sir *Andrew Harclay*, who took him Priſoner at *Burgh-Bridge*, being advanc'd for his Service to the Earldom of *Carliſle*, enjoy'd his Honour but a ſhort Time. For in the following Year, either falling into Diſcontent by the *Spenſers* envying his high Preferment, or combining with the *Scots* who had allur'd him with the Hopes of a great Match, as he was accus'd, he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London* for Treaſon; and remains among the Examples of ſudden Downfalls, under an unconſtant and ill-governing Prince.

A. D. 1323. Reg. 16/17.

IV. We are now arriv'd at the laſt Act or Part of King *Edward*'s Tragical Misfortunes; occaſion'd from the new King of *France*, *Charles* the Fifth, his pretending to ſeize the Dutchy of *Gaſcony* for want of Homage, and from the exorbitant Power and Poſſeſſions of the two *Spenſers*. Theſe two powerful Men, one created Earl of *Wincheſter* and the other Earl of *Gloceſter*, now aſpiring to the Height of Command, and endeavouring to remove all Impediments to their Grandeur, continually rais'd mortal Enmities againſt themſelves and the King. The Queen took their Carriage heinouſly, becauſe, among other Diſobligations, they had retrench'd her expenſive Way of Living, *while they abounded in all Riches and Magnificence*, as ſhe complain'd, particularly, *That the Daughter and Heir of the King of* France *was marry'd to a Miſer, and tho' ſhe was promis'd to be made a Queen, ſhe was no better than a Waiting-Woman, living upon a Penſion from the* Spenſers. Thus was the Foundation of their common Deſtruction laid, and begun in the Impotency of a Woman's Will; to ſtrengthen which, they themſelves increas'd her Party with *Adam* Biſhop of *Hereford*, by diveſting him of all his Temporalties as a Traitor, for having ſupported the *Mortimers* in the Barons Conteſt. This *Adam* was a Man of a ſubtle Wit, profound in Human Policy, daring and factious, who for this Cauſe conceiving the greateſt Indignation, ſoon found means to become dear to the Queen, and to form a great and ſecret Party: To which *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who for the like Cauſes had been kept out of his Temporalties about two Years, join'd himſelf. Neither would the Avarice of the *Spenſers* permit them to leſſen the Multitudes of their Enemies; for they ſold the King's Pardons and Favours to ſuch as had been concern'd in the Barons Conteſt at ſuch exceſſive Rates, both of Lands and Mony, that they impoveriſh'd many of the Nobility. In ſum, the Royal Power being in the Hands of the *Spenſers*, and the Chancellor *Baldock*, or of their Creatures and Favourites, this new Faction had the general Diſcontents of the Nation to work upon for their Advantage.

La Mort. Walſing.

The ſeveral Steps towards King Edward's *Ruin.*

The King being thus govern'd, and having ſent his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* to compoſe the Affairs of *Gaſcony*, the Matter was ſoon brought to this Iſſue: That whereas the King reſolv'd to have gone in Perſon into *France*, the *Spenſers*, who dreaded a Separation from his Perſon, as knowing the Reverence of that to be their only Safegard, perſuaded the King, contrary to the Opinion of all others, to oblige the Queen in her Requeſts, and ſend her over to negotiate his Affairs with her Brother the *French* King. All this ſhe in a ſhort Time perform'd, and by her Suit and Management all Differences were compos'd, upon Condition that King *Edward* ſhould give to his Son Prince *Edward* the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, for which the King of *France* was willing to accept of his young Nephew's Homage. This being effected, the Prince was ſent over for that Purpoſe to his Mother, to the utter Ruin of the King his Father and all his Favourites: For the Heir of *England* being in Foreign Parts, and among the contrary Faction, all their Conſultation was, under Colour of defeating the *Spenſers*, how to accompliſh their own Deſigns.

Ibid.

A. D. 1324. Reg. 17/18.

The Queen ſent over to France.

Deſigns. And what ſtrengthen'd their Intereſt was the Arrival of young *Roger Mortimer* from *England*, a Perſon as much in Favour with the Queen as the *Spenſers* were with the King, who having been impriſon'd in the Tower for joining in the late Rebellion, had either corrupted or poiſon'd his Keepers, and made his Eſcape with other Fugitives into *France*. Now the Queen and Prince having perform'd the whole of their Negotiation, the King about *Michaelmaſs* ſent ſeveral kind Letters and Meſſages to them to deſire them to return into *England*; but the Conſpiracy not being ripe, ſhe deferr'd the Thing upon ſeveral Pretences, and detain'd her Son ſtill. Among many that went over with the young Prince was *Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter*, who perceiving the Familiarity between the Queen and *Mortimer* to be greater than was agreeable either to her Honour or Duty, and ſeeing him and other Fugitives enjoy that Privacy in Council that was aſſign'd to himſelf, he return'd ſecretly and unexpectedly into *England*, and faithfully inform'd the King of all that he knew.

Deſigns againſt the King.

Walſing. &c. The unfortunate King *Edward* now clearly ſeeing his Error, by the Greatneſs of his Dangers, earneſtly ſolicited the King of *France* to ſend home the Queen and the Prince; but that not ſucceeding, he imprudently in the City of *London* caus'd them to be proclaim'd Enemies to the Kingdom, baniſhing them and all their Adherents from the ſame. For his greater Security alſo he caus'd the Ports to be carefully watch'd; and beſides this, there was a Deſign laid, as it was ſuppos'd and believ'd, to take away the Lives of the Queen and Prince. The Queen on the other Side, fearing that the *Spenſers* Gold might ruin all her Proceedings in *France*, politickly retir'd out of the Way, 'till with the Prince, the Lord *Mortimer*, and her other Adherents, were arriv'd ſafely in *Hainault*. There was alſo ſome other Reaſons to move Queen *Iſabel* to depart out of *France*, beſides the Danger of Deſigns againſt her Perſon, as to divert and remove a War from her Native Country, which for her ſake began now to be infeſted on the Sea-Coaſts: For Sir *John Oturwin*, Sir *Nicolas Kiried*, and Sir *John Felton*, with the Navy of the Ports, and of other Places, had by Commiſſion from the King ſo ſcoured the narrow Seas, that they within a ſhort Time, brought a hundred and twenty *Norman* Ships into *England*, as lawful Prizes. And further, whereas thoſe two Biſhops, which the Pope had ſent over upon her Account, were return'd out of *England*, without doing or hoping to do her any Service, ſhe was fully perſuaded that the Sword or nothing could effect it.

A. D. 1325. Reg. 18/19.

The Queen and her Party proclaim'd Traitors.

La Mort. Walſing. But at *Hainault* ſhe found a hearty and honourable Reception from *William* the Earl of that Country; where, contrary to the Advice and Conſent of the Peers of *England*, ſhe contracted the Prince her Son, then not fourteen Years of Age, to *Philippa*, one of the Earl's Daughters; and with the Mony of her Portion rais'd Soldiers out of *Hainault* and *Germany* for her Service in *England*. Being provided with Men and Veſſels, ſhe embark'd for *England* with her Son, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the King's Brother, *Roger Mortimer*, and many others who fled out of *England*, and with two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſeven Men at Arms, commanded by *John* the Earl's Brother, ſhe landed at *Harwich* on *Wedneſday* before *Michaelmaſs* Day, where ſhe was join'd by the Earl-Marſhal; the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with ſeveral Barons and Knights, and almoſt all the Prelates, but chiefly with the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford* and *Ely*, who together compos'd a conſiderable Army, which being refreſh'd at St. *Edmund's Bury*, ſet forwards to meet with all Oppoſers. The unfortunate King, now deſtitute of Friends and Means, as well as Courage and Counſel, demanded Aſſiſtance of the City of *London*, where he receiv'd this Anſwer, *That they would honour and obey the King, Queen and Prince, but would ſhut their Gates againſt all Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm.* The King and his few Friends repoſing no Aſſurance in this Anſwer, committed an Error worſe than any of his former, by retiring himſelf into the Weſt, with his inſeparable Favourites the *Spenſers*, *Baldock* and others, there to raiſe an Army

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19/20.

The Queen lands with an Army.

The King flies to the Weſt.

Army againſt the Queen. But before his Departure, he left his other Son, the Lord *John* of *Eltham* in the Tower of *London*, with his Niece the Counteſs of *Gloceſter* Wife to the younger *Spenſer*, committing the Government of the Tower to Sir *John Weſton*, who was well provided of Men and Ammunition. He alſo by Proclamation commanded all Men to kill and deſtroy the Queen's Adherents, none excepted but her ſelf, the Prince, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*; and that none upon pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Eſtates, ſhould any ways aid or aſſiſt them; and that whoever brought him the Head of the Lord *Mortimer*, ſhould be rewarded with a thouſand Pounds. Thus the King took his final leave of the City of *London*, and in a great Meaſure of his Rule and Dominion.

The Queen's Power increaſes On the contrary Side the Queen in a ſhort Time gather'd a very conſiderable Force, which to retain, as well as to encreaſe, Letters and Rumours were diſpers'd in all Parts, declaring That the King of *France*, to aid his Siſter, had got ready ſo many Dukes, Earls and others, that *England* could ſcarce maintain them. This falſe Report had great Effect upon ſuch as depended upon the Force of Arms; but to thoſe whom the Power of Religion might move, it was as ſubtlely, tho' as falſely ſpread abroad, That the Pope had excommunicated all ſuch as had taken up Arms againſt the Queen; and the more to countenance the Faction, that two Cardinals imploy'd about that Affair, were ſeen in the Queen's Camp. Beſides theſe, it was proclaim'd, That the Cauſes of the Queen's Arrival were only to deliver the Nation from the King's Evil Counſellors, which were nam'd to be the two *Spenſers*, *Robert Baldock* Lord Chancellor, and their Favourites; all others were to be ſafe, that nothing ſhould be taken from any Subject without paying ready Mony, and a Penalty was impos'd on all who acted contrary, as for the Value of three Pence to loſe a Finger, ſix Pence the Hand, and twelve Pence the Head; and finally whoſoever brought the younger *Spenſer*'s Head to the Queen, ſhould have two thouſand Pounds Reward. With theſe outward Shows of Juſtice and Reaſon, the Queen with her Son and whole Army purſu'd the King, as it had been agreed in a Council of War, marching firſt into the City of *Oxford*; where the Biſhop of *Hereford*, the Queen's chief Counſellor, preach'd before her, the Army and the Univerſity, believing the Cauſe of her Proceedings, and taking for his Text, *My Head, my Head aketh*; from whence he concluded, contrary to the Rules of Phyſick, as well as Precepts of Divinity, that an aking and ſick Head of a Kingdom, was of Neceſſity to be taken off, and not otherwiſe to be cured. In the mean Time the *Londoners* in Favour of the Queen, and Hatred of the *Spenſers*, committed horrid Outrages, beſides inhuman Sacrilege in cutting off the Biſhop of *Exeter*'s Head, and ſome others, whom the King had left Guardians of the City, among whom was a Citizen of their own *John de Marchal*, an Acquaintance of the younger *Spenſer*. They alſo got the Tower into their Poſſeſſion, placing and diſplacing the Garriſon and Officers at their Pleaſure, under the Name of the Lord *John* of *Eltham*, the King's ſecond Son, whom they proclaim'd *Cuſtos* of the City and the Kingdom. They alſo ſet at Liberty all Priſoners, which by the popular Queen's Commands was done throughout the Nation; and all Exiles and Fugitives were recall'd, who all flocking to the City of *London*, made no ſmall Addition to her Forces.

Walſing. La Mare.

She purſues the King.

The miſerable King had now the clamorous Effects of ill Counſels calling too loud upon him; yet found no Way left to recover or repair the Misfortunes to which thoſe Errors had reduc'd him. Where-ever he went he found but few Subjects, for thoſe with their Hearts were loſt before; but being led on by uncertain Advices, after many Motions, as various as his former Humour, he took Shipping with a few Friends, intending for the Iſle of *Lundy*, or *Ireland*; but having ſuſtain'd much Damage at Sea, he came on Shore in *Glamorganſhire*, where he entruſted himſelf to God, and the Faith of the *Welſh*, who ſtill retain'd their former Love to him, lying ſecret amongſt them in the Abby of *Neth*e.

Ibid.

The King retires to Wales.

Nethe. In the mean Time the Queen with increaſing Forces, and reſtleſs Revenge, purſu'd her flying Husband and Soveraign; and from *Oxford* march'd directly to *Gloceſter*, and from thence to *Briſtol*; which being fortify'd as well as the Time would permit, was committed by the King to the Care of the Earl of *Arundel*, and the elder *Spenſer*. But this Place ſoon yielded to that Succeſs, which ſeem'd to deny all Hopes to the King's declining Condition. Old *Spenſer* was there taken and executed upon the common Gallows with all the Rigour that Revenge and Conqueſt could invent; and with as much Contempt of Law, as he and his Son had formerly ſhew'd. They condemn'd him without Trial; and prevented his natural End, which could not have been long, being then near ninety Years of Age.

Old Spenſer *executed.*

La Mort. Walſing. &c. The King having lain conceal'd for ſome Time, Proclamations were daily iſſu'd from the Queen's Army declaring, *That if King* Edward *would come in and conform himſelf to the Laws and Government of the Nation, he ſhould be reſtor'd by the general Conſent of the People.* But the King, not daring to truſt to this Declaration, kept himſelf ſtill conceal'd with *Spenſer*; upon which the Queen with her Forces and Friends at *Hereford* undertook to diſpoſe of the Government, and by the Conſent of the Lords and Community of *England*, Prince *Edward* was made *Cuſtos* or Guardian of the Kingdom, and had Fealty ſworn to him accordingly; the Biſhop of *Norwich* was made Chancellor of the Realm, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Treaſurer. But the King's Perſon was ſtill too great to be kept long in ſecret; for the revengeful Eyes of the late Earl of *Lancaſter*'s Brother, with ſome others, ſoon diſcover'd him in his Retirement; and by the Force of Mony and Arms they got him into their Poſſeſſion, together with the younger *Spenſer*, Chancellor *Baldock*, and *Simon de Reding*. The King was convey'd by the Earl from the Place of his Captivity to *Monmouth*, to *Ledbury*, and ſo to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* in *Warwickſhire*, belonging to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed: The other three, *Spenſer*, *Baldock* and *Reding*, were ſtrongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to be diſpos'd at the Pleaſure of their moſt mortal Enemies. Before their Arrival, the Earl of *Arundel* with ſome others were beheaded, chiefly to oblige *Mortimer*, who now govern'd the Queen's Affections as well as Affairs. The younger *Spenſer* was carry'd along, only to grace the Queen's triumphant March; and, as the chief Cauſe of her taking Arms, he was render'd a moſt contemptible Spectacle, and expos'd in a ſitting Poſture, to increaſe the Scorns and Reproaches that uſually attend ſuch miſerable Objects. But he was ſoon eas'd of his Sufferings, and receiv'd Sentence of Death from the Judge *William Truſſel*; then being ignominiouſly dragg'd to the Place of Execution, he was hung upon a Gallows fifty Foot high, and after that beheaded and quarter'd; they who brought him to the Queen having their promis'd Reward of two thouſand Pounds. His Head was ſet up at *London*, and his Quarters in four Parts of the Kingdom; and *Simon de Reding* was hang'd ten Foot lower than he in the ſame Place. This Execution was done on a *Monday*, in Revenge of the Death of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Blood was ſhed on that Day. As to Chancellor *Baldock*, he was committed to the Biſhop of *Hereford*'s Care, who brought him to *London*; where the tumultuous People took him by Violence, and tho' he was a Biſhop, thruſt him into *Newgate*, where he dy'd miſerably.

Prince Edward *made* Cuſtos *of the Kingdom.*

The King is taken.

Young Spenſer *executed.*

Walſing. Brady. After ſome Stay at *Hereford*, the Queen came to *London* with her Son *Edward*, and her Favourite *Mortimer*; where ſhe was receiv'd with as many Teſtimonies of Joy and Satisfaction, as could ariſe from two ſuch great Cauſes, as the Misfortunes of her Husband, and her own Succeſs. A Parliament or Convention was then ſummon'd, which was held the next Day after the *Epiphany*; where it was adjudg'd and declar'd That King *Edward* was unfit to govern the Kingdom any longer, for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, 'For that in all his Reign he has 'been miſs-led and govern'd by others, who gave him evil Counſel to the Diſhonour 'of Himſelf, and the Deſtruction of the Church and his People, not conſide-'ring

A. D. 1327. Reg. 20.

Articles againſt King Edward.

'ring or knowing whether it was Good or Evil; nor would remedy these Things, 'when he was petition'd by the chief Men of his Kingdom, nor suffer them to 'be redress'd. Secondly, He would not submit to good Counsel, nor the good 'Government of his Kingdom; but neglecting the Business of the Realm, gave 'himself to Works and Employments unbecoming his Station. Thirdly, For want of 'good Government he lost the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and other Territories in '*Gascony* and *Ireland*, which his Father had left to him in a peaceable State. 'Fourthly, By his Pride and Cruelty he destroy'd the Holy Church, and her 'chief Ministers, imprisoning some, and distressing others; and also executed, 'imprison'd, banish'd, and disinherited many great and noble Men of the Land. 'Fifthly, Whereas he was bound by Oath to do Justice to all, he only observ'd 'his own Profit, and the Avarice of his wicked Counsellors; nor did he regard 'the other Points of his Coronation Oath. Sixthly, He abandon'd his King-'dom, and endeavour'd to destroy it and his People; and what was worse, by 'the Cruelty and Default of his Person, he was become incorrigible without 'Hopes of Amendment. All which were so notorious, as not to be gainsaid.

He is declar'd no King. For these Reasons he was declar'd no King, and his Son appointed to be crown'd, which was proclaim'd in the great Hall of *Westminster*, with the universal Consent of the People there present; and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* made a Sermon upon this Text, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*, exhorting all there present to invoke the King of Kings for the Person they had then chosen.

The Queen, when she heard of this heavy Sentence, of deposing her Husband, seem'd to sink under the Weight he was to bear, and to act the Part of a tender and dutiful Wife; but she who had reduc'd him to that Condition cou'd scarcely with feign'd Tears and Lamentations persuade others to believe that she really deplor'd it. Besides that unjustifiable Passion for *Mortimer*, which had so long and so violently govern'd her, was a convincing Proof that there was not Kindness enough left for her unhappy Husband to cause a sincere Grief for his Calamities. The Prince her Son, either mov'd by that specious Shew of Sorrow, which might easily deceive his innocent Youth, or rather urg'd by his own natural and generous Temper, solemnly vow'd That he would never accept of the Crown but by his Father's Consent. Upon which Commissioners were sent to the King at *Kenelworth* Castle, consisting of three Bishops, two Earls, two Barons, two Abbots, and two Justiciaries; among whom was Judge *Trussel*, Proxy to the whole Parliament. The Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* went before to prepare and persuade the King to resign the Crown; and as Promises frequently exceed Performances, they assur'd him, *He should live more happy than before, and that in Effect he should only resign his Cares, and enjoy an undisturb'd Quiet and Plenty*. On the other side they threatned, *That if he refus'd to Grant what the People would certainly Take, and which was desir'd of him to satisfie his Son, he could not prevent his own Fate, but would bring Misfortunes upon his Posterity; for in that Case the People would chuse a King that had no Relation to his Blood.* *La Mort. Walsing. &c.*

He is persuaded to resign.

Upon the Arrival of the Commissioners, who were to receive his Resignation, the poor dispirited King came forth cloath'd in deep Mourning answerable to his Sorrows; and at the Sight of that Power which was to take away his, he could support himself no longer, but sunk with the Weight of his Afflictions down to the Ground. But after some Time being reviv'd and recover'd, the Bishop of *Hereford* deliver'd to him the subject Matter of their Commission, with the fatal Consequences of his Non-Compliance, which must involve his Son and Posterity in his own unhappy Condition. Upon which the King being greatly dejected, told them, *That he submitted to all Things with the more Patience, because his Crimes and Offences had caus'd the Misery that was fallen upon him; yet it was a most afflicting Thought to him, That his People should retain such Hatred against him, as not to endure him any longer for* *Ibid.*

their

their Soveraign: But if his Condition would admit of any Conſolation, it muſt proceed from the Kindneſs they had ſhown to his Son, which he could not but gratefully acknowledge. This ſaid, they proceeded to the ſhort Ceremony of his Reſignation, which principally conſiſted in the Surrender of his Diadem and Enſigns of Majeſty to the Uſe of his Son the new King. For the Form of it, this being the firſt known in *England*, they could follow no Precedent, but were oblig'd to make one, and Judge *Truſſel* put it into the Stile of Law to render it more Authentick, and pronounc'd it after this Manner, '*I* William 'Truſſel *in the Name of all the Men of the Land of* England, *and of all* 'the *Parliament Procurator, reſign to Thee* Edward *the Homage that was* 'made *to Thee ſometime, and from this Time forwards, I defy Thee and* 'prive *Thee of all Royal Power; and I ſhall never be Attendant on Thee as* 'King *after this Time.* Which being done, Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight Steward of the Houſhold, by breaking his Staff, reſign'd his Office, and declar'd that the late King's Family was diſcharg'd. This was done upon the twenty ſecond Day of *January*, in the forty third Year of his Age, after an unfortunate and diſhonourable Reign of nineteen Years, ſix Months, and fifteen Days. *The Manner of his Reſignation.*

Here ended all the Power and Soveraignty of King *Edward* the Second, which dropt from him without thoſe violent Struggles that uſually attend ſuch Conteſts; and in our Hiſtory this is the firſt Inſtance where a King fell with ſo little Honour, and ſo great Infidelity, that found neither Sword nor Tongue to aſſert his Right. Tho' *England* had endur'd great Miſeries and Afflictions, through the Violence and Ambition of ſome of her Kings, yet ſhe had been govern'd by Men, and thoſe Troubles were incident to vigorous Diſpoſitions; but under this King, who could neither gain nor keep, the Nation ſuſtain'd all thoſe Calamities that could proceed from the Weakneſſes and Levities of a Child. His very Nature was ſo paſſive and complying, that he ſeem'd not only to have been govern'd, but even actuated by his Favourites, who directed and carry'd him as they pleas'd, commanded his Perſon and Kingdom, and only made uſe of his Name to colour and countenance their Villanies. For this Prince was not, like ſome of the former, ruin'd by a violent graſping at unlawful Power; but by meanly ſubjecting himſelf to the Power and Guidance of Others: And as Pride, Obſtinacy and Ambition were the Vices that embroyl'd ſome of the former Reigns; ſo Eaſineſs, Complacency, and Submiſſion or rather Subjection were the Ruin of this: Which cannot ſo much be call'd Vices in themſelves, as they became ſo, in being unfortunately plac'd. In ſhort he was more weak than wicked, and his Exorbitancies met with as great, or greater in his People. He was too much given to Drink, but remarkable for his Continence; and he left ſome Remains of his Charity and Piety behind him, having founded *Orial* College and St. *Mary-Hall* in *Oxford*, and built a Church for Friars at his Manor of *Langley*. *His Character.*

In the Beginning of this King's Reign all the Knights *Templars* throughout *England* were at once arreſted, and committed to Priſon. They were a famous Order of Knights inſtituted by *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem* about two hundred Years before, and firſt appointed for the Defence of that City, and the ſafe Conduct of thoſe that travelled thither. Afterwards they were diſpers'd through all the Kingdoms of Chriſtendom, and by the pious Munificence of Princes and others, enrich'd with infinite Poſſeſſions, which caus'd them to degenerate from their firſt Inſtitution, and to become exorbitantly vicious and ſcandalous. So that all the Kings of Chriſtendom at the ſame Time joyning together, caus'd them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and to be depriv'd both of their Order and Eſtates. Being firſt condemn'd in a general Council held at *Vienna*, their Eſtates were afterwards given to another Order of Knights call'd *Hoſpitalers*. *The Deſtruction of the Knights Templars.*

SECT. III.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Third.*

Containing 50 *Years,* 4 *Months, and* 27 *Days.*

A. D. 1327. Reg. 1.

I. THE Wounds and Weakneſſes which the Publick ſuſtain'd in the Reign of King *Edward* the Second, were in a few Years cur'd by that of his mighty Son; and the *Engliſh* Nation not only recover'd Vigour and Strength, but alſo Beauty and Glory: But the Worth and Grandeur of this Prince did not immediately appear, he being not full fifteen Years of Age at his Father's Reſignation, and therefore continu'd under the Tuition and Government of others. Shortly after the Depoſition and Reſignation of the old King, great Preparations were made for this young Prince's Coronation, and he was firſt proclaim'd King by Order and Conſent of Parliament on the twenty fifth Day of *January*. And immediately after Writs were iſſu'd out to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom to proclaim the new King's Peace, in which he declar'd to the People *That his Father the late King had, by the Advice and Conſent of the Nobility and Community of the Realm, made a free and voluntary Reſignation of his Regal Dignity to him, as being his Eldeſt Son, and Heir to the Kingdom.* Upon *Sunday* the firſt of *February*, this youthful Hero was firſt girded with the Sword of Knighthood by the Hands of his Coſen *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and then crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Walter Reginald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with great Solemnity: And as an Earneſt of the numerous Benefits of his ſucceeding Reign, a general Pardon was proclaim'd; which gave Occaſion to ſucceeding Kings to grant the like at their Acceſſion to the Crown, in Imitation of ſo renown'd an Example. But by reaſon of his unripe Years, twelve of the chief Nobility were appointed as Guardians to Him and the Kingdom, 'till he ſhould be of Age, the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, the two Earls of *Norfolk* and *Kent*, both Uncles to the King, and five Barons, *Warren*, *Wake*, *Percy*, *Ingham* and *Roſs*. But the Queen and the Lord *Mortimer* notwithſtanding uſurp'd this Charge, and in a great meaſure took all to themſelves; and the Queen's Dowry was ſo unreaſonably enlarg'd, that the King her Son had ſcarce a Third Part of the Crown Revenues to himſelf; of which *Mortimer* made great Advantage, to advance his Creatures, and eſtabliſh his own Authority and Grandeur.

Walſing. &c.

King Edward *the Third crowned.*

His Guardians.

Before the Affairs of *England* were fully eſtabliſh'd, *Robert* King of *Scotland*, tho' decay'd and infirm, remembring how much he had ſuffer'd from this young King's Grand-father, notwithſtanding the Peace agreed on three Years before, reſolv'd to take Advantage of the unſetled Times, and invade the Kingdom of *England*; and accordingly about *Eaſter*, he ſent the Earl of *Murrey* and Sir *James Douglas* with an Army into *England* to waſte and ravage the Country, according to their former Methods of Invaſion. On the other Side young *Edward*, inflam'd with a Deſire of revenging the diſhonourable Defeats in his Father's Reign, and being inform'd of the *Scotch* Deſigns, by the Advice of his Council publiſh'd his Proclamations, commanding all Noblemen and others to be well appointed according to their Ranks and Degrees, and to attend him at the City of *York* on *Aſcenſion*-Day. He alſo ſent to the Lord *John Beaumont*, Brother to the Earl of *Hainault*, whom the Queen had brought over from the *Low-Countries*, requeſting his Company and Aſſiſtance in this Expedition, and that he would be at *York* at the appointed Time, with what Men of Arms he could procure. To which the Lord *Beaumont* readily comply'd; and gathering together out of *Hainault*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Artois* and other

Boetius. Froiſart. Knighton.

The Scots *invade* England.

The King prepares againſt them.

other Places many brave Noblemen and Knights to accompany him, conſiſting of five hundred Men at Arms, all gallantly appointed and mounted, he arriv'd at the City of *York* three Days before *Whitſontide*, where he found the young King, the Queen his Mother, and all his Lords, and a powerful Army, attending his Coming. Shortly after their Arrival, there happen'd a great and unhappy Conteſt between ſome of the Archers of the *Engliſh* Army, and the Servants of the Foreigners, begun and promoted, as it was believ'd, by ſome Male-contents Friends to the *Spenſers* and the late Earl of *Arundel*, which not only caus'd the ſhedding of ſome Blood in the Army, but alſo became a great Impediment in the deſign'd Expedition. The Occaſion of the Quarrel was found to be in the *Engliſh*, which tho' by the King's Care it was with ſome Difficulty appeas'd, yet it was an ominous Preſage of the ill Succeſs of that Enterprize; and becauſe in the Minds of ſome of the Parties offended there ſtill remain'd ſome ſecret Reſentments, it happen'd that all the promiſing Endeavours of the King of *England* came at that Time to little or no Effect.

Froiſart. Boſtius. &c. After ſix Weeks Continuance in and about *York*, King *Edward*, hearing that the *Scots* were enter'd *England*, left that Place, and with his Barons and Forces, and the Lord *Beaumont* and his Men, march'd to the City of *Durham*. Before which Time, notwithſtanding the Care of the Earl-Marſhal at *Newcaſtle*, and the Lord *Mowbray* at *Carliſle*, the *Scots* had paſs'd the River *Tyne* with an Army conſiſting of four thouſand Men at Arms, Knights and Eſquires well mounted, and a thouſand others arm'd after their Country Faſhion, upon ſmall inconſiderable Horſes, beſides their Forces on Foot. King *Edward* being inform'd of this, and the Devaſtations they made, immediately gave Command for every Man to diſlodge, and follow the Lord Marſhal's Banner; and thus prepar'd, he with his mighty Army advanc'd towards the Enemy, with no better Guide to direct him, than the Smoak of their Burnings. At length he found them incamp'd in *Stanhope* Park, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, where he ſtrongly beleagur'd them on every Side, and ſo confin'd them for the Space of fifteen Days, that their Proviſions fail'd them; and being much weaken'd with Hunger, they were conſtrain'd to invent a Way for their Eſcape. And therefore they prepar'd great Numbers of Fleaks, Hurdels and Faggots, by the help of which, in the following Night, they and their Horſes paſs'd ſafely out of the Park, over a deep and mooriſh Ground, which by the Negligence or Treachery of ſome great Men in King *Edward*'s Army was left undefended, and with all Speed and Secrecy fled from the Sight of the *Engliſh* to the next Mountains. King *Edward*, inrag'd at their Eſcape, with his whole Army purſu'd them from Place to Place for many Days together; but could not diſcover them, 'till after a Proclamation of a hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and the Honour of Knighthood, to be given to any who would bring certain Intelligence where they were incamp'd, he was inform'd by One who had labour'd for that Purpoſe, that they were lodg'd in a certain Mountain, ſix Miles from his Camp, and attended his Coming with a Deſign to give him Battel. Upon this pleaſing Account, the King and his Army, having perform'd all Acts of Devotion, and refreſh'd themſelves and Horſes, follow'd this new made Knight as their Guide through difficult Paſſages, and about Noon arriv'd within Sight of their Enemies.

He marches againſt them.

They make their Eſcape.

Froiſart. Walſing. As the *Engliſh* had the greater Army, ſo the *Scotch* had the Advantage of the Ground, having drawn up their Men in the Deſcent of the Mountain, where a great River ran between the *Engliſh* and them, ſo full of large Rocks and Stones, that the *Engliſh* could not paſs over to them without the greateſt Hazards; nor was there Room between the *Scotch* and River for the *Engliſh* to draw up in Battalia. King *Edward* therefore, after a Council of War, by his Heralds made theſe Propoſals to the *Scots*, *That if they would paſs the River and fight with him in the plain Field, he would freely retire 'till he had left them ſufficient Space to range their whole Army, that Day, or when they pleas'd*;

King Edward offers them Battel.

pleas'd; or elſe upon the like Offer, he would come over to them. But the *Scotch* would accept of neither, ſending this Anſwer to the King of *England*, *That ſince the* Engliſh *were three Times more numerous than they, it would be the higheſt Indiſcretion for them to abandon that Ground they had choſen for their Defence: And ſince the* Engliſh *were not ignorant in whoſe Dominions they were, and what Waſte they had made, they might correct them if they could, for they would ſtay there as long as they thought fit.* Upon this Anſwer, King *Edward* order'd his Men to continue there the Night following, and they were forc'd to lye upon the Ground and hard Stones in their Armour, without any Conveniency for their Horſes or themſelves; and thus the two Armies continu'd in Sight of each other for three Days, being neither of them deſirous to fight, by reaſon of the Danger in paſſing the River. On the fourth Day, the *Engliſh* perceiving that the *Scots* had left the Mountain by Night, and being inform'd that they were lodg'd on another by the ſame River Side, more advantagious than the former by reaſon of a neighbouring Wood, they immediately decamp'd and lodg'd themſelves upon another Hill over-againſt the *Scots*, where the two Armies being drawn up, made fair ſhews of a Battel; but neither durſt run the Hazard of paſſing the River. Thus they continu'd for the Space of eighteen Days, during which Time, ſome of both Parties often broke out, and skirmiſh'd with each other, to the Death and Captivity of many; and the King of *England* by his Heralds renew'd his former Propoſal of accommodating them with convenient Ground to fight on, or to accept of the like from them; but the *Scots* continuing in their firſt Reſolution, would conſent to nothing of that Nature.

They refuſe.

A brave Attempt.

Among other Occurrences that happen'd during this Time, the brave and couragious Attempt of the Lord *James Douglas* ought not to be forgotten, who in the Night Time with two hundred extraordinary Horſemen paſs'd the River ſome Diſtance from the *Engliſh* Army, and notwithſtanding the Watch, ſuddenly broke into the Camp, and ſlew divers of the Army without Reſiſtance; then riding up to the King's Tent, cut ſome of the Cords of it, and ſlew the King's Chaplain who valiantly defended his Maſter, from whence he retir'd with the Loſs of a few Men to his own Army. From this Time the *Engliſh* were more careful in their Watch, and the moſt Part lay every Night in their Arms, to prevent the like Attempts; and tho' the *Scots* were a hardy People enduring Hunger, Cold and Labour, and ſatisfy'd with a mean and ſpare Diet, yet at this Time wanting all Proviſions, and loſing all Hopes of further Succeſs this Campaign, they reſolv'd to break up with all convenient Speed, and return to their proper Habitations; and therefore, after they had waſted all that might be uſeful to the *Engliſh*, they privately retir'd at Midnight, and got ſafe into their own Country. In the mean Time the King of *England* and his Lords, highly diſſatisfy'd at this Diſappointment, took Counſel what was beſt to be done; and duely conſidering that the Soldiers were fatigu'd with frequent Removals, Hunger, Wet, Cold, ill Lodgings and hard Paſſages, and that their Horſes were weaken'd for Want of Conveniencies and good Proviſion, they concluded that it would be to no Advantage to purſue the *Scots* any further. And having ſpent above a Month in an uſeleſs Purſuit, the King repair'd with his Army to *Durham*, and within three Days after to *York*, where he found the Queen his Mother, and divers other noble Ladies, who receiv'd him and his Company with great Joy. Here the King gave leave to all Soldiers to return to their Habitations, and diſmiſs'd the Lord *Beaumont* and all his Retinue and Attendance with munificent Rewards for all former Services. And thus the mighty Preparation which King *Edward* and his Friends had made for the Ruin of the ſmall *Scotch* Army, came to little Effect; and this young King born for Victories and Triumphs, was depriv'd of the Honour of his firſt Action; the ill Succeſs of which was afterwards charg'd upon the Lord *Mortimer*, who is ſaid to have kept private Intelligence with the Enemy, and to have ſuffer'd them to eſcape without Damage.

Boetius. Knighton. &c.

The Scots retire home.

The King not ſucceſsful.

During

La Mort. &c. During theſe Tranſactions in the North, the old depos'd King remain'd cloſe Priſoner at *Kenelworth* Caſtle in *Warwickſhire*, with an Allowance of a hundred Marks a Month for his Expences; but depriv'd of all other Human Comforts, eſpecially the Company of his Queen, whom he ſtill lov'd intirely, tho' ſhe was the great Cauſe of his Ruin. All his ſoft and tender Invitations by Letters were fruſtrated by the Vigilance of *Mortimer*, who conſented to her ſending civil Anſwers and Suits of Apparel, but perſuaded her, *That his Deſign was only to murder her, if he could get her into his Power.* This great Neglect caus'd him with many Sighs to ſay to his Keepers, *Wherein have I offended my Wife, and my Son, whom they have made King; that neither of them will let me ſee their Faces?* But in a ſhort Time the Nation began ſenſibly to reflect upon his ſad Fate, calmly to conſider the Pretences of his Enemies, and to contrive how they might be kind to him, and prevent further Miſchiefs. His chief Keeper alſo, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, began to be every Way obliging to him, highly commiſerating his deplorable State, and many Lords and Others thought upon Means to deliver him out of his Captivity. The Notice or rather Suſpicion of this extreamly ſtartled *Mortimer* and the Queen, and all the chief Actors in this Tragedy, who reviewing all their former Actions, and dreading the old King's Liberty as their own inevitable Ruin, immediately reſolv'd to remove him from *Kenelworth* Caſtle, and appointed him two new Keepers, *Thomas Gournay* and *John Maltravers* Knights, Perſons of a rough and incompaſſionate Temper. Theſe two impious Agents had Commiſſion to enter any Fortreſs and Caſtle in the Kingdom; and by them he was remov'd from *Kenelworth*, and hurry'd about in the Night from one Place to another, as firſt to the Caſtle of *Corfe* in *Dorſetſhire*, then to *Briſtol* Caſtle, and at length to *Barkley* Caſtle in *Gloceſterſhire*; and all this to diſappoint his Friends, and to prevent their Aſſiſtance. In his Paſſage to *Barkley* Caſtle they us'd the moſt horrid Indignities to him; and the more to diſguiſe him from any Man's Knowledge they ſhav'd his Head and Beard; which was done in the open Fields, by the Commandment of *Gournay*, who caus'd the miſerable King to ſit on a Mole-Hill while the Barber ſhav'd him, who uſing cold Water out of a Ditch told him, *That that ſhould ſerve him for this Time*; to which he mournfully reply'd, *That they ſhould not hinder him of warm Water to his ſhaving*, and therewithal let fall a ſhower of Tears that overflow'd his Face and Beard.

The Sufferings of the late King

The Nation pities him.

He is ſhamefully treated.

Ibid. At *Barkley* Caſtle they proceeded to greater Inhumanities and more barbarous Uſages, endeavouring to deſtroy him by unheard of Contrivances: But being fruſtrated in their Deſigns by his Strength of Body and Fortitude of Mind, they deſir'd freſh Inſtructions from ſome at Court, who directly intimated the Neceſſity of removing him; only the ſubtle Biſhop of *Hereford* is ſaid to have ſent them this dark ambiguous Line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*, at once incouraging the Murder, and reſerving an Excuſe for himſelf. However to remove all Difficulties, upon the twenty ſecond Day of *September*, finding him in his Bed, they preſs'd heavy Bolſters and Pillows upon his Head, and through a ductile Pipe thruſt up a red hot Iron into his Bowels and Body; and in this cruel manner murder'd him, that no Wound or Mark of a violent Death might be found upon him. For the Body being afterwards view'd by many conſiderable Citizens of *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter*, ſummon'd thither for that purpoſe, they could find no Sign either of Wound or Poiſon; ſo that their Evidence confirm'd the Report ſpread abroad, that he dy'd of the Extremity of Grief. Thus fell the unfortunate King *Edward* the Second, who for his meek and pious Behaviour under his Afflictions, was afterwards reputed a Saint. This happen'd about eight Months after he was depos'd; and his Body was carry'd to *Gloceſter*, where without any Funeral Pomp it was bury'd in St. *Peter*'s Minſter by the *Benedictine* Friars. Afterwards his Son erected to his Memory a fair Monument with his Portraiture of Alabaſter, in the ſecond Arch and the North

and barbarouſly murder'd.

North Side of the Altar, between two Pillars of the *Tuſcan* Order, about which are painted the Figures of ſeveral Stags, with which, as common Fame tells us, his Corps was drawn thither from *Barkley* Caſtle. After this execrable Paricide the immediate Agents *Gournay* and *Maltravers*, inſtead of receiving Rewards, met with ſuch terrible Threats from the Queen and Biſhop of *Hereford*, that they were forc'd to fly beyond Sea to ſecure their deteſted Lives. *Gournay*, after three Years Exile, was taken and ſent for *England*, but in his Paſſage had his Head ſtruck off; and *Maltravers* fled into *Germany*, where in Repentance he had Time to waſte a miſerable Life. But Heaven's Vengeance did not ſtop at the Lives of the chief Contrivers, but afterwards reach'd to the whole Kingdom; and what happen'd to the Progeny of the preſent Prince, whoſe Throne (tho' perhaps without his Guilt) was erected upon his Father's Blood, the many imbru'd Scaffolds, the various bloody Fields, the infinite Slaughters occaſion'd by their divided Families, with the extirpated Race of moſt of this preſent Nobility, will abundantly teſtifie.

The Puniſhments of his Murderers.

A. D. 1328. Reg. 2.

II. Young *Edward* having now a Title to the Crown of *England* beyond all Diſpute, by the Advice of his Mother and others ſolemniz'd the Marriage between himſelf and the beautiful Lady *Philippa*, the Earl of *Hainault*'s youngeſt Daughter, to whom he had formerly been contracted. The Ceremony was perform'd at *York* on the twenty fourth Day of *January*; and on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* the young Queen was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* with great Pomp and Glory, and the Coronation was ſucceeded by all Kinds of magnificent Rejoycings for three Weeks after. In *Whitſond* Week a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, in which King *Edward* firſt mov'd about his Title to the Crown of *France*; for *Charles* King of *France*, Brother to his Mother *Iſabel*, being lately dead without Iſſue Male; notwithſtanding that King *Edward* acknowledg'd the *Salick* Law which excluded Females Inheritance, yet he maintain'd this Point, That the Sons of the Daughters, having no ſuch Imbecillity of Sex, were not uncapable, and that the Peers of *France* ought to prefer him, who was a Male and Grand-Child to King *Philip*, before *Philip* of *Valois*, whom they had lately advanc'd, tho' he was but a Nephew. *Froiſart. Walſing.*

King Edward *marry'd.*

King Edward's *firſt Claim to* France.

In this Parliament a diſhonourable Peace was concluded between the Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*, chiefly manag'd by the old Queen and *Mortimer*; by whoſe Contrivance, the better to confirm it, a Marriage was agreed on between *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert*, and *Joan* Siſter to King *Edward*; which Match, by Reaſon of the tender Years of the Prince who did not exceed ſeven Years of Age, promiſing but little Advantage, was oppos'd by moſt of the Nobility of *England*. Beſides, by the ſecret Management of the Queen-Mother, *Mortimer* and Sir *James Douglas*, the King by his Charter ſurrender'd his Title to the Soveraignty of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and therein releas'd to King *Robert* and his Heirs, all Homages and Fealties that the Kings of *Scotland* by their ſeveral Charters ought to have done to the Crown of *England*. And alſo he deliver'd up divers Deeds, Inſtruments and Records of their former Homages and Fealties done to the King of *England* his Predeceſſors, together with that famous Evidence call'd *Ragman Rowle*, which was ſeal'd and ſign'd by the King of *Scotland* and his Nobility to King *Edward* the Firſt; which contain'd all the ſeveral Services that the King of the *Scots*, and all the Prelates, Earls and Barons of that Kingdom ought to have done to the King of *England* for the Time being; as alſo all the Rights that ſeveral Barons and Knights of *England* ought to have had in the Realm of *Scotland*. At the ſame Parliament were alſo re-deliver'd many ancient Jewels and Monuments, among the reſt the Black Croſs of *Scotland*, which King *Edward* the Firſt brought from the Abby of *Scone*; and many other Things were tranſacted to the Damage and Diſhonour of the Crown of *England*, againſt the Conſent of the *Engliſh* Nobility, by the Procurement of Queen *Boetius. Walſing. &c.*

A diſhonourable Treaty with Scotland.

Queen *Iſabel* and her Party, who at that Time ſo manag'd the Affairs of the Kingdom, that both Lords and Commons were highly diſſatisfy'd. In Conſideration of the foreſaid Peace, the intended Marriage, and the diſhonourable Surrenders and Releaſes, together with the Damages done by the *Scots*, it was alſo concluded that King *Robert* ſhould pay thirty thouſand Marks to the King of *England*, within the Space of three Years. And according to Agreement, upon the twenty ſecond Day of *July* the Marriage was ſolemniz'd between *David* Prince of *Scotland* and the Lady *Joan* the King's Siſter, at the Town of *Berwick*, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the Chief of the *Engliſh* Nation. In another Parliament held in *October*, the Lord *Mortimer* procur'd himſelf to be made Earl of *Marche*; at which Time two other Earls were created, the King's Brother *John* of *Eltham* was made Earl of *Cornwall*, and Sir *James Butler* of *Ireland* Earl of *Ormond*. From which Parliament the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and ſome other Peers, ſeeing the King at the Diſpoſal of others, abſented themſelves, and by Arms began to redreſs publick Grievances; but by the wiſe Mediation of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Matters were adjuſted and they reconcil'd to the King.

The King of the Scots *marries King* Edward's *Siſter.*

Barlaam. &c. Within a Year after the Marriage between Prince *David* of *Scotland* and King *Edward*'s Siſter, *Robert* King of that Country, being worn out with his great Infirmity, and ſenſible of approaching Death, caus'd his chief Nobility to be aſſembled in his Chamber, and in the Preſence of all committed to them the Government of his Son *David*, then not fully eight Years of Age: And among many Things touching the Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he gave them theſe politick Inſtructions concerning their Affairs with the *Engliſh*. Firſt *That they would never appoint any ſet Battel with the* Engliſh, *nor hazard the Realm upon the Chance of one Field, but rather to keep them from invading of their Country by frequent Skirmiſhes, Incurſions, and Intercepting their Forces; that if the* Scots *were defeated, they might ſtill have a Reſerve for a new Reſiſtance. Next, That they would not make any laſting Peace with* England, *leſt long Reſt and Inactivity ſhould ſo enervate their Minds and Bodies, as they would not be able to endure great Pains and Labour; and ſince the* Engliſh *would not continue any longer in Peace, than their Want of a convenient Opportunity to attempt a new War, it was ſafeſt for them, never to conclude a perpetual Peace with them, nor make any Truce longer than three or four Years. Laſtly, That they would be always mindful, that when there appear'd the leaſt Shew of any intended War from* England, *then to be moſt wary and circumſpect, leſt their Enemies ſhould invade their Country, and find them unprepar'd for able and timely Reſiſtance.* He ſurviv'd not long after theſe and ſome other Inſtructions, but dy'd of a Leproſie, in the twenty fourth Year of his Reign, leaving his young Son *David* to ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was an expert Soldier, valiant and wiſe, and conſidering the innumerable Difficulties he had in gaining and keeping his Kingdom againſt King *Edward* the Firſt, and the Power of *England*, he may well be rank'd in the Number of the braveſt Princes of that Time.

A. D. 1329. Reg. 3.

King Robert's *Advice to the* Scots.

His Death.

David *ſucceeds.*

Walſing. In the mean Time Earl *Mortimer* daily encreas'd in Power and Grandeur, and joining in Intereſt and Affection with the Queen-Mother, diſpos'd of all Offices and Places, and the Treaſure of the Nation; ſo that many great Men envy'd and oppos'd him, but none ſo dangerouſly as the King's Uncle *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, who endeavour'd to reſcue the young King from the exorbitant Power of his Governors. To remove this great Oppoſer, *Mortimer* by his infernal Artifices and plauſible Accuſations caus'd him to be condemn'd in a Parliament held at *Wincheſter*, for conſpiring to deliver his Brother *Edward* late King of *England*; being by an extraordinary Contrivance drawn into an abſurd Belief that he was ſtill alive, and kept ſecretly in *Corſe* Caſtle. Thus for endeavouring to ſet a dead Man at Liberty the noble Earl of *Kent* had his Head ſtrucken off at *Wincheſter*; and he became ſo diſmal an Object of Pity from Noon

Noon 'till Night, at the Place of Execution before the Caſtle Gates, none being found to behead him, 'till a vile Wretch of the Marſhalſea was ſent and did it: So little Conſcience did the Malice and Ambition of his potent Adverſaries make of ſhedding the Royal Blood; yet the Hand of Heav'n ſeem'd to have been upon him for formerly countenancing what was done againſt his Royal Brother; ſo that he loſt his Life in the twenty eighth Year of his Age.

The Earl of Kent executed.

King *Edward* ſtill under Guardians, in the ſame Year was ſummon'd by the new King of *France* to do Homage to him for *Gaſcony* and other Territories in that Kingdom; which Meſſage was very ungrateful to him: But conſidering the Emergencies of Affairs, he went over into *France* and met the *French* King at *Amiens*; where, to let the *French* ſee what manner of Prince he was, he came ſo royally appointed and attended, as if he deſign'd to have ſtrucken him with Fear, or Admiration, having many Earls, Barons and Knights, and a thouſand Horſe in his Retinue. At the appointed Day, being glorioufly attired in Robes of Crimſon Velvet, powder'd with Golden Leopards, his Crown on his Head, his mighty Sword by his Side, and his Golden Spurs on his Heels, he did his Homage with a Poſture and Magnificence different from any of his Predeceſſors. This, and the haughty Reception he met withal, occaſion'd a great Envy between the two Kings; and prov'd afterwards an Incentive towards a bloody War.

King Edward *does Homage for his* French *Territories.*

Froiſart. &c.

A. D. 1330. Reg. 4.

At length the Vengeance of Heav'n began to overtake the haughty and ſubtle *Mortimer*, whoſe immoderate Power became a Grievance to the State, and whoſe Familiarity with the Queen-Mother gave Occaſion for ſome to report ſhe was with Child by him. The publick Complaints and the ſecret Whiſpers of ſeveral of the Nobility rous'd up a ſleeping Lion in the young King's Breaſt, ſo that he grew enrag'd at the Proceedings of this ſhining Favourite; for ſuch were *Mortimer*'s Extravagancies, that he eclips'd the Royal Youth in outward Pomp and Magnificence, his Perſon being ſurrounded with a more numerous Attendance, and his Authority ſo great that he rais'd Men with his Smiles, and ruin'd them with his Frowns. The vigorous *Edward* awaken'd by theſe Proceedings, at a Parliament held at *Nottingham*, reſolv'd to deſtroy this powerful Man whoſe Intereſt threaten'd both him and the Publick. Accordingly, with the brave *Montague* and a few valiant Followers, he enter'd into *Nottingham* Caſtle by Night, through a ſecret Mine in a Rock, ſince call'd *Mortimer*'s *Hole*, and with ſome little Bloodſhed ſeiz'd upon *Mortimer* with the Queen, tho' he had no leſs than a hundred and eighty Knights in his Retinue, beſides Eſquires and Gentlemen. With him were taken the Lord *Geoffry Mortimer* his Son, and Sir *Simon de Bedford* a great Agent of his; and all three were ſent Priſoners to the Tower of *London* under a ſtrong Guard. This being done, the King by common Conſent of Parliament took into his Hands his Mother's exceſſive Dowry, and reſtrain'd her extravagant Living to a narrow Penſion of three thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, confining her within as narrow Limits for her Abode, but yearly giving her the Honour and Comfort of one or two Viſits; tho' otherwiſe ſcarce thinking her worthy of Life, in regard of her Familiarity with *Mortimer*, and her many heinous Practices.

Walſing. Knighton. &c.

Mortimer's *Grandeur.*

He is ſeiz'd on.

As to *Mortimer*, fourteen Articles were exhibited againſt him in a Parliament held not long after at *Weſtminſter*, in which he was accus'd of ſeveral grievous Crimes and Offences, particularly That he had procured many exorbitant Grants from the Crown out of *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*; That he had caus'd the Murder of the late King, and his Brother the Earl of *Kent*; and That he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Scotland*, and had occaſion'd a diſhonourable Treaty with that Nation. Theſe and other Accuſations being exhibited before the Earls and Barons in Parliament, they declar'd their Opinion that his Crimes were notorious and known to themſelves and the People, therefore they adjudg'd That the ſaid Earl *Mortimer*, as a Traitor and Enemy to the Kingdom, ſhould be drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at

Ibid.

He is condemned and executed.

at *Tyburn*. This was executed after the moſt opprobrious Manner, and his Body was kept hanging two Days, for a Spectacle of Horror and Diſhonour: And this Sentence he receiv'd without being call'd to any Kind of Anſwer; which was a juſt Judgment upon an impious Miniſter who had treated others after the ſame Manner, particularly the two *Spenſers* and the Earl of *Kent*. There dy'd with him Sir *Simon de Bedford*, and *John Deverel* Eſquire, as well for Expiation of the late King *Edward*'s Blood, as in Compliment, as it were, of ſo great a Man's Fall, who in ſuch Caſes ought not to die ſingly. Thus did this noble young Prince, now increaſing in Vigour and Wiſdom, begin to wipe out the Stains which during his Minority had blemiſh'd the State of his Kingdom. And to add to his Felicity, this Year Queen *Philippa* brought forth an admirable Son, nam'd *Edward*, and afterwards from his mighty Acts call'd *The Black Prince*; a Prince who ſeem'd to have been ſent from Heav'n for the Glory and Renown of the *Engliſh* Nation, and to be at once the Delight and Terror of Mankind.

with ſeveral others.

The Black Prince born.

Knighton. Bottins. &c.

III. The young King *Edward* having taken the Government into his own Hands, ſoon began to diſplay his Vigour and Power; and the firſt Country that felt the Force of his Arms was *Scotland*. For growing ſenſible that the Peace laſt concluded with that Nation, was diſhonourable to him and his Kingdom, and conſidering that his Brother-in-Law King *David* was poſſeſs'd of the Town of *Berwick*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and deſiring to receive the uſual Homage for all *Scotland*, he reſolv'd to right himſelf upon the firſt Occaſion, which was ſoon offer'd upon a great Conteſt about the Crown of that Kingdom, which was this. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol* formerly King of *Scotland*, thirty two Years after his Father's Depoſition, taking Advantage of the Youth of King *David*, and of the Factions among the *Scottiſh* Nobility, by the Solicitation of the Lord *Beaumont* then in *France* with him, ſet his Thoughts upon the Recovery of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and came together with the Lord *Beaumont* over into *England*, and for a ſhort Time continu'd privately with the Lady *Veſcy* at *Sandhall* upon *Ouſe* in *Yorkſhire*, 'till by the Intereſt of the Lord *Beaumont*, the Lord *Talbot*, and others, he was permitted ſecretly to get what Aſſiſtance he could procure in *England* to furniſh him for his intended Enterprize. His Deſigns being known in *England*, many Noblemen and Soldiers repair'd to him, and prepar'd to attend him into *Scotland*; as the Lord *Beaumont*, with an Intent to claim the Earldom of *Bucquhan* in the Right of his Lady, Sir *Gilbert Umfreville* claiming the Earldom of *Angus*, the Lord *Percy* claiming the Earldom of *Galloway*, and *David Strathbolgy* the Earldom of *Athol*; together with the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Geofry Mowbray*, *Walter Comin*, and divers others; who at the Concluſion of the laſt Peace being baniſh'd out of *Scotland*, all reſolv'd to fight for the Recovery of their Lands and Honours then detain'd from them. Beſides *Edward Baliol* had ſeveral Friends in *Scotland*, from whom he receiv'd fair Invitations and ample Incouragement.

A. D. 1331. Reg. 5.

A new Deſign upon Scotland.

Ibid.

All Things being in Readineſs, and Shipping provided, *Baliol* with his Friends, and two thouſand five hundred well appointed Men, ſet Sail and landed at *Kingcorn*, not far from *Perth*; and to prevent all Hopes of Flight, the Veſſels were ſent back. Upon the Rumour of his Arrival, the *Scots*, to the Number of ten thouſand, had gather'd towards the Shore to hinder his Landing, being conducted by the Earl of *Fife*; but finding all his Men actually on Shore, they ſet furiouſly upon them to deſtroy them. *Baliol* and his brave Adventurers being reduc'd to a Neceſſity of fighting valiantly or dying cowardly, encounter'd their Oppoſers with ſuch Vigour and Magnanimity, that they gave them a ſignal Defeat, and forc'd them to fly diſhonourably, crying out *That the Enemy was come!* The Earl of *Fife*, wounded both in Body and Mind, deſiring to be reveng'd and to redeem his loſt Honour, with the Aſſiſtance of

A. D. 1332. Reg. 6.

the Earl of *Caricke*, Natural Son to King *Robert* deceas'd, and the Lord *Seton*, recruited his Forces, and with the ſame Number gave his Enemies a ſecond Battel, but with no better Succeſs than before; for the greateſt Part of his Army was cut in pieces, except the Captains and Commanders, who ſav'd themſelves by Flight, or were taken Priſoners. Upon this ſecond Victory *Baliol* march'd further into the Country, which he reduc'd as far as the Abby of *Dumferling*, where he found good Store of Proviſion and Ammunition; while the *Scots*, not far off at a Place call'd *Glaſmore*, had another Army prepar'd, conſiſting of forty thouſand Men. Of which *Baliol* being inform'd, he thought it neceſſary to put his ſmall Army in mind of his former great Succeſs, and to uſe many forcible Reaſons to encourage them againſt the Inequality of the Numbers. His Exhortations being ſeconded by the Lord *Veſcy*, the Lord *Stafford*, and Sir *Fulk Warren*, all Men of extraordinary Valour, the Soldiers were inſpired with ſo much Warmth and Vigour, that they a third Time bravely encounter'd their Enemies, and gave them a great and bloody Overthrow. Within five Days after, the *Engliſh* meeting with Sir *Nigel Brus* at *Dupline*, at the Head of ten thouſand Men, they valiantly attack'd him, defeated him, and ſlew moſt of his Men; having made an Order among themſelves to take no Priſoners, becauſe they wanted Men to take Care of them. Theſe four Battels were all fought in a few Days Time, in which, as ſome Writers report, ſixty thouſand *Scots* were ſlain; which happen'd as well by their confus'd Diſorder and Want of Diſcipline, as the Valour of the *Engliſh*. The chief Men of the *Scots* ſlain were the Earl of *Marre*, one of the Governors of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Carick*, the Earl of *Murrey*, the Earl of *Menteith*, *Robert Keith* Marſhal of *Scotland*, Sir *Alexander Seton*, Sir *Alexander Fraſer*, Sir *David Lindſey*, Sir *George Dunbarre*, and many other brave Commanders; while the Earl of *Fife* with ſome few others were taken Priſoners. Of the *Engliſh* Side we read not of any great Man ſlain, beſides two Knights, Sir *John Gordon*, and Sir *Reginald Beche*, and thirty three Eſquires; ſo extraordinary valiant and fortunate were theſe *Engliſh* Adventurers.

The great Succeſs of the new Adventurers.

The Lord *Baliol*'s Friends and Soldiers being highly incourag'd with theſe happy Victories, immediately advanc'd towards St. *John*'s *Town* or *Perth*, which they beſieg'd and ſoon took by Force without any great Reſiſtance; where they found Proviſion and Ammunition ſufficient both for their Relief and Defence. From hence *Baliol* ſent all his wounded Men to Sea to be convey'd to *England* and cured there; who in their Voyage met with one *Crabbe*, a *Flemmiſh* Pirate and a Friend to the *Scots*, who hating the *Engliſh*, furiouſly ſet upon them with a Deſign to deſtroy every Man. But the *Engliſh*, tho' they were wounded, ſo well defended themſelves, and fought ſo valiantly, that they ſoon defeated *Crabbe* and his Company, and forc'd him to fly to *Scotland*. As he came towards *Perth*, he found the Earl of *Marche*, the other Governor of *Scotland*, and *Archibald Douglas*, with thirty thouſand *Scots* beſieging the Town; to whom he related his bad Succeſs, how the wounded *Engliſh* Men had by their Valour defeated him at Sea, urging further, *That there was but little Expectation of prevailing againſt the Lord* Baliol, *who with his Handful of Men had overthrown ſo many of the* Scotch *Nobility; therefore he adviſ'd them to break up the Siege, and in Time to provide for their own Security.* The *Scots*, mov'd with his Perſuaſions, and ſome other Conſiderations, tho' they had fill'd up the Town Ditches, and had a fair Proſpect of Taking the Place, by the Direction of the Earl of *Marche*, ſuddenly rais'd the Siege in the Night, and retir'd with great Diſhonour.

Knighton, &c.

Further Succeſſes.

The Reputation of theſe frequent and incredible Victories was ſo great, that it brought great Numbers of Lords, Ladies and others to the Lord *Baliol*, who offer'd him their Service and Aſſiſtance, as his Loyal Subjects, towards his Recovery of the Crown of *Scotland*; and there did their Homages and Fealties to him as their Soveraign Lord, for all the Lands and Honours they held. As

Buchan. Knighton. &c.

an

an Addition to *Baliol*'s Succeſſes, at the ſame Time, ſeveral of the Ports and Cities of *England* at their own Charges ſent a Fleet of Ships towards *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Lords if there were Occaſion; and to attack the *Scotch* Navy where-ever they could meet with them; which fell out according to their Expectation and Deſire. For they met with them in the Water of *Tay*, where they fought with them and intirely defeated them, took ſome of their Ships, and burnt and ſunk the reſt. All Things thus happily ſucceeding on *Baliol*'s Side, and daily encreaſing in Power, he receiv'd the Oaths of the Earl of *Fife*, and the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*; and with them and many others he went to *Scone*, where he was ſolemnly crown'd King on the twenty fourth Day of *September*, and receiv'd the Homages and Fealties of many of the Nobility and Gentry there aſſembled. Before which, young King *David*, to avoid all Dangers, by the Advice of his Council, fled out of his Kingdom into *France*, with Queen *Joan* his Wife, Siſter to the King of *England*; where they were moſt civilly entertain'd by *Philip* King of *France*, and there continu'd for the Space of nine Years.

Baliol *crown'd King of* Scotland.

King David *flies into* France

Walſing. Knighton. Bottus. &c.

In the mean Time, the noble King *Edward*, now at full Age, hearing of the late Coronation of Lord *Baliol*, and the preſent Diviſion of the Nobility of *Scotland*, was highly pleas'd at theſe Tranſactions, ſuppoſing now that he had a fair Opportunity of ſubduing that Kingdom; therefore he reſolv'd to ſhew himſelf openly for *Baliol* againſt *David* his Brother-in-Law. But firſt, to avoid the Imputation of Breach of Articles, he publickly proclaim'd, That he was not oblig'd to obſerve any League with *Scotland* that was made in his Minority, againſt his own and the Nation's Conſent. After which he prepar'd to go in Perſon with a powerful Army towards *Scotland*, and march'd with the utmoſt Expedition, deſigning for his firſt Action the Recovery of the important Town of *Berwick*, which he ſtrongly beſieg'd by Sea and Land. After a Month's Siege, there happen'd a great Fire in the Town, which caus'd the Beſieg'd to deſire a Truce, upon Promiſe of ſurrendering it and the Caſtle, if not reliev'd within fifteen Days, and to give twelve Hoſtages for Performance. But before the Time was expir'd, all the Nobility of *Scotland* of King *David*'s Party, march'd with a powerful Army under the Conduct of the Lord *Archibald Douglas* their General, as far as the River *Tweed*; but finding it difficult to relieve the Town, they reſolv'd to act by Way of Diverſion, and hearing that the young Queen was then at *Bamburgh* Caſtle, they advanc'd towards it with great Speed in hopes to ſurprize the Place, but ſtill without Succeſs. Then after ſix Days ravaging of the Country, by the Importunities of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, who perſuaded them to ingage the *Engliſh* Forces, at that Time far leſs numerous than themſelves, they return'd towards the Town, and drew up their Army in four great Battalions, under as many Noblemen. On *Monday* the nineteenth of *July*, King *Edward* march'd out with great Bravery to meet them at the Head of his own Army, and at *Hallidown-Hill*, not far from *Berwick*, he valiantly encounter'd the whole *Scotch* Army, and gave them a total Defeat. In this Battel were ſlain ſeven *Scotch* Earls, nine hundred Knights and Bannerets, and four hundred Eſquires, and of common Soldiers to the Number of two and thirty thouſand and upwards; tho' the *Scotch* Writers will not acknowledge half the Number. Upon this great Victory, within two Days the Beſieg'd ſurrender'd both the Town and Caſtle to the King's Mercy, who kept it in his own Hands, by the Right of Conqueſt, as well as by that deriv'd from his Father and Grand-father. Then obliging *Edward Baliol* by Oath, and ordaining him and ſome Noblemen of *England* to be Governors of the Realm of *Scotland* in his Abſence, he triumphantly return'd with glorious Succeſs into *England*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy by all his Subjects. As to his hanging the Governor of *Berwick*'s Sons contrary the Law of Arms, and ſome other Severities reported of him by *Scotch* Writers, we look upon them to be highly improbable, and directly contrary to the Character of this great and generous Prince.

A. D. 1333. Reg. 7.

King Edward *marches againſt the* Scots.

He gives them a great Defeat at Hallidown-Hill.

and takes Berwick.

After King *Edward*'s Return, *Baliol* the new King of the *Scots*, at the Head of twenty ſix thouſand Men, moſt of them *Engliſh*, march'd forwards to proſecute his Succeſs into the very Heart of *Scotland*, taking Towns and Caſtles at his Pleaſure; and having paſs'd beyond the Frith of *Edinburgh*, and reduc'd all the ſtrong Places that held out for King *David*, except *Dunbritton* and a few other Caſtles, he ſummon'd a Parliament about *Michaelmaſs* to meet him at *Perth* or St. *John*'s Town. Here all thoſe *Engliſh* Lords, who claim'd Eſtates in *Scotland*, repair'd and did their Homage for the reſpective Lands they held under him, reſerving the Allegiance they ow'd to their Soveraign Lord the King of *England*; the principal of whom were the Lord *Beaumont*, the Earl of *Buchan*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lord *Piercy*, and divers other *Engliſh* Noblemen, who were all reſtor'd to the Honours and Eſtates they claim'd in *Scotland*: And in this Parliament all Acts, Statutes, Ordinances and Grants made by *Robert* or *David Brus*, late Kings of *Scotland*, were declar'd null and void. And thus *David* was ſeemingly depriv'd of his Kingdom, and *Edward Baliol* in all Appearance plac'd in the Throne of *Scotland*. And to ſtrengthen his Alliance, firſt at *Edinburgh*, and afterwards at *Newcaſtle*, he in the Preſence of many great Lords and Commons of both Nations, did Homage to the King of *England*, as to his ſuperior Lord; and took his Oath of Fealty, binding himſelf and his Heirs to hold the Kingdom of *Scotland* of him and his Succeſſors for ever; and further he granted to him the Poſſeſſion of five Counties next adjoining to the Borders.

New Advantages gain'd.

A. D. 1334. Reg. 8.

But this Homage, and over-liberal Conceſſions made from one King to the other, were ſo far from advancing the Intereſt of either, that they ſerv'd to turn the Body of that jealous Nation againſt both; ſince the *Scots* ſaw that King *Edward* ſought his own Grandeur more than their Intereſt, and that *Baliol* was an Inſtrument to promote his Deſigns. Several of the *Scotch* Nobility alſo finding their late Services ſlighted, began to revolt from *Baliol*, and to promote the Intereſt of King *David*; and not long after, raiſing great Numbers of the Commons of *Scotland*, they reſolv'd to begin a War. *Baliol* being inform'd of this met and ingag'd with them at *Annandale*; but after an obſtinate Fight, many of his Men were ſlain, the reſt diſpers'd, and he himſelf oblig'd to fly out of the Nation to the City of *Carliſle*; from whence he ſent to the King of *England*, complaining of the Falſhood and Treachery of his People, in whom he truſted, and again begg'd his Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies. In the mean Time King *Edward* call'd a Parliament at *London*, where he declar'd that he had form'd a Reſolution to take a Voyage with the *French* King and other Chriſtian Princes to the *Holy-Land*. But this Change in *Scotland* ſoon alter'd his Deſign; and having a Tenth granted him from the Clergy, a Fifteenth from the Temporalty, and a Twelfth from the Cities and Boroughs, he enter'd *Scotland* with a great Power, and no leſs Terror. Then joining with King *Baliol*, who before had made great Devaſtations, he without taking in Caſtles and ſtrong Places, ſwiftly purſu'd the flying *Scots* as far as beyond *Cathneſs*, which was farther than King *Edward* his Grand-father had ever reach'd. After which Actions, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* rejoin'd their Forces, and return'd towards *Berwick*. But ſhortly after, the Earl of *Dunbar* revolted in the *Highlands*, and renounc'd his Homage to both Parties; which oblig'd King *Edward* to remain the reſt of the Year in the Borders of *Scotland*, and keep his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Roxburgh*, ſtill retaining the Pope's Nuncio with him, who came to mediate a Peace between him and King *David*, then under the Protection of the *French* King.

Walſing. Bocum. &c.

Many of the Scots revolt.

King Edward's great Advantages againſt them.

A. D. 1335. Reg. 9.

In the following Year, after ſome Stay in *England*, King *Edward* with a well prepar'd Army enter'd *Scotland* both by Sea and Land; and marching as far as *Perth*, he ravag'd all the Country, as he had done the Year before; and meeting with ſmall Oppoſition, he conſtituted *David* Earl of *Athol* Governor of *Scotland* to ſubdue the reſt of the Places that held out. But tho' the *Scots* were

Ibid.

were ſuppos'd to be retir'd into their Woods and Mountains for Safety, yet ſhortly after, under the Conduct of the Earls of *Murrey* and *Dunbar*, they ſurpriz'd five hundred *Engliſh* Archers, who returning home too ſecurely, were all put to the Sword: And not long after, *John* Earl of *Namur*, and *Robert* his Brother, having landed in *England*, and marching with ſeveral Lords and Knights and a ſelect Body of a hundred Men at Arms, were aſſaulted near *Edinburgh* by the Earl of *Marche* and the Lord *Douglas*; and after a ſharp Conflict were forc'd to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners. Yet either out of Generoſity or Policy, to gratifie the *French* King, whoſe Kinſmen they were, they were not only releas'd by the Earl of *Murrey*, but were alſo by him convey'd back as far as the *Engliſh* Borders; but in his Return the Earl ſuffer'd for his Compliment, being met by the Garriſon of *Roxburgh*, who routed his Party, and took him Priſoner. In the mean Time King *Edward*'s Brother the late Earl of *Cornwall* enter'd *Scotland* and deſtroy'd *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Kyle*, and all the Weſtern Parts that held out againſt King *Baliol*; and after that repair'd to his Brother at *Perth*, lately return'd from an Expedition in the *Highlands*. At *Perth* King *Edward* receiv'd Ambaſſadors from the King of *France*, who to hinder his Progreſs in *Scotland*, had procur'd the Pope to mediate a Peace between him and King *David*, and alſo to deſire him to accompany King *Philip* in the Holy-War, which he had lately undertaken by the Incouragement of his Holineſs. But King *Edward* being offended at the *French* King's Intermedling in his Affairs, gave the Ambaſſadors this ſhort and reſolute Anſwer, *That by the Bleſſing of Heav'n he was able at any Time to make War upon the Infidels, without their Maſter's Aſſiſtance; and that he would undertake no foreign Expedition, 'till he had ſubdu'd his Enemies the* Scots. Not long after many of the *Scotch* Nobility, ſeeing King *Edward*'s Reſolution and Power, came and ſubmitted to him at *Perth*, where Articles of Peace were in a ſhort Time concluded. Then having ſetled his Affairs in *Scotland*, fortify'd the Town of *Perth*, new built the Caſtles of *Sterling* and *Edinburgh*, and left ſufficient Forces with the Earl of *Athol*, he return'd into *England* in *Autumn*, with the valiant Lord *Talbot*, whom he had lately ranſom'd from his Impriſonment.

The Scotch *Nobility ſubmit to King* Edward.

Ibid. After King *Edward*'s Departure, the Earl of *Athol*, reſolving to redeem his loſt Credit with the two Kings, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Kildrumney*, which ſtill held out for King *David*; but upon the Arrival of the Earl of *Dunbar*, and the Lords *Murrey* and *Douglas*, who came to relieve the Place, he was not only defeated by an inferior Force, but alſo loſt his Life together with his Honour and Reputation. The Death of this Governor caus'd a great Turn in the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſo that many Places in the North revolted, and declar'd for King *David* againſt *Baliol* and the *Engliſh* Power; which Defection caus'd King *Edward* to raiſe an Army of forty thouſand Men, with which like a Conqueror he enter'd into the Bowels of *Scotland*, rais'd the Siege of *Lochindoris*, purſu'd the Enemy through *Athol* and *Murrey*, and paſs'd with his victorious Arms as far as *Elgin* and *Innernes*, where *Scotland* is bounded by the Ocean. Then marching from one Province to another, ravaging and deſtroying all Places that oppos'd his Authority, at his Return, beſides other Places, he burnt the Town of *Aberdeen*, becauſe the Inhabitants had treacherouſly kill'd an *Engliſh* Knight call'd *Thomas Roſſelyn*. After he had ſtrucken Terror in all Places, and met with little or no Oppoſition, he left King *Baliol* to reduce the Remainder of the *Scots*, and in the middle of *September* return'd triumphantly into *England*; having now made four ſucceſsful and glorious Expeditions into *Scotland*. In theſe Expeditions the King never return'd but with ſuch great Deſtruction and Bloodſhed of that afflicted People, that it might give cauſe of the greateſt Admiration to imagine how it was poſſible for that barren Part of the Iſle, and ſo often waſted, to breed ſo many Men as had been ſlain in Battel within theſe fifty laſt Years; and yet ſtill be able to bring Armies into

A. D. 1336. Reg. 10.

King Edward *makes a new Expedition into* Scotland.

His Succeſſes.

into the Field, both to maintain their own Conteſts, and to defend their Liberties, and that poor Ground they inhabited.

A. D. 1337. Reg. 11.

The Beginnings of the Wars with France.

IV. King *Edward*, now experienc'd and renown'd in Arms, deſign'd not to have left *Scotland* ſo ſoon, but he had for ſome Time a far nobler Prize in View; and that was no leſs than the Kingdom of *France*, towards the Attainment of which he had already made ſome Advances, and ſeveral fair Pretenſions as to his Title to that Crown. This Deſign was violently promoted by *Robert de Artois*, a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who being highly diſobliged by the *French* King's awarding the County of *Artois* from him to his Aunt *Matilda*, openly declar'd, *That he would unmake the King by the ſame Power he had made him*; which ſo provok'd King *Philip*, that he immediately proclaim'd him a Traitor, confiſcated all his Eſtate, and forc'd him to fly out of his Kingdom. In *England* he was generouſly entertain'd by King *Edward*, made of his Council, and inveſted with the Earldom of *Richmond*; and here he became the grand Incendiary between the two mighty Nations, and blew up ſuch a dreadful Flame as laſted above a hundred Years, and the Smoak of it much longer. This at preſent was very happy for the State of *Scotland*, which *Boetius* acknowledges to have been ſo weaken'd and impoveriſh'd, that if King *Edward* had continu'd his Wars, it muſt have came to inevitable Ruin. This was alſo the Cauſe why the *French*, the great Supporters of the *Scotch*, became more vigilant, and us'd all Means to annoy the *Engliſh*, not only in *Scotland*, but alſo in *Gaſcony* and other Places; which, beſides King *Edward*'s Title to the Crown of *France*, had given ſufficient Cauſe for a Breach between the two Kings. But that the World might take Notice of his juſt Proceedings, and main Cauſes of his Deſign againſt *France*, King *Edward* in a pious Epiſtle directed to the Colledge of Cardinals declar'd, 'Firſt, 'his Title to the Crown of *France*, which *Philip de Valois* had unjuſtly de-'tain'd, notwithſtanding he himſelf was the neareſt in Blood of any Male living. 'Secondly, That his Ambaſſadors, deſiring to put the Cauſe to a Civil Trial, 'were not only refus'd to be heard, but were repuls'd with Danger of their 'Lives. Thirdly, That the Court of the twelve Peers, in giving the Crown 'from him, when under Age, left the Office of Judges and became Invaders; wherefore their Proceedings againſt him during his Minority were 'lawleſs, null and void. Fourthly, That *Philip de Valois* invaded the Duke-'dom of *Gaſcony*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and added ſuch 'Places and Territories as he had injuriouſly gain'd to thoſe he had injuriouſly 'detain'd. Fifthly, That he had aſſiſted the *Scots* in their Inſurrections againſt 'him, when by reaſon of his near Relation he ought rather to have join'd 'with him; and finally had declar'd by his Actions, That his Honour, Power 'and Perſon were equally hated by him.

Froiſart. Walſing. Meriman.

King Edward's *Pretenſions.*

King *Edward*, knowing that Words alone were of no great Effect, to ſtrengthen his Alliance, by the Advice of his Council and his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Hainault*, reſolv'd to join with ſeveral Princes of the high and low *Dutch*, who lay moſt convenient for his Deſigns. But the better to unite their Intereſts, he was adviſ'd to gain the Alliance of *Lewis* the Emperor, with whom he made in Effect but an unprofitable Confederacy; tho' it was really ſubſervient to his preſent Purpoſes. Moſt to his Advantage were the extraordinary Endeavours of *James de Artevile*, a rich Burger of *Gaunt*, of admirable Dexterity and Management, and ſo popular among the *Flemmings*, that he had the Command of *Flanders* more than the Earl himſelf, who was lately expell'd. By the ſingular Diligence of this Burger, and of *Sigar de Courtray*, a Nobleman of *Flanders*, a mighty Party was ſoon rais'd for the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*: Which was much increas'd by an Overthrow given to the *French Flemmings*, who under the Conduct of *Guy* Brother to the Earl of *Flanders*, had plac'd themſelves in the Iſle of *Cadſant* to ſtop the Paſſage of the *Engliſh*, who

Froiſart. Walſing. &c.

His Alliances.

who fortunately took *Guy* Priſoner, and ſlew moſt of his Men. This Victory was obtain'd by the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Beauchamp*, and other Commanders; of whoſe Fame *D'Artevile* made ſuch a ſeaſonable Uſe, by letting the *Flemmings* ſee the *Engliſh* were able to protect them, that without Heſitation they became firm Confederates in the Preſence of the Earl of *Gelder* at *Gaunt*, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of the great King of *France*, and their Soveraign Earl to the contrary. As King *Edward* took Care of his Intereſt abroad, ſo was he no leſs careful of his Country at home; and in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* it was ordain'd, That no *Engliſh* Wool ſhould be tranſported, and that all Cloath-Workers ſhould be receiv'd from any Foreign Parts, and fit Places aſſign'd them, with divers Liberties and Privileges; and that they ſhould have a certain Allowance from the King, 'till they were fix'd in a competent Way of Living. It was alſo ordain'd, That none ſhould wear any Cloaths wrought beyond Sea for the future, except the King, Queen, and their Children; alſo, That no one ſhould wear foreign Furrs or Silks, unleſs he was worth one hundred Pounds *per Annum*. By theſe and the like Laws King *Edward* gradually reviv'd the Woollen Manufacture, after it had been loſt for many Years to this Nation; from which Time it ſtill increas'd to the general Advantage of the Kingdom. Alſo in this Parliament the King created his eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall*, who was the firſt that ever had the Title of Duke in *England*: He alſo created ſix Earls, of *Darby*, *Salisbury*, *Gloceſter*, *Huntington*, *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, and twenty Knights; at which Solemnity the King made a moſt magnificent Entertainment.

The Woollen Manufacture reviv'd.

The firſt Duke in England.

Walſing. Froiſart. The War, which all this Time ſeem'd only in Mens Mouths, now began to break out into Actions, and ſome of the firſt Flames appear'd at *Southampton*, which the *French*, by the help of their Gallies, almoſt reduc'd to Aſhes; but they with the Loſs of their chief Commander and three hundred Soldiers were repuls'd the next Day. To extinguiſh this encreaſing Conteſt, Pope *Benedict* ſent over two Cardinals into *England*; but one of them in a Speech to the Clergy ſeeming to favour the *French* Clergy, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* immediately ſtood up and proteſted, *That the Cardinal's Arguments were vain and frivolous.* Whereupon they ſoon after departed, and it was publiſh'd in all Parts of *England*, *That King* Edward *had a Right to the Crown of* France, *which he deſign'd to proſecute by all honourable Methods.* Notwithſtanding the King, to avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, gave Inſtructions to the Cardinals, that upon certain reaſonable Conditions he was willing to make an entire Peace with *France*, and to take any honeſt and proportionable Offer: But the chief Impediment to this was that the *French* inſiſted to have the *Scots* included in the Treaty, to which King *Edward* would by no Means conſent, reſolving, when Opportunity permitted, to reduce them to the *Engliſh* Scepter, ſo that the Labour and Hopes of the Cardinals were all ineffectual. *Philip de Valois*, in Poſſeſſion of ſo noble a Kingdom, on the other Side had the moſt prevalent Motives to ſtand off; as his own Honour, Profit, Strength and Alliance, beſides the Vaſtneſs and apparent Difficulty of King *Edward*'s Enterprize. Then to juſtifie his Cauſe he alledg'd, 'Firſt, That the 'Salick Law had cut off all King *Edward*'s Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*. 'Secondly, That he Himſelf was acknowledg'd and receiv'd as King by a pub-'lick Act of the whole State of *France*. Thirdly, King *Edward*'s Birth-Place 'made him a Stranger to the *French*, and therefore incapable of Governing that 'Nation. Laſtly, King *Edward* in the Beginning of his Reign, had in his 'own Perſon done Homage to *Philip de Valois* for the Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, 'and by his Letters Patents teſtify'd the ſame.

A. D. 1338. Reg. 12.

Southampton *burnt.*

The French *King's Pretenſions.*

Froiſart. Knighton. &c. At length, after the moſt mature Deliberation, King *Edward*, on the ſixteenth Day of *July*, took Shipping at the Port of *Orewell* near *Harwich*, with a Royal Navy of five hundred Sail, and many of the chief Nobility of *England* in his Company; who with their great Trains and Retinues compos'd a formidable

King Edward *goes into* Flanders.

dable Body of Horſe. Beſides theſe the King had a great Multitude of Archers and *Welſhmen*, with all which he arriv'd at *Antwerp*, then belonging to the Duke of *Brabant*; and while he reſided in that City, vaſt Throngs of People came from all Parts to ſee him, and to obſerve the extraordinary Magnificence of his Court. After ſeveral Treaties of Alliances, King *Edward* remov'd to *Cologn*, whither the Emperor himſelf came no leſs than ſeven Days Journey to meet his Majeſty. The Enterview was ſurprizingly pompous, in the Midſt of the Market-Place, where two Royal Thrones were erected in the open Air, the one for the Emperor, and the other for the King of *England*. The former took his Place firſt, and the other immediately after; in which magnificent Aſſembly, as Aſſiſtants there were four great Dukes, three Arch-Biſhops, ſix Biſhops, thirty ſeven Earls, and of Barons, Bannerets, Knights and Eſquires about ſeventeen thouſand. Here the Emperor ſet forth the Falſhood which the King of *France* had us'd towards him, and thereupon defy'd him, and pronounc'd both him and his Adherents Enemies to the Empire; and further by an Inſtrument which he publickly deliver'd to King *Edward*, he ordain'd and conſtituted him his Deputy and Vicar-General of the Sacred *Roman* Empire, over all the Provinces in the Weſt as far as *Cologn*; and after that he enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive for the Term of ſeven Years. After King *Edward*'s Return to *Antwerp* with his new Power, he vigorouſly proſecuted his Affair of Confederacy with the Lords and Governors of the *Low-Countries*, among whom he and his Royal Family continu'd with great Love and Eſteem above a whole Year. The principal Perſons that enter'd into this League againſt the *French* were the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologn*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Gelderland* who had lately marry'd King *Edward*'s Siſter *Iſabel*, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, with ſeveral *German* Princes. On the other Side the *French* had the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Biſhop of *Metz*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, the Earl of *Genoa*, beſides many Princes out of *Germany*, *Franche-County*, *Savoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spain* and other Countries. So that all the beſt of the Chriſtian World were either in Arms, or aſſiſting in this Conteſt between the two mighty Monarchs of *England* and *France*.

His Enterview with the Emperor.

A. D. 1339. Reg. 13.

All Things being prepar'd, after ſome ſmaller Actions, the mighty *Edward* at the Head of a brave Army of above forty thouſand Men enter'd into the Confines of *France*, where in five Weeks Time he ravag'd all the Territories of *Cambreſis*, *Vermandois*, *Tieraſche* and *Laonois*; and other Parts of *Picardy* and *Artois* were wholly waſted except ſome few of the ſtronger Places, and ſuch as had ſworn Allegiance to him. So that the Inhabitants of the Country fled on all Sides, without making Reſiſtance. In the mean Time King *Philip*, with a more numerous Army, and ſtill increaſing, encamp'd in *Cambreſis*, and reſolv'd not to move from thence 'till he had fought with the King of *England* and his Allies: And to that End, on the *Monday* following, a principal Commander of the *French* ſent Letters to another in King *Edward*'s Army, deſiring him to give his Maſter Notice from King *Philip*, *That if he would chuſe any open Place, not incumber'd with Woods or Bogs, he would give him Battel before* Thurſday *next:* Which was alſo confirm'd by another Meſſenger from the King of *Bohemia* and the Duke of *Lorain*. Not long after, the two Armies advancing within three Leagues of each other, King *Edward*, not to be behind hand with the Enemy, by a particular Herald ſent the King of *France* a Challenge *To fight his whole Army on what Day he ſhould pleaſe to appoint*; which was accepted by King *Philip*, who appointed *Friday* the twenty ſecond of *October:* In the mean Time the Princes and Commanders had Notice to prepare themſelves for this great Encounter. When, on the appointed Day, both Armies were drawn out in Order of Battel, and all expected a bloody Ingagement, it was again debated in the *French* King's Council of War, Whether it was beſt to give the *Engliſh* Battel or not. Many of his Counſellors maintain'd,

Froiſart. Du Cleſin. &c.

He enters France.

A Day of Battel appointed.

That

That the Hazard was too great, ſince if they loſt the Day, the Crown of France *would be in Danger; whereas if the Enemy were beaten, neither King* Edward, *nor his Allies would loſe any of their Dominions.* While this was debating, King *Philip* was abſolutely diſcourag'd by Letters from the King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who by the Rules of Aſtrology declar'd *That he would be overcome if he fought with King* Edward *that Time.* Upon which King *Philip* immediately gave Orders to his Army to retreat into the Camp, and in the Night privately march'd away into the Borders of *Flanders.* King *Edward* finding that there was no further Expectation of Fighting, remov'd towards *Hainault*; ſo that nothing of any great Moment was further tranſacted this Year. *but to no Effect.*

Froiſart. Knighton. &c. About this Time, the *Flemmings*, the moſt neceſſary Part of King *Edward*'s Alliance, began to decline their Aſſiſtance, and would not ingage in an offenſive War againſt *France*, unleſs King *Edward* would firſt aſſume the Title and Arms of that Kingdom, as the only lawful King of it. This was projected by the famous *D'Artevile*; and after the Propoſal was fully and publickly debated, He with the Conſent of the *Flemmings* and others, took upon him the Title and Arms of *France*, quartering the *French Flower de Liſes* with the *Leopards* or *Lions* of *England.* And about this Time he plac'd this *French* Motto under his Shield *Dieu & mon Droit, God and my Right*; declaring his Confidence to be only in God and the Juſtice of his Cauſe: Which Motto, together with the Arms of *France*, has been continu'd by all the ſucceeding Kings of *England.* After this, King *Edward* publiſh'd the ſame under his Seal, ſetting the Name of *England* firſt, and ſent his Letters Patents to the Frontiers of the Enemies Dominions, and fixing them upon the Doors of the Churches, as well to declare the Reaſon of his Proceedings, as to exempt thoſe from a ſucceeding Storm, who upon this Notice would acknowledge him their lawful Soveraign. His Affairs growing ripe in thoſe Parts, he left his Queen and Children at *Antwerp*, as an aſſur'd Pledge of his Return, and in *February* took Shipping for *England*; where in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he obtain'd very liberal Aids upon Wool, Leather and other Things, for the ſupporting of his intended Conqueſt. In lieu of which ready Aſſiſtance, he granted a general Pardon both for Treſpaſſes, and all Aids for making his Son Knight, and the Marriage of his Daughter during his Reign; forgiving alſo all Arrears of Farmers and Accountants 'till the tenth Year of his Reign, and all old Debts due to any of his Predeceſſors; and likewiſe confirm'd the famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Foreſts*, with ſome others. In this Parliament the Lords and Commons petition'd, *That ſince the King had taken upon him the Title of King of* France, *and chang'd his Arms, they might not be oblig'd to obey Him as King of* France, *nor that the Kingdom of* England *be put in Subjection to Him, as King of* France. Upon which he caus'd ſeveral Letters Patents to be publiſh'd, which gave them full Satisfaction. A. D. 1340. Reg. 14. *King* Edward *takes upon him the Arms of* France. *He calls a Parliament.*

Ibid. The grand Diſcourſe was now all of the Conqueſt of *France*; Muſters were made throughout the Kingdom, Armourers and other warlike Artificers were full of Employment, and all *Engliſhmen* ſeem'd poſſeſs'd with a martial Eagerneſs and Fury. King *Edward* being ready to repaſs the Sea, receiv'd Intelligence that the *French* lay near *Sluice* in *Flanders* with a mighty Fleet of four hundred Ships to intercept him; whereupon he reſolv'd to force his Way through. Accordingly he ſet Sail about Midſummer, and ſtood towards the Coaſt where the Enemy attended, being reinforc'd by the Northern Navy of *England*, under the Command of the Lord *Morley*; ſo that he had in all about two or three hundred Sail. The valiant King commanding in Perſon, order'd the beſt Ships that were well mann'd with Archers and other Soldiers to ſtand foremoſt in the Line of Battel; then having tack'd about to gain the Weather-gage, they bravely receiv'd the firſt Onſet. For the *French* Admirals, diſcovering the Royal Banner of *England* upon one of the biggeſt Ships, were ſatisfy'd *King* Edward *puts to Sea.*

that the King was there in Perſon; they therefore reſolv'd to uſe all Methods to break his Fleet, and take him Priſoner. So falling down upon the *Engliſh*, there began an obſtinate Fight, firſt with a dreadful Shower of Arrows, by which the *Engliſh* Archers did greater Execution than the *French*; and after that the two Fleets, coming cloſe to each other, proceeded to grapling and boarding, and by handy Strokes a deſperate Slaughter was made, and that with various Succeſs. This Fight continu'd from Ten in the Morning 'till Seven at Night; 'till at length the Strength and Courage of the *Engliſh* prevail'd againſt far greater Numbers of the *French*, cauſing Multitudes of them to leap deſperately into the Sea, to ſhun the Power of their Arms; and in the Concluſion, not above thirty of the *French* Veſſels could eſcape. In this Battel the *French* loſt about thirty thouſand Men; and this was the greateſt Sea-Fight that had ever happen'd on the Narrow Seas, and the firſt in which a King of *England* commanded in Perſon; where, beſides himſelf, the greateſt Earls and Barons of his Kingdom behav'd themſelves with incomparable Bravery and Gallantry. This was ſuch killing News to *France*, that at firſt none durſt tell it to King *Philip* but by means of his Jeſter, who in his Preſence often cry'd out *Cowardly* Engliſhmen! *Fainthearted* Engliſhmen! 'till the King enquiring into his Meaning, he told him *That the* Frenchmen *moſt bravely leap'd into the Sea, and the* Engliſhmen *had not the Courage to follow them.* By which artificial Turn the King apprehended a Notion of this Overthrow.

He obtains a glorious Victory over the French *Fleet.*

After this memorable Victory, King *Edward* landing in *Flanders*, in a ſhort Time gather'd together one of the moſt powerful Armies, that ever any King of *England* commanded, conſiſting of near an hundred thouſand Soldiers *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and under the Conduct of many worthy Generals. With this he advanc'd to the Northern Parts of *France*, where after great Ravages made in the Country, he ſat down before *Tourney*, deſigning it both for a Seat of War, and a Place of Refuge. King *Philip* on the other Side had provided an Army, not inferior to the other in Numbers, which beſides himſelf was commanded by the two Kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, with ſeveral Princes and great Men, who in a ſhort Time advanc'd towards King *Edward*'s Forces. At *Tourney*, King *Edward* with invincible Courage ſent a Meſſage to his Rival, ſaluting him by no other Title than *Philip* of *Valois*, by which, *To avoid the Effuſion of Blood, he challenged him to meet and fight him in a ſingle Combate; or, if that diſpleas'd him, each to bring a hundred Men into the Field, and decide the Conteſt with ſo ſmall a Hazard; or otherwiſe, within ten Days to join in a full Battel with all their Forces near* Tourney. To which *Philip* gave no direct Anſwer, as being contrary to his Honour; alledging, *That the Meſſage was not ſent to him the King of* France, *but barely to* Philip *of* Valois: Nevertheleſs he let him underſtand, *That his Deſign was to beat him out of* France, *hoping in Chriſt, from whom he deriv'd his Power, ſhortly to effect it.* The Eyes of all Chriſtendom were now upon theſe mighty Armies, anxiouſly expecting the Event and Fate of the War, when after three Months Continuance near *Tourney*, and no great Action perform'd, *Jane de Valois*, Siſter to King *Philip* and Mother to King *Edward*'s Queen, a Princeſs of extraordinary Virtue, came from *Fountenelles*, where ſhe had taken the Life of a Nun, to mediate a Peace between theſe two inrag'd Kings, her Brother and Son-in-Law. She travell'd from one to the other, labour'd inceſſantly, and never deſiſted, tho' often deny'd, 'till ſhe had with great Patience and wiſe Conduct ſo allay'd their furious Paſſions, that ſhe obtain'd a Day and Place for both Kings to parley together: A memorable Work to be effected by a Woman, in ſuch a warlike Age as this was. This Parley ſoon produc'd a Truce for one Year, by which the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who had been taken Priſoners, were releas'd; and ſhortly after both the great Armies were diſbanded. Upon which King *Edward* return'd home with his Queen, who had remain'd three Years in thoſe Parts,

Walſing. Froiſart. Knighton.

He enters the Borders of France *with a mighty Army.*

A Truce concluded for a Year.

Parts, and had there brought forth two Sons, *Lionell*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *John* born at *Gaunt*, aftewards Duke of *Lancaſter*.

Ibid. But King *Edward*'s condeſcending to this ſudden Truce, had in reality no other Motive than ſome Supplies of Mony, which came ſhort of his Expectation, notwithſtanding thoſe great Impoſitions laid on his Subjects. Therefore in his Return to *England*, to puniſh the Miſmanagement of his Miniſters and Officers, he committed ſome to Priſon, turn'd others out of their Places, and was ſo vigorous and active, that it occaſion'd a warm Conteſt between him and *John* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who by Letters boldly complain'd *of manifeſt Violences done againſt the Liberties of the Church and* Engliſh *Nation contain'd in* Magna Charta, *&c.* And whereas the King openly charg'd the Arch-Biſhop to have been the chief Adviſer of his entering into a League with the *Germans*, and then telling him, *That he need take no Care for Treaſure, becauſe he himſelf would ſee him abundantly furniſh'd from* England, *out of the new granted Subſidies and Profits of the Crown*; And that through the Defects in the Arch-Biſhop's Performances, he was not only oblig'd to deſiſt from his preſent Deſigns, but alſo to intangle himſelf among Bankers and Uſurers; the Arch-Biſhop return'd Anſwer, *That he deſir'd it might be examin'd in open Parliament who hinder'd the City of* Tourney *from being taken; directly removing the Blame from himſelf and his Friends, upon ſuch as were daily Contrivers, who ſerving their own Turns by the Abuſe of the Publick, would expoſe him to the Odium of their Actions.* And ſome were of Opinion that the Arch-Biſhop privately practis'd againſt the King's good Fortune in *France*; which if true, it was eaſie to diſcover the principal Motive. For certainly Pope *Benedict* was no ways pleas'd with King *Edward*'s Succeſſes, nor with the War it ſelf, affirming it pernicious to *Chriſtendom*; the Scandal of which the *French* charg'd upon the *Engliſh* as unlawful Claimers, as the *Engliſh* did upon the *French* as unjuſt Detainers. This Pope therefore interpos'd, and put *Flanders* under an Interdict, as having diſloyally deſerted their own Earl, and their principal Lord *Philip* King of *France*, contrary to their Faith and Allegiance; but they for their Juſtification return'd Anſwer, *That* Edward *was the only lawful King of* France, *and* Philip, *to whom they had ſworn, a meer Uſurper*; therefore notwithſtanding the Interdict, and the Papal Deciſion, they ſtill perſiſted in their Adherence. But what ſtill further weaken'd King *Edward*'s Intereſt, was the Deſertion of the Emperor *Lewis*, who being won over to the Party of the *French* King, became his ſworn Confederate, and revok'd the Vicarſhip of the Empire, formerly confirm'd on the King of *England*, pretending that the Cauſe was for concluding the late Truce without him, as appears by his Letters to King *Edward*, which are again by him bravely and compleatly anſwer'd.

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

King Edward's *Regulations at home.*

The Pope interdicts Flanders.

The Emperor abandons King Edward.

Ibid. But inſtead of this remote and unconſtant Confederate, whoſe Power was without the Limits of *France*, Fortune brought in another more near and offenſive, within the Body of that Kingdom. For about this Time the Succeſſion to the Dukedom of *Bretaign* was in Conteſt between *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Philip*, and *John de Montfort*, upon this Title: *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign* had by his firſt Wife two Sons, *John* and *Guy*, and by his ſecond this *John de Montfort*. *John* the Eldeſt, having no Iſſue, appointed his Niece *Jane*, Daughter to his Brother *Guy* deceas'd, to ſucceed him in his Dukedom; upon which Appointment *Charles de Blois* marry'd her, on Condition his Iſſue by her ſhould inherit the ſame, and for the greater Security he was inveſted in it during the Life of *John* their Uncle. But after his Death, *John de Montfort*, claiming the Dukedom, went to *Paris* to do Homage for it to King *Philip*; but *Charles de Blois*, oppoſing him in Right of his Wife, the Controverſie was referr'd to the Parliament, where Sentence paſs'd in Favour of *Charles*. *Montfort* inrag'd at this, repair'd to the King of *England*, to whom he did Homage for his Dukedom, was receiv'd with great Applauſe, and his

A. D. 1342. Reg. 16.

A new Conteſt in France.

Title acknowledg'd as good. Returning back into *Bretaign* with Satisfaction and Aſſiſtance, after ſome Encounters with his Enemy, he was taken and committed Priſoner in *Paris*. His Lady, the Counteſs of *Montfort*, a Woman of an undaunted and maſculine Spirit, vigorouſly proſecuted her Husband's Quarrel, put on Armour, led her People in Perſon, ſurpriz'd and defended many ſtrong Places in *Bretaign*. But at length being preſs'd ſtrongly by *Charles de Blois*, ſhe begg'd Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, and had it ſent, under the Conduct of the Lord *Water de Manny*; which reliev'd her at preſent, but the future requir'd more, of which King *Edward* was not ſparing in regard of his own Deſigns. The Counteſs her ſelf came into *England* to treat both for Supplies and Alliance, and of a Match between her Son and a Daughter of King *Edward*; and the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, and the Lords *Stafford*, *Spenſer* and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois*, the firſt grand Incendiary, were ſent with conſiderable Forces back with the Lady. Many were the Encounters, Attacks and Surprizes, both by Sea and Land, between the *Engliſh* and the *French*; and at the Siege of *Vannes*, *Robert de Artois* receiv'd his laſt Wound, after he had valiantly, tho' ſome think diſhonourably, aſſiſted the *Engliſh* about ſix Years. Not long after King *Edward* went over into *Bretaign* in Perſon with freſh Supplies; and lying before *Vannes*, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt Son to the King of *France*, ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thouſand Men came to give him Battel. But being juſt ready to encounter, a Mediation of Truce was made by two Cardinals, ſent from Pope *Clement* VI. and concluded for three whole Years, upon ſeveral Conditions, with a Reference to the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, to hear and examine the Differences between the two Kingdoms, but not to determine them without the Conſent of both Kings. The *Engliſh* kept Poſſeſſion of the City of *Vannes*, that if a ſetled Peace follow'd not upon this Truce, they might have ſufficient Footing, from whence they might march into the Heart of *France*. *John de Montfort* did not long out-live this Truce, after whoſe Death the greateſt Part of *Bretaign* fell into the Hands of *Charles de Blois*.

A three Years Truce between England *and* France.

During the Time of the ſeveral Years Wars with *France*, a great Change happen'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*: For not long after the Departure of King *Edward* from that Kingdom, King *David*'s Party, under their chief Commander *Andrew Murrey*, iſſu'd out from the Loughs, Mountains and other Places of Retreat with conſiderable Advantage. King *Edward* indeed had more than once ſent Armies under valiant Generals to ſupport *Baliol*'s Cauſe, where Succeſs was variable 'till the Death of *Murrey*. After whom the Lord *Smart*, taking Advantage of King *Edward*'s Foreign Expeditions, us'd all Methods to prepare a peaceable Entrance for King *David*, ſtill in *France*. The Aſſiſtance of the Lord *William Douglas* was very beneficial to that purpoſe, tho' not always fortunate; being overthrown in a ſet Battel by King *Edward*'s Forces, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Berkley*, at *Blackbourn*. But towards the Deciſion of the Miſeries of the Nation, there arriv'd great Quantities of Ammunition and Supplies from the Kingdom of *France*, at ſuch Time as the Lord *Smart* had lain ten Weeks at the Seige of *Perth* with ſmall Hopes of Succeſs. *Perth* at length being ſurrender'd, *Baliol* finding his Intereſt and Power daily to decline, abandon'd the Nation, and retir'd into *England*. Upon which Deſertion, King *David* with his Queen, and many of the *Scotch* and *French* Nobility, return'd peaceably into *Scotland*, after nine Years Abſence; and 'till the *French* King's Cauſe unfortunately put him into Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, the afflicted Realm of *Scotland* enjoy'd Reſt and Quiet.

A great Revolution in Scotland.

Buchan. &c.

King David *reſtor'd.*

A. D. 1343. Reg. 17. **V.** The provident King *Edward*, returning home after the Truce with *France*, became as careful in Domeſtick, as he had been vigorous in Foreign Affairs; and enacted the Statute of *Proviſors* upon this Occaſion: Pope *Benedict*

Walſing.

dict being dead, *Clement* VI. ſucceeded; a Man of ſingular Learning, but extreamly profuſe in his Preferments, who by Way of *Proviſion* had beſtow'd ſeveral choice Benefices in *England* upon Foreigners. For the Prevention of a Practice, ſo odious to the King and his Parliament, it was made High-Treaſon or Death for any to bring ſuch Papal Proviſions into the Kingdom. And in Juſtification, the King ſent an admirable Letter to the Pope in which he repreſented *how highly it derogated from the State of the Kingdom of* England, *that ſuch Reſervations and Proviſions formerly us'd, ſhould in ſuch Manner be continu'd. For the Churches of* England *had formerly been endow'd by noble and worthy Perſons; that the People might be inſtructed by ſuch as were of their own Language: And yet by the Uſurpations of ſome of his Predeceſſors, Strangers, and ſometimes Enemies to the Realm, were preferr'd before Natives; whereby the Mony and Profits were tranſported, the Churches and Cures unſerv'd, Alms and Hoſpitality diſus'd, the Houſes and Edifices ruinated, the Charity and Devotion of the People diminiſh'd, and many other fatal Enormities occaſion'd, contrary to the Honour of God and the Founders Wills.* In the Beginning of this ſame Parliament, the King created his eldeſt Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, inveſting him by a Coronet and a Ring of Gold. He was now in the thirteenth Year of his Age, being the Delight and Expectation of all Men; and in a ſhort Time he prov'd ſo renown'd a Gentleman, that the Commendations given by *Walſingham* of his Father, *as exceeding all the Princes that went before him*, may be parallel'd in the Son, as ſurpaſſing all the Princes that liv'd after him.

The Statute of Proviſors.

Young Edward *made Prince of* Wales.

Walſing. &c. His noble Father King *Edward*, who had his Eye ſtill fix'd upon *France* as the Mark of his Conqueſt, having Notice among other Things by a Meſſenger from the Pope, that the Emperor *Lewis* had wholly ſubmitted himſelf, and was abſolv'd from all Cenſures, upon his declaring in King *Philip*'s Favour; he couragiouſly broke out into this warm Expreſſion, *If* Lewis *joins with the* French *King, I my ſelf will fight with them both.* And whether invited by the Fame of King *Arthur*, and the Knights of the *Round-Table*, or by the Glory of all Martial Actions and Exerciſes; he order'd a ſpacious Room of Wood to be erected at *Windſor* Caſtle, two hundred Foot in Diameter, which he call'd the *Round-Table*, becauſe he there intended to treat all the Knights which he had invited from Foreign Parts. In the Beginning of this Year he held his Feaſt of the *Round-Table* at *Windſor*, and alſo iſſu'd out Letters of ſafe Conduct for all Foreign Knights and their Servants, who ſhould pleaſe to come to a ſolemn Tournament to be kept for fourteen Days together. At the appointed Day there was a noble Appearance of Knights and great Men of ſeveral Nations, and the Solemnity began with a moſt magnificent Entertainment or Supper; and the Day following the Juſts and Tournaments began, and were continu'd almoſt every Day during the King's Letters of Protection, being perform'd in the Preſence of the Queen and all the Ladies of the Court, who had Scaffolds purpoſely erected to behold theſe Martial Sports: Which ſo pleas'd the King, that in *Auguſt* following, he caus'd a more durable Structure to be erected of the like Form, and for the ſame Exerciſes to be continu'd every Year. In Emulation of all this King *Philip*, knowing that all tended to Preparations againſt him, erected the like in his Court, to prevent the Knights and great Soldiers of *Germany* and *Italy* from repairing to King *Edward*. And in one Thing more, he did wiſely and politickly, in giving leave to his Subjects freely to fell down his Woods for building of Ships, by which his Navy was much augmented, and became very ſerviceable afterwards. But his Jealouſies againſt the King of *England* put him upon open Acts of Cruelty, and occaſion'd him to put ſeveral principal Men of *Normandy*, *Picardy* and *Gaſcony* to Death, only becauſe they were *Engliſh* in Affection: Among whom are reckon'd Sir *Oliver de Cliſſon*, *Bacco*, *Percie* and *Geoffry* of *Maleſtroict*, Knights of the beſt Note: Sir *Godfrey* of *Harcourt*, Brother to the Earl of *Harcourt*, being alſo ſummon'd

A. D. 1344. Reg. 18.

King Edward *inſtitutes the Feaſt of the* Round-Table.

mon'd to *Paris*, fled into *England*, where he became a great Incendiary in the approaching Flame.

A. D. 1345. Reg. 19. It was not Pope *Clement*'s Mediation, or Diligence in diſcuſſing the Title and Pretenſions of theſe two mighty Monarchs, that could prolong the fatal Puniſhment of *France*; yet according to former Articles, each Prince ſent his particular Orators, where the Difficulties aroſe ſo thick and intricate, that the Pope deſpairing to clear them, deferr'd the Conſideration of them to another Time. But King *Edward* affirming the Truce to be manifeſtly broken, by the Execution and Perſecuting his Friends in *Normandy* and elſewhere, ſignify'd thus much to his Holineſs, *That the Sword, not the Tongue ſhould determine his Right and Title.* His Proviſions of Men, of Arms, of Ships, of Victuals and Treaſure, and of all Things neceſſary for ſo brave and daring an Enterprize, were worthy of the Grandeur, Courage and Majeſty of an *Engliſh* Monarch. Into *Gaſcony* he ſent the valiant *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, with a gallant Appearance of Commanders and proportionable Troops of Soldiers; where he perform'd many great Actions, for the Defence and Enlargement of that Dukedom, and took ſeveral Cities, Towns and Caſtles. After a glorious Campaign, in which he alſo defeated a ſuperior Body of *French* with the Loſs of ſeven thouſand of their Men, he return'd richly loaden with Spoils and Priſoners to *Bourdeaux*. Not long before this, at the taking of the City of *Bergerac* by Storm, where he permitted every particular Soldier to ſeize any Houſe and convert all the Treaſure to his own uſe; a certain Knight or Soldier call'd *Reth* ſeiz'd upon a Houſe where the Bankers for Security had lodg'd their Mony in long Sacks: Upon the Sight of which, *Reth* imagining ſo great a Treaſure not deſign'd for private Men, acquainted his General with what he had found; to whom the generous Earl anſwer'd, *That the whole Houſe, and all the Mony in it was his own, tho' it was never ſo much.* The Soldier upon a ſecond Search was ſtill far more ſurpriz'd, and thinking ſo great a Treaſure could belong to none but a General, once more acquainted him with the Greatneſs of it, which he had diſcover'd to be much more than at firſt. But this great Man was ſo far from being affected with it, That he told him with ſome Indignation, *That the Greatneſs of the Treaſure could not alter the Caſe; ſince he paſs'd his Word and Honour, he ſcorn'd to revoke it.* During this Campaign, the *Scots* attempting upon the Marches of *England*, by the Vigilance and Valour of the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, the Lords *Percie*, *Nevile* and *Lucie*, and others intruſted in thoſe Parts, they were forc'd to retire into their own Kingdom. It was now the Practice of either Prince to divert and diſturb each others Affairs in different Parts, as the *Engliſh* did King *Philip*'s in *Gaſcony*, and he the *Engliſh* by his perpetual and conſtant Confederates the *Scots*. But King *Edward* at preſent could do it the leſs in *Flanders*, becauſe his moſt vigilant and faithful Friend, *James de Artevile* was this Year ſlain in a Mutiny by ſuch as were of the *French* Faction.

Walſing. Froiſart.

The Truce with France broken.

The Earl of Darby's Bravery.

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20. At length King *Edward*, having eſtabliſh'd his Affairs in *England*, reſolv'd to go in Perſon into *France*, and try his Fortunes in that fair Kingdom, and preparing a great Fleet and a brave Army, he took leave of his beloved Queen and went to *Southampton*, accompany'd by his admirable Son the Prince of *Wales*, then in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, together with all the chief Nobility and moſt valiant Men of the Nation; to whom he made a ſhort Speech, which was communicated to the whole Army; in which he deſir'd them *to behave themſelves like Men, ſince he reſolv'd to ſend back his Fleet upon his firſt landing in* France; *therefore if any Man's Courage fail'd him, he had his Liberty to ſtay in* England: To which they unanimouſly anſwer'd, as tho' inſpir'd by his Valour, *That they were all ready to follow ſo brave a Commander, were it to Death it ſelf.* After a few Days Sail, his Fleet arriv'd at the Haven of *La Hogue* in *Normandy*, contrary to his firſt Intentions; where leaping on Shore with ſome Violence, the Blood guſh'd out of his

Froiſart. Walſing. Mezeray, &c.

King Edward's great Expedition againſt France.

He lands in Normandy.

his Noſe. Upon which his Lords, diſcourag'd at ſuch an ill-boding Omen, deſir'd him to re-enter his Ship, and not land his Men that Day; but the King undauntedly reply'd, *It was rather a Sign that the Land deſired to have him.* Then knighting his Son, and ſome other young Men of Quality, he enter'd into the Country which did not expect him, reſolving to take a full Revenge for the Blood of his Friends, upon the *Norman* Towns and People; proteſting that he ſacrific'd them to *Cliſſon*, *Bacco*, *Percy* and the reſt. His Army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand Foot and twenty five hundred Horſe, march'd divided by Day in three Bodies, which uſually join'd together at Night. The Cities of *Valongnes*, *Carentan*, St. *Lo* and *Harfleur* became the firſt Prey to his victorious Arms; and *Rodolph* Conſtable of *France*, and the Earl of *Tankerville*, whom the King had ſent to *Caen*, encreas'd his Spoil and Fame by taking them Priſoners, with the Defeat of twenty thouſand Men. Moving from *Caen*, he continu'd his March by the Biſhopricks of *Liſieux* and *Eureux*, waſted and burnt all along the *Seyne* almoſt to the Walls of *Paris*, and came and encamped at *Poiſſy*. Here he endeavour'd to draw out King *Philip* to a Combate, declaring *That he would wreſtle with him in the Eye of all* France, *on the great Theatre before his Capital City of* Paris. But after he had continu'd there five Days, fearing to be enclos'd between the Rivers *Seyne* and *Oyſe*, he caus'd the Bridges to be repaired, and paſs'd into *Beauvaiſes*, with Deſign to retire into his Country of *Ponthieu*, all the Way marking his Road with dreadful Traces of Fire and Blood.

and marches up to Paris.

Ibid. King *Philip*, foaming with Rage to behold from his Capital City ſuch furious Flames in the Heart of his Kingdom, with the greateſt Army that *France* had ever ſeen, advanc'd towards his Enemy, reſolving upon Revenge, and ſcarce doubting of Victory; eſpecially ſince King *Edward*'s Retreat was look'd upon as a Flight. King *Edward* had retir'd to gain the River *Somme* at a Place called *Blanquetaque* below *Abbeville*; but that Paſſage was to be diſputed by the Sword: For King *Philip* had before ſent a *Norman* Lord call'd *Godemar du Fay*, who ſtood ready on the oppoſite Bank of the River with a Body of twelve thouſand Men, ſo advantagiouſly poſted that King *Edward*'s Paſſage was concluded to be impracticable. But this undaunted Hero, reſolving to paſs or periſh in the Attempt, plung'd foremoſt into the River, crying out, *They who love me will follow me!* upon which all preſs'd forwards, each ſtriving who ſhould be foremoſt, 'till through Showers of Darts and Arrows they gain'd the oppoſite Shore, and ſoon put the Enemy to flight, with the Loſs of two thouſand of their Men. King *Philip*, who thought he was ſecure of his Rival, and that he muſt be inclos'd between the *Somme* and his own numerous Army, was enrag'd at this Defeat, and cry'd out *That he was betray'd:* Therefore he immediately follow'd the *Engliſh* by the Banks of the River, on the other Side of which King *Edward* and his Army lay; and he had with him an Army of above a hundred thouſand Men, yet King *Edward* bravely offer'd him a free Paſſage over the Ford, if he would paſs the next Tide, and chuſe a fit Place for Battel. But King *Philip* refuſing this generous Offer, the other march'd further into *Ponthieu* 'till he came near a Town call'd *Creſſy*; where finding a convenient Country for two Armies to draw up in Battalia, and rightly conjecturing that his Enemies would follow him where-ever he march'd, he ſaid to his Nobility, *That he would now ſtay 'till he had fac'd his Enemies and recover'd this Province, the Inheritance of Queen* Eleanor *his Grand-mother*; concluding with his own Motto, *GOD DEFEND MY RIGHT:* And becauſe he had not above a fourth Part of the Army King *Philip* brought into the Field, he commanded his Marſhals to chuſe the beſt Piece of Ground they could; which being done, and having ſent out his Scouts, he ſtrongly encamp'd himſelf and his Army, impatiently expecting his Enemy.

The French *King prepares againſt him.*

King Edward's *Paſſage over the* Somme.

He waits for the French *at* Creſſy.

Ibid. In a ſhort Time after the *French* approach'd with no ſmall Numbers, Noiſe and Precipitation; while King *Edward* ſpent a great Part of the Night in the profoundeſt

profoundeſt Devotions, and taking the Sacrament with his Son and the chief Nobility. In the Morning he form'd his Army into three main Battalions, the firſt of which was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, of Strength and Courage far above his Years; with whom were join'd the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Harcourt*, with divers other Perſons of Quality, amounting to the Number of eight hundred Men of Arms, two thouſand Archers, and a thouſand light-arm'd *Welſhmen*. The ſecond Battalion was commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Roſs*, and many other valiant Lords and Knights; the whole Body amounting to the Number of eight hundred Men of Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. The laſt Battalion was headed by the King himſelf, accompany'd with the Lord *Mowbray*, the Lord *Mortimer*, and others; amounting to the Number of ſeven hundred Men of Arms and two thouſand Archers; the whole Army making up in all about thirty thouſand effective Soldiers. Then having Knighted fifty young Noblemen and Gentlemen for their Encouragement, the valiant King without the leaſt Perturbation, mounted on a white Nag and with a white Staff in his Hand, rode from Rank to Rank, and exhorted every Man to maintain his Right and Honour, with ſuch moving and obliging Expreſſions as fired the moſt faint-hearted in the Army. Then refreſhing themſelves, every Man prepar'd to conquer bravely or die honourably. The Prince's Battalion led the Van, and he had plac'd his Archers in the Front, who were drawn up in a thin oblong Square, that they might not be ſurrounded by their numerous Enemies, and behind them ſtood the Prince himſelf at the Head of the main Body of the Men of Arms; whilſt the King himſelf was drawn up on the Right Hand further off, on the Side of a Hill, with twelve thouſand Men, for a Reſerve in caſe of Extremity, and the Carriages were plac'd within a ſtrong Intrenchment caſt up for that purpoſe. The good Order of the *Engliſh* being told to the brave old King of *Bohemia* on the other Side, he made Anſwer, as a Man of Experience, *Then I ſee, the* Engliſh *are reſolv'd to win all, or die.*

The Order of his Army.

He prepares for Battel.

It was about three in the Afternoon when King *Philip* approach'd the *Engliſh* at the Head of his vaſt Army, and Multitude of Commanders, which he alſo divided into three main Bodies; and then order'd the firſt Onſet to be made by the *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows, who were about fifteen thouſand. This they did with ſome Reluctancy, as being tir'd with the March, and having their Bow-ſtrings much damag'd by a great Shower of Rain; ſo that when they came to ingage with the *Engliſh* Long-Bows, they were ſoon broken in Pieces, and put to flight. This was attended with ſuch Confuſion and Damage to King *Philip*'s Horſemen, that he cry'd out *Kill theſe cowardly Villains who only hinder us!* But after a while, getting clear of the *Genoeſe*, the Earls of *Alencon*, *Flanders* and *Blois*, with other Commanders fell in with that *Engliſh* Battalion where the young Prince commanded, who receiv'd them with incomparable Valour and Bravery. But freſh Squadrons of *French* and *German* Horſe ruſhing in with great Fury, the ſecond Battalion commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton* came in to his Aſſiſtance, and vigorouſly attacking the Enemy, caus'd a new Deluge of Blood in the Field. In the mean Time King *Edward* himſelf with his Battalion hover'd on the Hill like a Tempeſt in a Cloud, ready to diſcharge its Fury, but at preſent only watching and obſerving this unequal Conflict. Here a Meſſage was ſent to him from the Earl of *Northampton* to deſire him to come down and ſuccour his Son, now very hardly beſet; upon which he demanded *Whether he was alive:* The Meſſenger told him *Yes, but was in Danger of being over-power'd by Numbers. Then*, reply'd the King with his uſual Courage, *let them know, that while my Son is alive, they ſend for no Aſſiſtance to me, for the Honour of this glorious Day ſhall be His.* This Anſwer from ſo compleat a General added new Life and Flame to the Prince and his valiant Supporters, ſo that preſſing forwards with uncommon Vigour, this brave young Lion, ſurrounded with Blood and Death, far out-did

The famous Battel of Creſſy.

Ibid.

out-did his Father's and the World's Expectation. Then ruſhing in to the main Body of the *French*, the Marqueſs *Charles*, Emperor Elect, receiv'd him with great Courage, 'till his Men being ſlain round about him, and himſelf wounded in ſeveral Places, he found it neceſſary to quit the Field without ſtaying to ſee the Fate of his Father the old King of *Bohemia*; who tho' he had already loſt one Eye, and was almoſt blind with Age, reſolv'd not to ſtain his former Victories with an ignoble Flight: But making the Gentlemen about him lead him up to the Enemy, and ordering his Horſe's Bridle to be ty'd to thoſe next him, as the reſt did to thoſe of their Companions, they fought ſo deſperately that they were all ſlain upon the Place, and their dead Bodies were found the next Day ſurrounding that of their Maſter. Then were the Arms of that valiant King, being three *Oſtrich-Feathers*, taken by the Prince of *Wales* and afterwards us'd in his *Device*; and have ever ſince been born by his Succeſſors the Princes of *Wales*.

The Black Prince and the Engliſh *are victorious.*

Ibid. In the mean while King *Philip* did not fail to perform the Part not only of a couragious General, but alſo of a valiant Soldier: For rallying again the Flower of his Nobility and Men of Arms, he enter'd the hotteſt of the Battel, and not being known, he was ſo hemm'd in among the *Engliſh*, that his Horſe being kill'd, he was remounted by thoſe about him; and being again diſmounted, and wounded in the Neck and Thigh, he had been ſlain or taken Priſoner had he not been mounted a third Time by the Lord *John* of *Hainault*; who at the ſame Time, partly by Perſuaſions and partly by Force, oblig'd him to quit the Field. After whoſe Departure little Reſiſtance was made, ſo that the Victory in a ſhort Time fell intirely to the *Engliſh*; and Night put an End to the Conflict. On the *French* Side were ſlain the two Kings of *Bohemia* and *Majorca*; and of Princes, the Earl of *Alencon* King *Philip*'s Brother, the Earl of *Blois*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Lorrain* Nephew to the King of *France*, the Dauphine of *Vienne*, and many others of the chief Nobility of *France*, *Bohemia* and *Germany*. Beſides theſe, there fell twenty four Bannerets, twelve hundred Knights, fifteen hundred Gentlemen, four thouſand Men of Arms and Eſquires, and above thirty thouſand more of the Commons of *France*. And all this without the Loſs of any of the *Engliſh* Nobility, or of many common Soldiers; which was juſtly look'd upon as a ſignal Inſtance of the Divine Favour to King *Edward*'s Arms; which were ſo nobly employ'd on this Day, being the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, 1346. King *Edward* finding the Victory compleat, advanc'd with his untouch'd Battalion towards his victorious Son, and running into his Arms with a moſt affectionate Embrace and a Kiſs, he ſaid, *My dear Son, Heav'n ſend you to perſevere in theſe proſperous Beginnings; you have this Day acquitted your ſelf moſt nobly, and truly merit that Crown for which we have fought.* Inſtead of replying, the noble young Prince with the profoundeſt Modeſty and Silence fell on his Knees before his triumphant Father. The Night was ſpent by the whole Army in ſolemn Rejoycing for this glorious Victory, but they made no manner of Boaſting: For it was the King's expreſs Command, *That none ſhould inſult, nor make any vain oſtentatious Songs, but all humbly to give Thanks to Almighty God, for his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy to them.* The next Day, for the ſake of the Dead, the pious King caus'd the Place of Battel to be conſecrated, for the decent Sepulture both of his Enemies and Friends; and order'd that the Wounded ſhould be carefully dreſs'd and reliev'd; and to the meaner Sort, when recover'd, he generouſly gave Mony, and ſent them whither they pleas'd to go. While the King was taking Care of the Dead and Wounded, five hundred Lances and two thouſand Archers being ſent out to diſcover what was become of the Enemy, met with great Numbers of ſuch as were coming from *Abbeville*, *Rouen* and other Places, all ignorant of what had happen'd; and ingaging with them, intirely defeated them, with the Loſs of ſeven thouſand Men. Our Writers report, that of Straglers that fled from the Battel,

The Greatneſs of the Victory.

and of others that were coming towards the Place, there were ſlain many more than in the Field the Day before; which ſhews us the wonderful Loſs this afflicted Country ſuſtain'd at one fatal Blow.

The diſconſolate King *Philip* in the mean Time fled with a ſmall Company to the Caſtle of *Braye*, where the Guard enquiring who he was, he anſwer'd *The Fortune of* France; and being let in, he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Sorrow and Lamentation. Coming to *Amiens*, he bitterly exclaim'd againſt the Lord *Godemar* for ſuffering King *Edward* to paſs the River *Somme*, and threaten'd him with Death; but the Lord of *Hainault* moderated his Fury with this important Truth, *That it was not in* Godemar's *Power to reſiſt the King of* England, *when all the Flower of* France *could not*. And finding that Complaints and Puniſhments were of no Uſe, he endeavour'd to make the beſt Defence againſt the prevailing Arms of King *Edward*; who, reſolving to make the wiſeſt Uſe of his Victory, went and ſat down before the Town of *Calais*, which had been a long Annoyance both to him and his Kingdom, being then a Place of great Strength, and reputed the very Key of *France*. Nor did he inveſt it only by Land, but alſo block'd it up by Sea, the Earl of *Huntington* his Admiral lying before it with a great Fleet of ſeven hundred thirty eight Veſſels of all Sorts. Upon his Approach to the Place he ſent a Summons to *John de Vienne* the Governor *To ſurrender to Him as rightful King of* France, *otherwiſe, upon taking the Place, he would put them all to the Sword.* The other anſwer'd, *He knew but one King of* France, *who had ſent him to keep that Place, of whoſe Aſſiſtance he doubted not, and in whoſe Service he reſolv'd to live and die.* Upon this brave Anſwer, King *Edward* began to intrench himſelf ſtrongly before the City, and ſince he could not expect to take it by Aſſault, reſolv'd to reduce it by Famine; and to this End he threw up an Intrenchment quite round the Place, with regular Fortifications, and form'd his Camp into Streets, conſiſting of Huts cover'd with Reeds, ſufficient for his Soldiers to lodge in all the Winter. The Governor finding it was like to be a long Siege, reſolv'd to free the Town of as many uſeleſs Mouths as he could, and accordingly drove out more than ſeventeen hundred of the pooreſt and leaſt neceſſary People, and ſhut the Gates againſt them; which when the King ſaw, inſtead of driving them back and ſtarving them, he out of a Generous and Chriſtian Compaſſion permitted them to paſs through his Camp without Moleſtation, giving them all a Dinner, and two Pence a Perſon in Mony.

Froiſart. Knighton. &c.

King Edward *beſieges* Calais.

His Generoſity.

Many Expedients were conſider'd for raiſing the Siege of this Important Place, but two more eſpecially: The firſt was to gather a ſufficient Force to beat King *Edward* in his Trenches, and the ſecond was to make a powerful Diverſion by Means of their ancient Allies the *Scots*. This latter, as the more eaſie, was firſt put in Execution by King *David*, who enter'd the Kingdom of *England* with a brave Army of above ſixty thouſand Men, aſſuring himſelf of Succeſs, in regard, as he conceiv'd, that the main Strength of the Nation was gone into *France*. But he ſoon found his Error: For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert Humfrevile* Earl of *Angos*, and *William* Lord *la Zouche*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Nevile*, *Deincourt*, *Manley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroop* and *Muſgrave*, as alſo the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Durham*, with others of the Clergy, gather'd ſo great a Force, and ſo well order'd them by the particular Animation of the Heroick Queen, who in Perſon rod from Rank to Rank, that they intirely defeated this great Army; took King *David* himſelf Priſoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murrey* and *Southerland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and many others, with the Death of at leaſt fifteen thouſand Soldiers. This Victory, as well as that of *Creſſy*, happen'd on a *Saturday*, ſix Weeks after the other; as if all Things had concurr'd to render this Year glorious and triumphant. King *David* was taken Priſoner by an Eſquire nam'd *Copland*, who carefully kept him in Poſſeſſion; and

Bertius. Knighton. Walſing. Froiſart.

The Scots *overthrown by the* Engliſh.

King David *taken Priſoner.*

and being order'd by the Queen to deliver him up to her, he utterly refus'd, whereupon ſhe complain'd to the King lying then before *Calais*. *Copland* being commanded to repair thither, gave the King ſuch a modeſt and loyal Anſwer, that he order'd him a Reward of five hundred Pounds a Year in Land, with a Warrant to deliver his Royal Priſoner to the Queen; which he did at *York* with ſo handſom an Apology, as both ſhe and the Lords of the Council were fully ſatisfy'd. To compleat the Triumphs of this glorious Year, Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, like another *Machabee*, ſays our Author, with eight hundred Men of Arms, and one hundred Archers, in *Bretaign* overthrew *Charles de Blois*, who having twice in one Day with incredible Odds of Thirty to One, attack'd that brave Knight, was beaten out of the Field with extraordinary Loſs of Nobility and others ſlain and taken. Not long after, the ſame Sir *Thomas*, with only three hundred Men of Arms and four hundred Archers, attack'd the ſame Lord *Charles*, lying at the Siege of *Roch-Darien*, with twelve hundred Knights and Eſquires, ſix hundred other armed Men, two thouſand Croſs-Bow Men, and great Numbers of other Infantry; took *Charles* himſelf Priſoner, driving all his Forces, with incomparable Manhood and great Deſtruction out of the Field.

Sir Thomas Dagworth's *Valour.*

Knighton. Froiſart. Walſing. Still King *Edward* continu'd in Perſon before *Calais*, which he ſo cloſely block'd up by Sea and Land, that the Garriſon could receive no Relief; ſo that now they were reduc'd to a languiſhing Condition, as appear'd by a Letter from the Governor to King *Philip*, which by an extraordinary Accident fell into King *Edward*'s Hands. In which he told his Maſter, *That his People in* Calais *had eaten Horſes, Dogs and Rats; and nothing remain'd for them but to devour each other; wherefore they were reſolv'd, if not reliev'd, to die among their Enemies with Honour, rather than within the Walls by Famine.* King *Edward*, by an uncommon Strain of Generoſity, ſent this Letter to King *Philip*, requiring him *to uſe all Expedition, and ſuccour his good People in* Calais, *who ſuffer'd ſuch Miſeries for his Sake.* Upon which King *Philip* haſten'd his Preparations, and having at length gather'd together a vaſt Army of a hundred and fifty thouſand Men, he with his Son *John* Duke of *Normandy* march'd and advanc'd near to King *Edward*'s Camp; and on the latter End of *July* he ſent to offer him Battel. But the King of *England* wiſely anſwer'd, *That he ſhould find him within his Trenches, if he durſt venture the Experiment; but ſince he had been at ſuch Expence of Time and Treaſure, he would not leave the Place, 'till he was Maſter of it.* After this two Cardinals, ſent on purpoſe, urg'd for a Mediation and Treaty; in which the *French* King offer'd King *Edward* all *Gaſcony* and *Ponthieu*, with the Marriage of his Son *John*, and alſo the City of *Calais*. To which was reply'd, *That King* Edward *was not oblig'd to the other for* Calais, *ſince the Place and all in it were at his Mercy already.* Next the *French* propos'd, That the Right of both Kings might be decided by Combat between five or ſix, choſen by each Side, and the Place aſſign'd by the King of *France*: To which the Earl of *Lancaſter* anſwer'd, *That the Place ought to be aſſign'd by King* Edward, *as rightful King of* England *and* France; *for* Philip *of* Valois *had no Right at all:* So the Cardinals finding all ineffectual, retir'd to St. *Omers*. King *Edward* at that Time having a Reinforcement of ſeventeen thouſand Men, not to be backwards in Bravery, not only offer'd the *French* King Battel, but alſo at his own Coſt to fill the Trenches, and remove all Impediments that could hinder them from joining; provided he might have ſufficient Security that nothing ſhould be convey'd into the Town during that Time. This generous Offer was likewiſe refus'd, and King *Philip*, in a deſpairing Condition, ſuddenly ſet fire to his Tents, and with his vaſt Army retir'd to *Amiens*, where he disbanded his Soldiers.

A. D. 1347. Reg. 21.

The remarkable Siege of Calais.

King Edward's *Bravery.*

Froiſart. Knighton. &c. This Retreat extinguiſh'd all the Hopes of the *Caliſians*, and caus'd the Governor to take down the Banner of *France*, to ſet up that of *England*, and to beg a Parly with King *Edward*. This was granted, but by reaſon of the fre-

quent Piracies, as well as obſtinate Defence they had made, the King would grant no milder Terms than that ſix of the chief Burgers of the Place ſhould come to him bare headed, bare footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Caſtle in their Hands, and ſubmit themſelves to the King's Pleaſure: For the reſt he was deſign'd to ſhew them Mercy. This final Sentence being brought to the Town, caus'd a general Conſternation, it being thought impoſſible to find ſix who would fall a Sacrifice for the reſt; 'till at laſt a chief Burger call'd *Euſtace* St. *Pierre* gave a noble Example of Heroick Courage and Concern for his Fellow-Citizens, and bravely offer'd himſelf to be the firſt Man; which ſoon excited five Others to join with him. Theſe ſix being brought before the King in that ignominious Manner as was appointed, he was at firſt inexorable, and notwithſtanding the earneſt Interceſſions of his Son and Lords about him, he order'd them all to be immediately beheaded. But this deplorable Spectacle ſo pierc'd the Heart of the generous Queen, then in the Camp and great with Child, that ſhe went and threw her ſelf at the King's Feet, and begg'd of him for the Sake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Bleſſed Virgin, and the tender Love between them, that ſhe might have the Lives of thoſe poor miſerable Men. This affecting Sight ſoon melted the King into a tender Compaſſion and Compliance; and ſhe immediately caus'd them to be carry'd into her Apartment, where being new cloath'd ſhe order'd them a Dinner and ſix Nobles a Man, and then to be ſet at full Liberty: A noble and God-like Action, and worthy ſuch a great and pious Queen. And thus the ſtrong City of *Calais* was gain'd upon the third Day of *Auguſt*, 1347, after almoſt a whole Year's Siege with infinite Labour and Expence: All the Inhabitants, except a Prieſt and two ancient Men, were turn'd out, and ſent away to ſeek new Habitations; and a Colony of the *Engliſh* were planted in their Room, which continu'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crown above two hundred Years after. Upon the Taking of the Place, by the Mediation of Cardinals and other great Men, a Truce was concluded and ſworn between the two Kings, upon the twenty eighth Day of *September*, to continue 'till fifteen Days after the Midſummer following; and King *Edward* in a ſhort Time after, having ſetled the Town and his Affairs in thoſe Parts, making Sir *Amery de Pavy*, an *Italian*, Governor of the Place, return'd into *England* with great Glory and Renown; and ſpent the remaining Part of the Year in Triumphs and Tournaments, celebrated with extraordinary Magnificence.

Calais *ſurrender'd to King* Edward.

The generous Piety of the Queen.

Calais *made an* Engliſh *Colony.*

The King returns into England.

A. D. 1348. Reg. 22.

VI. Never was the *Engliſh* Name ſo great and glorious as at this Time, nor did *England* her ſelf in any preceding Age enjoy a King more renown'd for Wiſdom, Valour and Good Fortune; the mighty Splendor of his Virtues, not only adorning her with *Garlands*, conquer'd Spoils and Trophies, but ſeeming alſo, like ſome new ſhining Sun, to infuſe Plenty and Fertility into the Earth it ſelf. To add to his Glory, this Year he was ſolemnly elected Emperor of *Germany*, by the Princes of that Empire, and Ambaſſadors were ſent over to him to deſire him to accept of that Dignity: But after a mature Conſideration of the Troubles and Factions in the Empire, he fully declin'd it, declaring to the Ambaſſadors, *That he would not undertake ſo great a Burden, 'till he had gain'd the Crown of* France, *which was due to him by Hereditary Right.* All this Year *England* ſo glory'd in the Spoils of *France*, that there was ſcarce a Woman of Condition but could ſhow ſome rich Furs and Foreign Furniture, and the *Engliſh* Ladies began to pride themſelves in the Faſhions of the *French*; and Luxury now increaſing, fine Table-Linnen, Gold and Silver, Plate and Jewels were commonly ſeen in the Houſes of private Perſons. And indeed the Vanity of the Women became very great at this Time; and they were ſo fond of Tournaments, that it was ordinary for them to ride forty or fifty in a Troop to theſe Aſſemblies; and having more Beauty than Diſcretion, went dreſs'd like Men in Party-colour'd Coats, embroider'd Girdles, and Daggers

Knighton. Walſing.

England's *Grandeur.*

Great Luxury.

Daggers at their Waſtes; and thus they rod upon fine Horſes from one Tournament to another, waſting their Eſtates, and loſing their Reputations. But God had provided a ſevere Scourge for the Luxury now reigning in the Nation, ſending a dreadful Plague throughout the Nation, ſo that the Earth was fill'd with Graves, and the Air with Cries and Lamentations. This Peſtilence began firſt among the *Turks*, and pierc'd by Degrees into *Italy* and *France*, where it cut off many thouſands. In the City of *London* it had ſo quick and ſharp an Edge, that in the Space of one Year, there were bury'd in the common Church-yard call'd the *Ceſtertian*, or *Charter-Houſe*, above fifty thouſand Perſons.

A. D. 1349. Reg. 23.

A terrible Plague.

Froiſart. During theſe Calamities, the Lord *Charny* Governor of St. *Omers* made a ſecret Bargain with St. *Amery de Pavy* Governor of *Calais*, for twenty thouſand Crowns to betray that important Town to him; of which King *Edward* having Notice, went privately thither the very Night the Delivery was agreed on, with the Prince of *Wales*, and ſeveral Earls and Barons, and lodg'd himſelf in the Caſtle, to ſecure it with the Men he brought with him. The Mony was actually brought and paid, and twelve Knights and a hundred Men at Arms were let into the Caſtle; but to their great Surprize were immediately made Priſoners by the King's Guards who lay undiſcover'd. The Lord *Charny* was then under the Town with a conſiderable Force, plac'd near two Gates, ready to enter it when they were open'd. But in the mean Time the Prince of *Wales* iſſu'd out at one Gate, and the King at the other, conceal'd under the Banner of Sir *Walter Manny*, and fought bravely on Foot among the common Soldiers, being ingag'd with the Lord *Euſtace* of *Rylemont*, a valiant Man, who ſtruck the King twice to his Knees; yet at laſt he was overcome by him, and made his Priſoner, with the Lord *Charny* and many other *French* Men of Note. The young Prince alſo prevail'd againſt the Party he ingag'd; and there were ſlain and drown'd about ſix hundred *French*, who were double the Number to the *Engliſh* that ſally'd out upon them; ſo much did the latter exceed the former in Valour. The Night following the King order'd a ſplendid Supper to be provided, as well for the Priſoners as his own Nobility; and to their great Surprize coming in amongſt them, he told the Lord *Charny*, *That he was but a little oblig'd to him, ſince he deſign'd to ſteal that from him by Night, which he fairly won by Day*. But coming to the valiant *Rylemont*, he after a moſt obliging Manner took a rich Chaplet of Pearls from his own Head, and plac'd it upon the other's, as one who had deſerv'd beſt in the whole Action, and generouſly forgave him his Ranſom. Then removing Sir *Amery de Pavy* from his Government, and placing Sir *John Beauchamp* in his Room, the King return'd into *England* in Triumph with the chiefeſt of his Priſoners.

A ſecret Deſign to betray Calais.

The King prevents it in Perſon.

Walſing. &c. And now the renown'd *Edward*, reſolving to give the higheſt Incouragement to all Martial Virtues, about this Time inſtituted, or rather compleated the moſt Noble Order of Knighthood call'd the *Garter*. For the more ſolemn and magnificent Celebration of it, the King ſent his Heralds into *France*, *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and almoſt all the Kingdoms in *Europe*, to invite all Knights and Eſquires to come and ſhew their Military Skill and Valour, in all Kinds of Martial Exerciſes. As to the Original, Form and Nature of this glorious Order, we muſt refer our Reader to the learned Mr. *Aſhmole*'s elaborate Work upon that Subject; and ſhall only obſerve, That the End and Deſign of this Inſtitution was truly noble and generous, and worthy of the mighty Prince who had invented it. For it was not only to adorn martial Virtue by ſplendid Robes and rich Jewels, but alſo to engage them by a Solemn Oath before God to preſerve Fidelity, Honour and Courage in the Minds of thoſe who were admitted into it; which Virtues were juſtly eſteem'd as the nobleſt Badges and Diſtinctions of all Military Men, and by a ſtrict Obſervation of which they could only acquire great and real Reputation; when not to act juſtly, valiantly and faithfully, was accounted the moſt imaginable Blemiſh and Diſhonour.

A. D. 1350. Reg. 24.

He conſtitutes the noble Order of the Garter.

nour. Not long after this famous Inſtitution, King *Edward* had a freſh Occaſion to ſhow his Valour: For hearing that certain *Spaniſh* Men of War, who the preceding Year had cruelly ſlain many *Engliſhmen* and taken away their Commodities, were come into his Seas, he like a Martial *Neptune* encounter'd them in Perſon not far from *Winchelſey*, with ſuch Ships as could ſuddenly be procur'd; and after a moſt obſtinate Fight, in which he and the Prince of *Wales* did Wonders, he took twenty ſix of the principal Ships, ſunk others, and drove away the reſt. The Gallantry and Spirit of the *Spaniards* was ſuch, that diſdaining to out-live the Diſgrace of yielding, moſt of them dy'd by the *Engliſh* Weapons, or were drown'd in the Sea. Thus did this great Prince ſeek all Occaſions, as well by Sea as Land, to expoſe his Perſon, not only to gain Glory, of which he had already ſufficient, but to defend his Nation from Foreign Enemies that had inſulted it; and he ſeems ſo much to have valu'd himſelf upon that Account, that on the firſt Pieces of Gold he ever coin'd, we find his Figure repreſented with a drawn Sword in the middle of a Ship of War. In the ſame Year dy'd *Philip* King of *France*, after he had reign'd twenty three Years, and was ſucceeded by his Son *John* Duke of *Normandy*, who renew'd the Truce with the *Engliſh* 'till *Pentecoſt* in the Year 1356.

He defeats the Spaniſh Fleet.

A. D. 1351. Reg. 25. But this Truce was not long well obſerv'd in *France*, each Nation taking what Advantage they could upon the other, in *Picardy*, *Bretaign* and *Gaſcony*. Sir *John Beauchamp* Governor of *Calais* finding the Ways to that Place much infeſted by the *French*, march'd out with three hundred Men at Arms, and two hundred Archers on Horſeback, and took much Booty in the adjacent Country; but in his Return was encounter'd by the Lord *Beaulieu* with a Body of two thouſand *Frenchmen*; which Lord he ſlew, and had routed his Company, when another ſtronger Party came up, and worſted his, took him Priſoner with twenty *Engliſh* Knights beſides. For the preſent he was ſucceeded by Sir *Robert Herle*, who being recruited by a ſelect Body of Men commanded by the Lord *Manny*, march'd into the *French* Territories, and after much Damage to the Neighbourhood, return'd without Loſs and ſo large a Booty of Cattel, that a fat Ox at *Calais* would hardly yield ſixteen Pence Sterling. Not long after *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, lately made a Duke in Parliament, and the ſecond in *England*, was ſent by King *Edward* to *Calais*, who marching along the Sea-Coaſts, burnt the Suburbs of *Boloign* to the very Walls; then advancing as far as *Eſtaples*, which he plunder'd, he took a Compaſs to return back on the right Hand, where he did the like to *Fanquenberg*, and after that to *Terouenne*. In the Havens of theſe Towns he fir'd above a hundred Veſſels of all Sorts, and proceeded with Fire and Sword up to *Arques* and the Gates of St. *Omers*; and having ſufficiently made known the Terror of his Arms, he triumphantly return'd to *Calais* with many Priſoners and much Booty. In *Bretaign*, where the valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth* had been unfortunately ſlain, *Guy de Neſle*, Marſhal of *France*, raiſing a conſiderable Army in that Country, was gallantly attack'd by Sir *Walter Bently*, Sir *Robert Knolls* and other brave Captains, who tho' they had but three hundred Men of Arms and ſix hundred Archers, intirely defeated him, with above four Times their Number. Thirteen Lords, a hundred and forty Knights, a hundred Eſquires, five hundred Men of Arms, and great Numbers of common Soldies were ſlain; and nine Lords, and a hundred and forty Knights and Eſquires were taken Priſoners: Which prov'd a terrible Blow to the *French* Intereſt in thoſe Parts, and was not eaſily repair'd. In the ſame Year, the Governor of *Calais* finding the Town and Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, within five Miles of it, to be a great Curb to his Garriſon on that Side, found Means to corrupt the Deputy-Governor of the Place, and had the Town betray'd to him for a certain Sum of Mony. Upon the taking of this Place in the Time of Truce, when Complaint was made of it by the *French* King's Envoys to King *Edward*, his Anſwer was, *That* Philip *his Father*, *by attempting to purchaſe* Calais, *in the ſame Manner had taught*

Froiſart. Knighton. Walſing.

Various Succeſſes in France.

A. D. 1352. Reg. 26.

Guiſnes *betray'd to the* Engliſh.

taught the Engliſh *Commanders that* Buying *and* Selling *was no Breach of the Truce.*

Walſing. &c. To return to the Affairs of *England*, King *Edward* conceiving Diſpleaſure againſt the *Flemmings*, being diſappointed of the Match between a Daughter of his, and their young Earl of *Lovis*, who was eſcap'd to *France* and beſtow'd on a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*, withdrew the Mart or Staple of Wool from their Towns which had receiv'd great Advantage by the Trade, and caus'd the ſame to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, *York*, *Newcaſtle*, *Exeter*, *Caermarthen*, *Briſtol* and *Hull*. Judging it more requiſite to advance his own Towns than thoſe of Foreigners, by the Commodities of his Kingdom. In the ſame Parliament that this was ſetled, many wiſe Ordinances were alſo enacted for the Governing and Ordering this Staple. *Stow* mentions an Act made in this Parliament at the Inſtance of the *Londoners*, That no common Harlot ſhould wear any Hood, except rayed or ſtrip'd with divers Colours, nor Furs; but Garments revers'd the wrong Side outwards: In which they endeavour'd well to ſet a ſcandalous Mark upon Impurity, to render it the more odious. In the next Parliament, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, Grandſon to the famous *Mortimer*, who was attainted and executed twenty three Years before, was now reſtored to Blood, and the Judgment againſt the Grandfather was revers'd, as being given without his Anſwering, and contrary to Law. About the ſame Time great Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and Commiſſioners met on both Sides to treat and conclude a Peace. The chief Article in Deliberation was That the King of *England* ſhould enjoy the whole Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, with the City of *Calais*, and the whole Counties of *Artois* and *Guiſnes*, for himſelf and Succeſſors, independently, without doing any Kind of Homage to the Kings of *France*. This at firſt ſeem'd fully agreed on, but at length was broken off by the *French*, to their further Calamity and Confuſion, who might better have given up a Ceremony relating to a Part, than have had the Whole ſo miſerably rent and torn in Pieces as it was afterwards.

A. D. 1353. Reg. 27.

The Staples of Wooll fix'd.

A. D. 1354. Reg. 28.

A Peace endeavour'd between France *and* England.

Froiſart. Rectius. &c. Theſe Miſeries ſoon began to approach: For it being ſignify'd to King *Edward* that *John* King of *France* had given the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* to his Son the *Dauphine*, being much incens'd he immediately beſtow'd that Province upon his invincible Son the Prince of *Wales*; commanding Him to defend his Right with his Sword againſt his Adverſaries. All Things being ready for his Voyage, accompany'd with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury* and *Oxford*, the Lords *Chandoys*, *Audley*, *Butefort*, *Liſle*, and other brave Men, and having a thouſand Men at Arms, and fourteen hundred Archers, he ſet Sail towards *Gaſcony*; where he immediately proceeded to perform Actions worthy of his great Name and Courage. On the other Side, King *Edward*, rous'd with a falſe Alarm, croſs'd over the Seas, in Expectation of finding his Enemy King *John* at St. *Omers*; but failing of that, after many generous Offers of Combate and Battel, he ravag'd as far as *Heſdin*, and then return'd back to *England* to recover the Town of *Berwick* which the *Scots* had gotten by Surprize. Calling a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, a great Supply was granted to him of fifty Shillings upon every full Sack of Wool, for ſix Years enſuing; by which Impoſition, our Hiſtorians believe that the King might be able to expend a thouſand Marks a Day; ſuch Vent of Wool was at that Time. But *Berwick*, before King *Edward* could appear to ſuccour it, was burnt and diſmantled, and then abandon'd by the *Scots*. The *French* had ſent forty thouſand Crowns and ſome Men at Arms into *Scotland*, to ſupport their Confederates againſt the *Engliſh*; but King *Edward*, not ſatisfy'd in regaining his own without chaſtiſing his Adverſaries, proceeded in a hoſtile Manner againſt the *Scots* both by Sea and Land. At *Roxborough*, *Baliol* one of the Kings of *Scotland* ſurrender'd to King *Edward* all the Right and Title which he had to that Kingdom, or any of the Appendages, reſerving only to himſelf a yearly Penſion of two thouſand and fifty Pounds.

A. D. 1355. Reg. 29.

The Black Prince enters Gaſcony.

Pounds. Still *David* the other King was kept a Priſoner in *England*; and both were accounted Kings to the great Diſtraction of that miſerable Kingdom. And Affliction ſeem'd to dwell in all Parts but *England*, where there was nothing to be ſeen but Triumphs and Feſtivals.

A. D. 1356. Reg. 30.

His mighty Actions.

In the mean Time the Prince of *Wales*, as it were in Emulation of his Father's Glory, perform'd Wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Arms he recover'd many Cities, Towns and Priſoners, piercing like a Thunderbolt through all *Languedoc*, and taking and deſtroying the two great Cities of *Narbon* and *Carcaſſone*, which our Authors compare to *London* and *York*. The Damage done to the *French* King in this Expedition was exceeding great, for out of theſe Countries he rais'd a yearly Revenue of about four hundred thouſand old Crowns. The Pope ſending a Meſſenger from *Avignon*, with an Overture to intercede for Peace, had this Anſwer, *That the Meſſage muſt be ſent to the King his Father, for he could not act without his particular Commands.* In the mean Time he diſpos'd of all Things without Moleſtation, and return'd loaded with Spoils and Honour to *Bourdeaux*; from whence, after ſome Refreſhment, he ſet forwards for new Enterprizes and Adventures. His Army conſiſted of about eight thouſand brave and expert Soldiers, with whom he courageouſly advanc'd through *Peregort* and *Limoſin* into the very Heart of *France*, up to the Gates of *Bourges* in *Berry*; the Terror of his Name ſtill flying before him to his mighty Advantage. Thus ſatisfy'd for the preſent, he took a new Compaſs, with Deſign to return by *Renvorantine* in *Blaſois*, which he took, and then through the Countries of *Tourain*, *Poictou* and *Xantoign*, to his chief City of *Bourdeaux*. But *John* King of *France*, hurry'd on with Impatience and haſtning to go beyond his Father in Misfortunes, follow'd with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and near the City of *Poictiers* overtook the invincible Prince. Having drawn up his Men, he in a ſhort Speech told them, *That while they were at* Paris, *and on their March, he had heard them deliver very ſwelling Words, How they would treat the* Engliſh *whenever they approach'd them: That now they were not far diſtant, and therefore he would ſoon lead them thither, hoping to find their Actions anſwerable to their former Threats.* At the ſame Time two Cardinals from the Pope began to mediate a Peace; but the *French* King, ſuppoſing he had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliver him four Hoſtages, and as vanquiſh'd, ſurrender himſelf and his Army to his Diſcretion. To which unworthy Motion the Prince reply'd with a contemptuous Smile, *That he hop'd to conquer; but if not, he could but die, yet he would never yield to loſe his Honour, which he valu'd above his Life.* The Legates Perſuaſions being ineffectual, both Parties prepar'd for Battel.

Froiſart. &c.

The King of France *overtakes him at* Poictiers.

The glorious Battel of Poictiers.

Now was the Time that this youthful Hero, fir'd with new Proſpects of Glory, began to diſplay his noble Qualifications, and to ſignalize both his Wiſdom and Valour, after a moſt amazing Manner. Having mounted his Steed, riding from Rank to Rank, he told his Men *That Victory was in the Hands of Heav'n, and not always to be gain'd by a Multitude; which if they obtain'd, immortal Honour would be their Reward, or elſe Death would put an end to their Labours: But for his Part* England *ſhould never pay his Ranſom, for he was reſolv'd either to die or conquer.* Then wiſely taking all the Advantage that the Ground, Vines and Shrubs would afford them, a bloody Fight ſoon follow'd, which laſted above four Hours with uncommon Variety. Never did the *Engliſh* give nobler Teſtimony of their Valour and Bravery than at this Time; and the Prince himſelf with incredible Fury ruſh'd into the thickeſt of his Foes, forcing his Way with his inſatiable Sword, and like a raging Lion dealing Death and Deſtruction to all that approach'd him. At length the admirable Conduct and inimitable Courage of the *Engliſh* prevail'd againſt the powerful Numbers of the *French*; ſo that they were intirely defeated, and forc'd to abandon the Field; and King *John* himſelf, after a long and valiant Reſiſtance

Froiſart. Walſing. Knighton. Murimuth. &c.

ance was taken Priſoner, together with his Son *Philip*, then but thirteen Years of Age. Thus in ſhort was this wonderful Battel gain'd in the Fields of *Beauvoir*, near *Poictiers* on *Monday* the nineteenth Day of *September*, to the great Glory of the *Engliſh* Prince and Nation. There were ſlain divers of the chief and moſt valiant of the Nobility of *France*, among whom were the two Dukes of *Bourbon*, beſides many Earls and Barons, about ſix thouſand Men at Arms, and of the common Sort eight thouſand more. The Place of Battel was left free to the *Engliſh*, and more than a hundred Warlike Banners were brought away in Triumph. When the *Engliſh* were all return'd from the Chace, they found they had twice as many Priſoners as themſelves; the chief of whom were the *French* King, his Son *Philip*, and ſeventeen Earls, beſides Barons, Knights and Eſquires to the Number of about two thouſand: Wherefore to prevent the Inconveniency of too many Priſoners, they let many of them go upon their Paroles, and appointed them their fix'd Ranſoms, in which they were very moderate; for the *Engliſh* generouſly declar'd *They would not ſet ſo high a Price upon a Knight or a Gentleman, but he might ſtill be able to live after his Rank, and to follow the Wars according to his Quality.* The Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side was very inconſiderable, for we find not the Name of any Perſon of Quality: But thoſe who were moſt remarkable for their Valour were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford* and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenſer*, *Barkley*, *Baſſet*, Sir *John Chandois*, and others, who behav'd themſelves with incomparable Bravery. But the Lord *James Audley* gain'd the greateſt Honour both for his Valour and Bounty, who having vow'd to be foremoſt in the Battel, perform'd his Promiſe to Admiration, and ſeal'd it with numerous Wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with a Gift of five hundred Pounds Fee-ſimple, he immediately gave it to his four faithful Eſquires who with him had ſuſtain'd the Brunt of the Day. The Prince demanding of him Whether he accepted his Gift, he anſwer'd *That theſe Men had deſerv'd it as well as himſelf, and had more need of it*; at which Anſwer the Prince was ſo ſenſibly pleas'd, that he gave him five hundred Pounds more in the ſame Kind, as the juſt Reward of ſo much Merit and Generoſity.

The French King taken Priſoner.

The Generoſity of the Lord Audley.

Ibid. By this famous Victory the Prince of *Wales* gain'd a double Conqueſt, One by his invincible Sword in the Field, and the Other by his unparallel'd Courteſie to his vanquiſh'd Enemies. For the Night after the Battel he order'd a noble Supper to be provided for the *French* King, and the Priſoners of the higheſt Quality; King *John* and his Son, with the Princes of the Blood being placed at one Table, while the reſt of the Lords and Knights ſate at others. The Prince in the mean Time waited at the King's Table, and when deſir'd to ſit down, he with all the real Marks of Humility reply'd, *That he was not worthy to ſit down with ſo great a Monarch.* And finding him ſtill dejected and afflicted, he endeavour'd to raiſe his Spirits by the moſt civil and ingaging Expreſſions, telling him among other Things, *That his Majeſty being one of the braveſt of Chriſtian Kings had no Cauſe to afflict himſelf; for tho' his Arms had not been favour'd by the ſole Diſpoſer of all Victory, yet his Gallantry muſt be acknowledg'd, and his Royal Dignity ſhould be preſerv'd inviolable. As to himſelf he declard That the Realm of* France *ſhould always find him grateful to her which had produc'd ſo many of his Progenitors; and towards his Majeſty, if he would permit him to glory in that Title, he would ever ſhew himſelf a moſt humble and reſpectful Kinſman.* This extraordinary Submiſſion in a conquering young Prince, about twenty five Years of Age, quite melted the captive King into a Flood of Tears; and when the *French* Lords ſaw the Prince ſo humble amidſt the higheſt Charms of Proſperity, and heard his generous Language deliver'd with ſuch an unaffected obliging Air, they declared among themſelves *That he had ſpoken nobly and gallantly, and that he would prove a moſt accompliſh'd Prince.* At length King *John*, recovering himſelf a little, forc'd a civil Smile, and with an affectionate Countenance ſaid,

The Greatneſs of the Black Prince.

He is admir'd by his Enemies.

That ſince it was his Fortune to be overcome, he had this uncommon Alleviation, That as he had not behav'd himſelf unworthily in the Battel, ſo he was fallen into the Hands of the moſt valiant and courteous Prince alive. The next Day the Prince cauſing his Chaplains and the Prieſts of the Army to celebrate Divine Service, he turn'd off all the Glory from himſelf, and moſt devoutly gave it to the great God of Victories; which being done, in the Sight and Hearing of the Priſoners, he heartily thank'd his Soldiers with Expreſſions full of Sincerity and Generoſity. Then ſetling all Things, he march'd with his Priſoners and Trophies to *Bourdeaux*, the Capital City of his Dominions. How the News of this Victory was entertain'd in all Parts of the *Engliſh* Nation, is not hard to conjecture, but eſpecially by King *Edward*, who gave ſpeedy Orders to the two Arch-Biſhops, that eight Days together ſhould be ſpent in giving God the Honour and Glory of this wonderful Succeſs.

A. D. 1357. Reg. 31.

The Prince having winter'd at *Bourdeaux*, and procur'd a ſufficient Navy, in *April* ſet Sail for *England*, arriv'd at *Plimouth*, and by eaſie Journies came to *London*; where King *John* Royally adorn'd made a publick Entry, with the utmoſt Magnificence and Attendance, being mounted on a ſtately white Courſer, as a Mark of Soveraignty, with the admir'd Prince riding by his Side upon a little black Nag, as one induſtriouſly avoiding all Suſpicions of a Triumph. They were publickly receiv'd by the Lord Mayor and all the Companies in their richeſt Habits, their Houſes and Streets being adorn'd with their moſt valuable Plate and Tapeſtry, as well as a noble Appearance of all Sorts of Armour and Weapons; and the Concourſe of People were ſo numerous to behold ſo uncommon a Spectacle, that the Cavalcade held from three of the Clock in the Morning 'till high Noon; about which Time the Prince got to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he ſolemnly preſented to the King his Father, then ſitting in great Majeſty on his Royal Throne, the Perſon of King *John* his Priſoner. Yet King *Edward* could not long retain the ſevere Grandeur of a Conqueror; for when the Royal Captive approach'd his Throne, with ſuch a manly Submiſſion as became his preſent Fortune, he was ſenſibly touch'd with the Thoughts of the Inſtability of human Affairs, by the Sight of ſo great a Prince in ſo low a Condition; ſo that haſtily riſing, he met and careſs'd him with as much Honour and Reſpect, as if he was only come to give him the Favour of a Viſit. And the King had ſo true a Regard to Generoſity as well as Valour, that being now acquainted with his Son's humble Deportment after the Battel of *Poictiers*, he declar'd, *That he was more ſatisfy'd with that, than with the Victory it ſelf.* Nor did this great King make uſe of this ſolemn Entry as a Matter of his own Triumph, but rather of a devout Proceſſion; for by his Order, the ſame Day the Clergy of *London* went forth in their proper Veſtments, and ſinging Anthems to meet the Prince; and after that, for two Days together, publick Prayers and Thankſgivings were celebrated through the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. King *Edward*, having treated his Priſoners after a great and magnificent Manner, order'd King *John* and his Son to be honourably lodg'd and entertain'd in the *Savoy*, being then a famous Palace belonging to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; the reſt were fix'd in other convenient Places. *David* King of the *Scots* was ſtill kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Odiam*; but not long after, when he had endur'd about eleven Years Impriſonment, at the inceſſant Suit of Queen *Joan* his Wife, Siſter to King *Edward*, he was releas'd, upon paying a Ranſom of a hundred thouſand Marks Sterling, and upon Condition of demoliſhing certain Forts and Caſtles.

Froiſart. Polydor. &c.

His publick Entry into London with the French King.

David King of Scotland releaſed.

A. D. 1358. Reg. 32.

In the following Year, King *Edward*, to diſplay his Grandeur, iſſu'd out an extraordinary Proclamation That all Foreign Knights and Gentlemen from any Part of the World, deſiring to come to the Feaſt of St. *George*, to be ſolemnly held at *Windſor* on the twenty third of *April*, ſhould have his Letters of ſafe Conduct for the Space of three Weeks, there to partake of thoſe Martial Honours and Prizes, which ſhould attend the Exerciſes of his publick Juſtings and Tour-

Knighton. Froiſart. Murat.

A Tournament proclaim'd at Windſor.

Tournaments. Theſe were celebrated with the higheſt Magnificence and Splendor, and attended by the Duke of *Brabant*, and great Numbers of Lords, Knights and brave Men out of *Germany*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and other Nations. In the ſame Year dy'd the famous *Iſabella*, Mother to King *Edward*, in the ſixty third Year of her Age, after about twenty eight Years Confinement at the Caſtle of *Riſings* near *London*, as having been highly culpable in relation both to her Husband and the Nation. Her Marriage with King *Edward* II. as it prov'd fatal to her Husband, ſo it was unfortunate to her Country the Kingdom of *France*; ſince from her the preſent King of *England* deriv'd his Title, and brought infinite Miſeries upon that Nation, which at this Time were greater than ever happen'd ſince the Time of the *Romans*. For *Charles* the *Dauphine*, Duke of *Normandy*, who had eſcap'd from the Battel of *Poictiers*, took the Government upon him during his Father's Impriſonment; but by the dangerous Practices of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and evil Diſpoſition of the *Paviſians* towards the Delivery of their Soveraign, he was grievouſly incumber'd, and ſurrounded with innumerable Miſchiefs, not being able as yet to work out his Father's Liberty. Moreover the *Engliſh* under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *James Pype*, and *Thomalin Foulk*, committed terrible Devaſtations, and gain'd great Treaſure, Booty and Ranſoms, in *Bretaign* and *Normandy*, under the Pretence of ſerving thoſe of *Navarre*. In ſhort all the Kingdom of *France* was over-run with diſſolute Soldiers of ſeveral Nations, who having no General, waſted all at their Pleaſure, and by unheard of Inſolencies diſcover'd all the Miſeries of Anarchy and Confuſion.

Queen Iſabella *dies.*

Great Miſeries in France.

Froiſart. Mezeray, &c.

Two Cardinals in the *Engliſh* Court endeavour'd to put an End to theſe Troubles by accommodating the Matter between the two Kings; but could not with two Years Labour draw any Thing to ſuch a Head, as the *French* for their King's Liberty would perform; which put King *Edward* upon new Reſolutions againſt *France*. Therefore looking upon himſelf as deluded by the *French*, he with a vaſt Fleet of eleven hundred Sail paſs'd over from *Sandwich*, in Order to a new Invaſion. Being arriv'd at *Calais*, he ſet forwards from thence with an Army of a hundred thouſand Men divided into three great Bodies or Battalions; the firſt under the valiant *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the ſecond under the brave Prince of *Wales*, and the third led by himſelf. They march'd through *Artois* to the City of *Rheims* the Metropolis of *Champaign*, where the Kings of *France* were uſually crown'd and anointed; but miſſing of this Place, they ſoon took the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers* without Reſiſtance. The Terror of theſe Armies ſoon put the Duke of *Burgundy* upon a Compoſition; and for a Sum of two hundred thouſand Florens of Gold obtain'd that all *Burgundy* ſhould be ſpar'd from Plunder and Devaſtations. The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* near *Rheims*, where he was inform'd that the *French* had landed many Men upon the Coaſts of *Suſſex*, who had committed great Barbarities, but had in a ſhort Time retir'd. Upon this News he remov'd from thence and advanc'd towards the Walls of *Paris*; where he honour'd four hundred Eſquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the *Dauphine*, Regent of *France*, was then in the City with a powerful Army, but could not by any Means be drawn to hazard a Battel, as dreading the Examples of his Grandfather and Father. Ample Conditions were in a humble Manner offer'd to King *Edward*, but as yet he was inflexible and deaf to any other, than ſuch as he himſelf like a Conqueror propos'd. Finding new Difficulties in the Siege of *Paris*, he retir'd into *Bretaign* to refreſh his Army; but upon his Return, ſeeing the Fortifications increas'd, he turn'd his Anger into the very Bowels of *France*, waſting and ravaging as far as *Chartres* and *Orleans*, and ſtill continu'd inexorable as to the *French* Propoſals. Yet in a ſhort Time an Accident from Heav'n chang'd his Mind, which was a prodigious Storm of Thunder, Hail and Rain, which kill'd ſix thouſand of his Horſes, and near a thouſand

A. D. 1359. Reg. 33.

King Edward *again invades* France.

His Succeſſes.

A. D. 1360. Reg. 34.

He waſtes into the Bowels of France.

of his Men; and this ſo aſtoniſh'd the King and his Men, that looking upon it as a Mark of the Divine Diſpleaſure, he immediately proſtrated himſelf upon the Ground, and made a ſolemn Vow to Almighty God, that he would give a final Peace to *France* upon honourable Conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Perſuaſions, ſo mollify'd him, that finally by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate, a Peace was concluded at *Bretaign* near *Chartres*, upon the eighth Day of *May*. Thus was the Kingdom of *France* deliver'd from its terrible Scourge by the Hands of Providence, when it was in a languiſhing, and almoſt expiring Condition.

A Peace concluded.

The Articles of it.

The Subſtance of the Articles of Agreement was this: That the King of *England* ſhould retain the whole Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, with the bordering Countries of *Xaintoign*, *Poictou*, *Peregort*, *Limoſin*, *Quercie*, *Anyoleſm*, *Rovergne*, &c. with all the Cities, Caſtles and Appendages, without any Dependency upon the King of *France*: That he ſhould likewiſe retain the County of *Ponthieu*, the Towns, Counties and Lordſhips of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, *Monſtruel*, *Hanves*, *Wale*, *Oye*, St. *Valary*, *Merk* and *Sangate*: And that he ſhould receive from King *John* for a Ranſom, a Sum of Mony amounting to five hundred thouſand Pounds, the fifth Part to be paid down, and the reſt in two Years Time. For all this, the King of *England* ſhould renounce all his Right and Title to the Crown of *France*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, the Counties of *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, and the Earldom of *Flanders*; and that he ſhould at his own Expences ſet King *John* at Liberty in *Calais*, within three Weeks Time. For the Performance of Covenants, Hoſtages were given of many of the greateſt Men in *France*, who were Sureties for the Ranſom: The *Scots* were not to be aſſiſted by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *Engliſh*; and the King of *Navarre* and his Brother were comprehended in the Articles. The Treaty being ſolemnly ratify'd by both Kings, and Hoſtages given, King *Edward* honourably conducted King *John* to *Calais*, where he made a moſt magnificent Entertainment for him, being waited at the Table by King *Edward*'s four Sons, and the chief Nobility of *England*. Here was King *John* ſet at full Liberty, after he had been a Priſoner above four Years; and both Kings departed in the moſt obliging Manner, with all the Demonſtrations of hearty Love and Affection.

The French King releas'd.

Ibid.

A. D. 1361. Reg. 35.

VII. The Wars being ended between the two chief Crowns in *Europe*, and *England* being in a profound Peace, King *Edward* was pleas'd to reſtore by his Letters Patents to the Priors-Aliens all their Houſes, Lands and Eſtates, which were taken from them twenty three Years before for the Maintenance of the *French* Wars: A rare Example of a juſt King; it being ſeldom known that Princes give up what they have once got into their Poſſeſſion. In the ſame Year a ſecond Peſtilence happen'd in *England*, which ſwept away many of the Nobility and Biſhops, and among the reſt *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, a Perſon of extraordinary Worth in all Reſpects, who fell much lamented by all Men, eſpecially the poorer Sort, by whom he was call'd the *Good Duke*. He founded the Collegiate Church of *Leiceſter*, and alſo a noble Hoſpital there for a hundred Poor People, which laſt ſtill continues. Shortly after his Death the Prince of *Wales*, now call'd the *Black Prince*, being in the one and thirtieth Year of his Age, with the Conſent of the King his Father, marry'd the beautiful Lady *Joane*, Counteſs Dowager of *Kent*, Widow of the late Earl *Thomas Holland*.

Lands reſtor'd to the Priors-Aliens.

Walſing. Knighton. &c.

A. D. 1362. Reg. 36.

In the following Year, not long after at a Royal Tournament held in *Smithfield* for five Days together, he was created Duke or rather Prince of *Aquitain* or *Gaſcony*, and was ſolemnly inveſted with that Dukedom by his Father, who now chang'd the Title of it into a Principality. In the ſame Year, in a Parliament was paſs'd that remarkable Statute which ordains, That all Pleadings and Judgments in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, ſhould be for the future in *Engliſh*;

All Pleadings ordain'd to be in Engliſh.

gliſh, whereas before they were uſually in the *French* Language. In the ſame Parliament the King declar'd himſelf arriv'd to the fiftieth Year of his Age, deſigning to keep it as a *Jubile*, and to ſhew Acts of Grace and Mercy to his People; and therefore granted his General and Special Pardon to all, without Fine or paying any Fees for the Seal; and he ſet at Liberty all Debtors to the Crown, and Priſoners for Criminal Matters. He alſo confirm'd *Magna Charta*, which during this Reign had been confirm'd above ten ſeveral Times. In this Parliament alſo, he declar'd his Second Son *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*; his Third Sond, *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*; and his Fourth Son *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*. So the King having paſs'd ſeveral Statutes, and fix'd the Staple of Wool at *Calais*, he ſpent the reſt of the Year in publick Pleaſures and Diverſions with his chief Nobility and *French* Hoſtages; taking a Progreſs with them through many Parts of *England*, and uſually expending for his own Part a hundred Marks, and ſometimes a hundred Pounds a Day.

New Promotions.

Froiſart. Knighton. Stow.

A. D. 1363. Reg. 37.

In the Beginning of the following Year, Prince *Edward* having waited upon the King his Father, took ſhipping with his beloved Princeſs and all his Retinue, and arriv'd at his Government of *Gaſcony*; where he kept a noble Court for the Space of three Years, and govern'd the Country with great Love and Clemency. In the mean Time King *Edward*'s Court was honour'd with the Preſence of three Kings at the ſame Time, two of whom had formerly been Priſoners; *David* King of *Scotland*, who by the late Death of *Edward Baliol*, now obtain'd an indiſputable Title to that Kingdom; *John* King of *France*, who came to tranſact the Remains of his Ranſom, and the Delivery of his Hoſtages; and *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, who came over to deſire Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemies of Chriſtendom. But none was ſo acceptable as King *John*, to meet whom King *Edward* ſent many of his Nobility to *Dover*, from whence he was conducted to *Canterbury*, where he offer'd a rich Jewel at the Shrine of *Thomas Becket*. From thence he went to the Palace of *Eltham*, where he was moſt obligingly receiv'd by the King and Queen, and entertain'd with all Sorts of Diverſions; and ſome Time after he was receiv'd by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* in the greateſt State, by whom he was magnificently treated. But Sir *Henry Picard*, a Merchant Vintner and formerly Lord Mayor, exceeded all Men in a wonderful Entertainment he made at his own Houſe for no leſs than four Kings at once, of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, beſides the King's Sons and moſt of the Nobility of *England*: A Thing never done by any private Subject of the Nation. King *John* had his chief Reſidence at the *Savoy*, then a magnificent Palace belonging to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; but not long after, in the Beginning of the Spring, he was taken dangerouſly ill of a languiſhing Diſtemper, which put an End to his Life, on the eighth Day of *April*, to the great Grief of King *Edward*, his Queen, and the *French* Princes and Nobility. The King made him a noble Funeral at his own Expence, and caus'd his Body to be tranſported into *France*, where it was interr'd on the ſeventh of *May* at St. *Denis*. He was noted for this excellent Saying of his, *That if Faith and Truth ſhould be baniſh'd from the reſt of the World, yet they ought to be found in the Mouths of Kings.*

The Black Prince goes into Gaſcony.

Four Kings entertain'd by one Man in London.

A. D. 1364. Reg. 38.

The Death of John *King of* France.

Froiſart. Walſing.

That King *Edward*'s Fortune was not only available to himſelf, or his Lieutenants, but alſo to his Friends and Favourites, appear'd in the great Conteſt about the Title of *Bretaign*, which about this Time was determin'd by the Death of the Lord *Charles de Blois*, Head of one Faction, who was ſlain in an Ingagement againſt the Lord *John de Montfort* Head of the other Side; where the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandois*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, with other *Engliſhmen*, who join'd with *Montfort*, won great Honour and Renown. This Battel was fought at *Auray*, not far from *Vannes*; after which, *Montfort* having granted ſome Eſtates to the Widow of his Competitor, he did Homage to *Charles* the new King of *France*, and was accepted as Duke of *Bretaign*, with Conſent of the King of *England*, his main Supporter and Protector. The

The Battel of Auray *in* Bretaign.

Loſs

Loſs was great on the Enemy's Side; for there were ſlain, beſides the Earl of *Blois*, the Lord *John* his Brother, and ſix Lords, with many others of principal Note, *Walſingham* ſays about a thouſand Men of Arms and Eſquires; and there were taken Priſoners *John* and *Guy* the Earl's Sons, with nine other Lords, and of thoſe whoſe Fame countervail'd many others, Sir *Bertram de Glequin* Marſhal of *France*, under the victorious Banner of Sir *John Chandois*.

A. D. 1365. Reg. 39.

In the mean Space from what Parts of the World did not the *Engliſh* bring Teſtimonies of their Valour and Renown? For ſuch of them as had warr'd under the King of *Cyprus* againſt the Infidels, and taken *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, return'd with great Riches in Cloaths of Gold, Velvits and precious Stones. About theſe Times alſo Sir *John Hawkwood*, a noble Warrior, paſs'd over into *Italy*, where he bravely reviv'd Military Diſcipline long diſus'd in thoſe Parts, and found ſuch Entertainment from the *Italian* Princes, and got ſuch Honour and Riches by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statue among their moſt memorable Princes for Action and Bravery; tho' in Reality he went but a Taylor out of *England*, which in thoſe Days could have furniſh'd the whole World with brave Commanders and expert Warriors. And as the *Engliſh* Valour was ſeen one Way beyond the high *Alps*, ſo there fell out Occaſions not long after, which made it known and conſpicuous another Way, beyond the *Pyrenæan* Mountains. Walſing. &c.

Sir John Hawkwood's *Greatneſs.*

The Engliſh *Valour.*

A. D. 1366. Reg. 40.

VIII. We have now brought this mighty Monarch to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which had it been his laſt, we had left him the moſt glorious and triumphant Prince in the World, to whom Fortune had always ſhown her Smiles, and ſcarce ever was retrograde. But now theſe laſt ten Years repreſent us with little Turnings of the Scale, ſome Declenſions from that wonderful Height of Glory, and with ſome Spots and Blemiſhes which Age and Frailty brought upon him. Yet ſtill he wanted not Vigour and Reſolution to perform many great Things, and particularly to reduce the exorbitant Pretences of the Pope in this Nation, who more than once poſitively demanded that infamous Tribute from *England* and *Ireland* that was firſt granted by King *John*. This being now again demanded, King *Edward* in a full Parliament order'd it to be debated by the Prelates, Lords and Commons ſeperately; and after a full Deliberation they declar'd, 'That neither *John*, nor any other King, could bring 'himſelf or his Kingdom to any ſuch Subjection, without their Aſſent, as ap-'pear'd from the plaineſt Evidences; and if it were done, it was void, as being 'againſt their Conſent and his Coronation Oath: Therefore they finally re-'ſolv'd, That if the Pope ſhould by Proceſs, or any other Way attempt to con-'ſtrain the King or his Subjects to agree with any Claims in that Reſpect, they 'would reſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power. Thus by the Care of the King, and the Stout Oppoſition of the Parliament, this haughty Demand of the Biſhop of *Rome* was quaſh'd for ever; for we do not find that it was ever reviv'd afterwards. Rot. Par.

The Pope's Pretenſions quaſh'd

Still the mighty Prince of *Wales* remain'd in his Government of *Gaſcony*, with a ſplendid Court and a noble Attendance, and without Imployment, 'till he was humbly ſolicited by *Peter* King of *Caſtile* to aſſiſt him, who for his Cruelties and Tyrannical Actions, had been driven out of his Kingdom by his natural Brother *Henry*; all which the Prince, by the particular Conſent of his Father, chearfully undertook, upon Promiſe of large Remunerations. The Cauſe was much better than the Perſon: For this *Peter*, Son to *Alphonſo* II. King of *Caſtile*, had prov'd intolerable to his Subjects, oppreſſing and deſtroying his Nobility to inrich himſelf, divorcing and then murdering his Wife, Siſter to the preſent Queen of *France*, by the Inſtigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he afterwards marry'd. Whereupon the State adhering to his Brother *Henry*, who tho' a Baſtard by Birth was more legitimate by his Virtues, crown'd him King of *Spain* at *Burgos*, and forc'd Froiſart. Walſing. &c.

Peter *of* Caſtile *begs the Aſſiſtance of the* Black Prince.

Peter

Peter to abandon his Kingdom. The brave Black Prince, thirſting after Glory, and deſirous to ſuccour the Diſtreſſed, paſs'd over the *Pyrenæan* Mountains into *Spain* with a compleat Army of thirty thouſand Men, having in his Company, beſides moſt of the prime Commanders of the *Engliſh*, the Perſons of two Kings, *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, and the King of *Majorca*, and *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who ſome Time after *Peter*'s Death was himſelf King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. On the other Side the new King *Henry* for the Defence of his acquired Kingdom had gather'd together great Numbers, as well *French* as *Caſtilians*, and others both Chriſtians and Saracens, not fewer than a hundred thouſand Men. Upon the Borders of *Caſtile* near *Najara* a general Battel was fought between theſe two unequal Armies; where the Heroical Prince of *Wales*, now *Black* indeed with the amazing Terror he ſtruck into his Enemies, obtained a compleat Victory, with the Death of many thouſands on the other Side; and *Bertram de Glequin*, the *French* General, with many others were taken Priſoners. As ſoon as the Battel was over, King *Peter*, tranſported with the mighty Valour of the Prince, kneel'd down to give him Thanks with the Marks of Adoration; but the other running to embrace him would by no Means permit it: However bowing very low, he gave him Thanks, *That by his Valour and Aſſiſtance he had now regain'd his Crown:* To which the Prince with admirable Modeſty reply'd, *Sir, return your Thanks to God Almighty, and give him all the Glory; for by Him alone, and not by Me, you have obtain'd the Victory.* The Fame of this Action however flew through all Parts of *Europe*, and the *Germans*, *Flemmings* and *Engliſh* in eſpecial Manner acknowledg'd the Prince of *Wales* to be the Glory of Honour and Knighthood, and that ſuch a Prince was worthy to govern the World, ſince he had atchiev'd three ſuch wonderful Enterprizes; Firſt at *Creſſy*, where by him the whole Power of *France* was broken, two Kings ſlain, and a third put to flight; next at *Poictiers*, where he again overcame the whole Power of *France*, and took its King Priſoner; and now in *Spain*, where at one ſingle Blow he decided the Fate of a Kingdom; as tho' he had the Power to make and unmake Kings and Princes: For he never left *Peter*, 'till he had replac'd him upon his Throne at *Burgos*.

A. D. 1367. Reg. 41.

The Black Prince conſents

He obtains a glorious Victory at Najara.

His great Fame.

Ibid. But notwithſtanding all this Glory, the Prince prov'd a great Sufferer in a ſhort Time, from the monſtrous Falſhood and Ingratitude of King *Peter*; for tho' he had ſhown himſelf the moſt generous Man in the World to this wicked Prince, he was forc'd to return to *Bourdeaux* without Mony to pay his Army, which occaſion'd extraordinary Miſchiefs to himſelf, and to the *Engliſh* Dominions beyond Sea; as if God himſelf had been diſpleas'd for his ſuccouring ſuch a Tyrant. Therefore the Prince, who declar'd *Honour ſhould be his Reward*, to pay off his Soldiers who had been deluded by *Peter*, coin'd his own Plate for Mony; and when that prov'd inſufficient, he laid upon his Subjects of *Gaſcony* and the neighbouring Provinces a new Tax, which provok'd them to a dangerous Revolt. However God's Vengeance found out *Peter*; for not long after his Baſtard Brother *Henry* return'd with new Forces, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Glequin* and the *French*, he not only expell'd him from his Throne, but alſo murder'd him with his own Hands. Thus ended this great Expedition of the Black Prince, which almoſt put a Period to the Health and Happineſs of his Life; for in this Journey he contracted an incurable Diſpoſition, which ſome impute to an inveterate Poiſon, that produc'd dangerous Symptoms both upon his Body and Mind 'till the Day of his Death. We may here likewiſe in a manner conclude all the Happineſs and good Succeſs of King *Edward*'s Reign, during the reſt of which we ſcarce meet with any Thing but the untimely Death of his Sons, and his moſt beloved Queen, the Diſcontents and Factions of his Nobility and Subjects, with the Revolt and Loſs of moſt of what he had gain'd by his Conqueſts in *France*.

Peter proves ungrateful.

The Black Prince declines.

Now

A. D. 1368. Reg. 42.

Now began the Peace between *England* and *France* to diſſolve it ſelf by ſeveral Steps and Degrees. For while King *Edward* quietly enjoy'd himſelf in the noble Virtues and Actions of his Sons and Subjects, *Charles* King of *France* ſirnam'd *The Wiſe*, warn'd by the numerous Calamities his Dominions had ſuſtain'd from the *Engliſh* in open War, and moſt earneſtly deſiring to recover the Honour of his Nation, betook himſelf to other Arts and Methods; never venturing his own Perſon, but executing all his Deſigns by Deputies, in which the Service of *Bertram de Glequin*, afterwards Conſtable of *France*, was of extraordinary Benefit. Nor did he neglect in Time to find out proper Colours to paint over his Colluſions and Contrivances for ſaving his Honour; inſomuch that when it came to a publick Scrutiny, the Loſs was plainly upon King *Edward*'s Side, and the Cauſe of the Breach at leaſt render'd doubtful. His Practices were notwithſtanding palpable, and it muſt be acknowledg'd that King *Edward*, relying too much upon the Rules of Honour and Magnanimity, did not reap the juſt Effects of ſuch mighty Victories; nor of a Peace which was ſo ſolemnly ratify'd, that in the World's Opinion it could not on one Side be infring'd, without a manifeſt Invaſion of all Obligations Divine and Human. The Prince of *Wales* by Letters advertis'd his Father not to truſt to any ſpecious Overtures of Amity and Alliance made by the *French*, becauſe he found that they had entertain'd ſecret Practices in every Place againſt him. But the Prince was then judg'd to ſpeak out of a reſtleſs Delight after War, and therefore prevail'd not; tho' the Effects ſoon diſcover'd that his Words were unqueſtionably true.

The French *King improves.*

Froiſart. Walſing.

A. D. 1369. Reg. 43.

For now King *Charles*, having by ſpeedy Payments and other Methods recover'd all the *French* Hoſtages out of *England*, us'd all Means to abuſe King *Edward*'s Credulity, 'till he had advanc'd as far as Diſſimulation could carry him. He courted the good old King with obliging Letters and Preſents, while his Plots were ripening abroad, and the County of *Ponthieu*, King *Edward*'s undoubted Inheritance was ſurpriz'd before he heard of it. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* in *Gaſcony* demanded a certain Tax upon Chimnies, the Earls of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords ſubject to the Prince, hating the *Engliſh* Empire, repair'd to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to purſue an Appeal from this Oppreſſion made by the Prince, who was not ſo happy as to follow the Advice of Sir *Robert Knolls* and other wiſe Counſellors who diſſuaded this Impoſition. Theſe Lords pretended that he was to anſwer before King *Charles* as his ſuperior Lord, from whom he held by Homage and Fealty; and tho' King *Edward* and his Heirs were abſolutely freed by the laſt Treaty from all Manner of Service for his Dominions in *France*, King *Charles* at length proceeded to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, to anſwer his Subjects Accuſations. His Anſwer was like himſelf, *That he would come attended with ſixty thouſand Men.* The King of *England* complain'd of the Breach of Peace to the Pope and the Emperor, who made a Journey into *France* to reconcile the two Kings; before whom the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors alledg'd, That the *French* were the firſt Infringers of the ſolemn Treaty by ſeizing of *Ponthieu* and ſeveral Parts of *Gaſcony*, without firſt demanding Reſtitution for any Injury committed, and inſiſted upon many other unfair Practices. The *French* on the other Side alledg'd That King *Edward* had not made that publick Renunciation to the Crown of *France* as the Treaty oblig'd him, nor did he withdraw his Troops out of *France* ſo ſoon as he ought; therefore the Breach was on the *Engliſh* Side, becauſe the Soldiers were theirs. Thus both Sides had their plauſible Pretences, but neither ſubmitted to an Agreement.

The French *King's Deſigns.*

Ibid.

His Pretenſions

A Breach with France.

Upon this King *Edward* call'd a Parliament, declar'd the Breach, deſir'd Supplies, and obtain'd them; and further by their Advice he reaſſum'd his Claim to the Crown of *France*, and alter'd his Seals accordingly. *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* were ſent over with a powerful Army to *Calais* to invade *France* on that Side; while the Prince of *Wales* was endea-

Ibid.

endeavouring to recover the revolted Towns on the other. But not much was effected, and the Duke after he had pierc'd as far as *Roan* return'd home. After whom *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was ſent over with freſh Supplies, but he dy'd in his Expedition; leaving behind him the Character of One who had ſcarce his Equal for Loyalty and Courage. In *England* was nothing but Grief and Mourning for the Death of the excellent Queen *Philippa*, who had been Wife to King *Edward* for forty four Years, and had born him twelve Children. A little before her Death, the King being by, ſhe in a ſolemn Speech acknowledg'd the great Happineſs, Peace and Proſperity in which they had liv'd for ſo many Years, and concluded with making him three Requeſts: Firſt, That he would be pleas'd to pay all her Debts; Secondly, That he would make good all her Charities and Donations to Colleges, Churches and Religious Houſes; and Laſtly, That he would give Orders that whenever he dy'd his Body might be bury'd by hers at *Weſtminſter*. Theſe being granted with the moſt tender Expreſſions, having recommended her ſelf, him and her Children to God's Mercy, ſhe quietly departed, to the exceeding Grief of all her Subjects, who highly lov'd her as a true Friend to the *Engliſh*, liberal to her Servants and charitable to the Poor. Among her many Acts of Piety, ſhe founded *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*.

The Death of Queen Philippa.

Her Character.

Froiſart. Walſing. Still the Wars were carry'd on in *France*, where Sir *Robert Knolls*, a Man renowned for Courage and Conduct, was made Commander of an Army, with which he terrify'd the Country as far as the *Loyre*, harraſs'd *Vermandois*, *Champaign*, *la Brie*, and the *Iſle of* France, and burnt all round *Paris*; yet nothing could move the *French* King to ſend any Forces againſt them out of that City. But this Army having ſeveral Lords and great Men in it, who diſdaining to be commanded by him whom they accounted their Inferior, great Factions were rais'd, and the Expedition came to no great Effect. About the ſame Time the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge* were ſent with Forces into *Gaſcony* to aſſiſt their Brother the Prince of *Wales*; who about this Time, hearing of the treacherous Revolt and Surrender of *Limoges*, he reſolved to execute a ſevere Revenge upon the Place, and all ſuch as were concern'd in the Betraying of it. After a Month's Siege he took the City by Storm, at which Time more than three thouſand Men, Women and Children of the Inhabitants were put to the Sword; yet at length the great Bravery of three *French* Officers ſo affected his generous Breaſt, that he ſhew'd Mercy to the reſt, tho' he wholly burnt and deſtroy'd the Place. This was the laſt Martial Act of this mighty Prince, with whom the good Fortune of *England*, as if it had been inherent to his Perſon, flouriſh'd in his Health, languiſh'd in his Sickneſs, and expir'd in his Death. He was now carry'd about in a Horſe Litter; and being adviſ'd by his Phyſicians to return into *England* for his Health, he follow'd their Directions, and with his Princeſs, his Son *Richard* and others, he came for *England*, taking his final Leave of *Gaſcony*, which he left to the Management of his Brother *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*.

A. D. 1370. Reg. 44.

Sir Robert Knolls *Acts in* France.

The laſt Action of the Black Prince.

He returns into England.

Froiſart. Walſing. The *French* in the mean Time won many Towns and Forts in *Gaſcony*, daily raiſing new Hopes after ſo long and continu'd Misfortunes. The unhappy Loſs of that expert Commander Sir *John Chandois* was a mighty Advantage to them, whoſe whole Care reſted upon their famous *Glequin*, a Man ſo skilful in good and evil Fortune, and who had ſo temper'd his Courage and Diſcretion, that he alone could bid his unfortunate Country riſe once more and flouriſh. The Prince of *Wales* ſtill declining in Health, upon his firſt Appearance before his Father, ſurrender'd the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* to be diſpos'd according to his Pleaſure: And while King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repair'd to him the factious King of *Navarre*, whoſe Buſineſs was to make an Offer of an Alliance againſt the *French*; but tho' his Propoſals were acceptable, yet his Cautions ſeem'd ſo defective, that after a ſolemn Entertainment, he return'd without any Concluſion. Not long after the Duke of *Lancaſter* and his Brother the Earl of *Cam-*

A. D. 1371. Reg. 45.

He ſurrenders his Government

bridge return'd out of *Gaſcony*, with their Ladies *Conſtance* and *Iſabella*, both Daughters to *Peter* late King of *Spain*, whom they marry'd; the Duke thereupon ſtiling himſelf King, and his Wife Queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *Engliſh* Name only increas'd in titular Honours, but alſo by real Actions; for about this Time, the *Flemmings*, who had provok'd the Nation, were defeated by the Earl of *Hereford*, in a ſharp Sea-Fight, about twenty five of their Ships were taken, and all the Men ſlain.

The Flemmings defeated at Sea.

A. D. 1372. Reg. 46. The Pleaſure of this Victory was ſoon after ſower'd with a terrible Loſs at Sea: For the *French* having beſieg'd the ſtrong City of *Rochell* with the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* King of *Caſtile* by Sea, for the Relief of the *Engliſh*, the Earl of *Pembroke* was ſent with forty Ships, Men, Victuals, Ammunition and Mony to the Value of twenty thouſand Marks for the Uſe of the War; but being ſuddenly attack'd by the *Spaniſh* Armado, conſiſting of many large Ships under the Command of Admiral *Buccanigra* and others, the *Engliſh* after a long and bloody Conflict were utterly routed, the Earl himſelf taken Priſoner, and almoſt all the reſt ſlain or taken. *Rochell* held out notwithſtanding; to the Relief of which while King *Edward* in Perſon ſet Sail with an extraordinary Power, a violent Wind drove him bak into *England*, to his great Diſappointment, and the uſeleſs Conſumption of ninety thouſand Pounds Sterling. Yet ſtill he did not give over his Care for that ſtrong Place, which the *Engliſh* with no ſmall Courage made good againſt the Enemy. This Place perſiſting in all Loyalty, *John* Duke of *Bretaign*, who had marry'd the Lady *Mary* Daughter to King *Edward*, a great Lover of the *Engliſh*, reſolv'd to venture his Fortune in their Cauſe; and coming over to *England*, he had Aid granted him, with which he warr'd againſt the *French* with various Succeſs. Likewiſe the brave Duke of *Lancaſter*, with a powerful Army from *Calais*, march'd and ravag'd through the Body of the whole Kingdom of *France*, 'till he arriv'd at *Bourdeaux*, and that without any conſiderable Oppoſition: So that tho' this Expedition ſeem'd very glorious for the *Engliſh*, yet it was of more Fame than real Advantage to their Affairs; for they loſt many Men, and almoſt all their Horſes in that long March, partly through the Diſeaſes incident to Camps, but chiefly for Want of Forage and Proviſions. Not long after the Duke drew out into the Field, and a Day was appointed between him and the Duke of *Anjou*, the *French* King's Brother, to have decided the Nations Conteſt in a ſet Battel, before the City of *Thouloufe* in *Languedoc*; but by an untimely and pernicious Sort of a Truce, to which King *Edward* conſented upon the Account of his Son's Sickneſs, the hopeful Victory not only ſlipt away from the *Engliſh*, but likewiſe all Advantages of acting any Thing elſe in due Seaſon. The *French* boaſted themſelves as of a Conqueſt, tho' what they gain'd was no more than the common Effects of Policy. *Glequin* in the mean Time made the beſt uſe of all Occaſions, and did much Damage to the *Engliſh* Party in *Guienne* and *Bretaign*; but in *Bretaign* Sir *Robert Knolls* ſo bravely acquitted himſelf in the Behalf of King *Edward*'s Son-in-Law the Duke, that he only ſeem'd a fit Match for *Glequin*, as the other alſo had ſtopp'd the Current of his Fortunes.

The Engliſh worſted at Sea by the Spaniards.

The Duke of Lancaſter's Acts in France.

A Truce.

A. D. 1373. Reg. 47.

A. D. 1374. Reg. 48. The next Year the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd into *England*, after whoſe Departure almoſt all *Gaſcony* revolted, and fell to the *French*, who by the Advantage of King *Edward*'s Age, the Black Prince's Sickneſs, and the Succeſs of their Policy, more than their Valour, were grown brave again. A Treaty of Peace was negotiated at *Bruges*, but all was Colour and Pretence; for at the ſame Time the *French* made ſecret Preparations for new Attempts. The chief Commiſſioner for the *Engliſh* in that Treaty was the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and for the *French* the Duke of *Anjou*; and their Meeting produc'd nothing but a ſhort Truce to breed more Evils to the *Engliſh*. Notwithſtanding, much outward Jollity and Magnificence appear'd in *England*; for this Summer a certain Gentlewoman of no great Quality, call'd *Alice Peirce*, by her Beauty and other Artifices ſo much prevail'd upon the aged King, as to be his Miſtreſs; and he having lately

Froiſart. Stow.

The Engliſh Affairs decline in France.

lately given her the affected Title of *Lady of the Sun*, ſhe glorioufly attir'd rod ſingly in a Triumphant Chariot from the Tower of *London* through *Cheapſide*, accompany'd with many Lords, Knights and Ladies, every Lady leading a Lord or a Knight by his Horſe's Bridle, 'till they came into *Smithfield*, where began a ſolemn Juſting or Tournament between many of the young *Engliſh* Noblemen. *The Cavalcade of* Alice Peirce.

Froiſart. Walſing. Rot. Parl. Among the Parties that ſuffer'd by the laſt hurtful Truce the Duke of *Bretaign* was chief. For he had obtain'd a great Aſſiſtance from his Father-in-Law King *Edward*, and was now with the Earls of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwick* and *Stafford*, and many other Gentlemen and Soldiers return'd into *Bretaign*, making themſelves a hopeful Proſpect for their main Enterprize, which was to eſtabliſh the Duke, and by the Conveniency of this Country's Situation to annoy the common Enemy, and the better to recover the *Engliſh* Dominions in *Gaſcony*. But this Truce wrought more for *Glequin*'s Advantage than he could do with his Arms; for the Duke of *Bretaign* had before driven him out of his Territories. But this Management was not now to be wonder'd at: For the Prince of *Wales* was in a dangerous Condition; Plots were ſet on Foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaſter* had an Eye to the Succeſſion; Domeſtick Affairs grew diſturb'd; the King's Age was abus'd and miſs-led by *Alice Peirce*, and his Treaſure exhauſted by others; all which were ſufficiently known to the *French* who diligently made uſe of their Weakneſſes. For the Cure of theſe a Parliament was call'd to *Weſtminſter*, where the King's Wants were laid open, and a Supply deſir'd; but the whole Body of the Aſſembly, weary with bearing theſe continual Burdens, inſtead of Contributions, exhibited great Complaints, charging the King's Officers with fraudulent Practices, and petition'd that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord Chamberlain *Latimer*, Dame *Alice Peirce*, and Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be remov'd from the Court. All this was done with ſuch Heat and Vehemence, that the King, rather than not be ſupply'd, gave way to them, and remov'd all thoſe Perſons from his Preſence. The Prince was thought to favour this Proceeding; for there ſeem'd no good Correſpondence between him and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who now manag'd all under his aged Father, and whoſe Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another general Pardon, as another *Jubilee*; which was ſolemniz'd with great Magnificence. But this *Jubilee* was ſoon turn'd into a general Sorrow throughout the Nation by the Death of that Miracle of Mankind the incomparable Prince of *Wales*; a Prince the greateſt for Magnanimity, Valour and Bravery, and the nobleſt for Humanity, Courteſie and Wiſdom, that ever grac'd the *Engliſh* Name and Nation. With him dy'd the Hopes of all *Engliſh* Men, who receiv'd the News of his Death with unexpreſſible Affliction, and Sorrow was ſhown even among his Enemies; and the *French* King himſelf in Memory of his Worth ſolemniz'd his Obſequies in a moſt noble manner at *Paris*, in the Preſence of the greateſt Part of his Prelates and Peers. He dy'd in the forty ſixth Year of his Age, upon the eighth Day of *June*, in the Memory of which his Anniverſary *Obit* was afterwards appointed to be held at *Windſor* upon that Day for ever; and the whole Body of the Parliament thought themſelves honour'd in attending his Herſe to *Canterbury*, where he was interr'd with the higheſt Solemnity imaginable. His Loſs was ſo ſenſible an Affliction to his Father, the trueſt Judge of his Merits, that he ſeem'd not to live after him, nor could he continue much above a Year in this World.

A. D. 1375. Reg. 49.

The Engliſh *Affairs ſtill decline.*

The Death of the Black Prince.

Walſing. &c. The Cauſe of this Domeſtick Mourning daily encreas'd with the Effects of his Loſs, which in a ſhort Time too much diſcover'd themſelves. The King recall'd ſuch Perſons as by Petition of the Parliament had been remov'd, and *Peter de la Marc*, Speaker of the ſame Parliament, who had nobly expreſs'd the Mind of the Houſe in the foreſaid Reformations, at the Suit of *Alice Peirce*,

A. D. 1376. Reg. 50.

Several Regulations at home.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51.

was condemn'd by the King to perpetual Impriſonment at *Nottingham*, tho' within two Years after, he with much Difficulty regain'd his Liberty. In the mean Time *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, got the Government of the Kingdom to be intruſted into his Hands by his Father. But *Richard*, the eldeſt Son of the late Prince of *Wales*, for preventing all Conteſts about the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, was by his Grand-father firſt made Earl of *Cheſter*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*. And for a full Aſſurance and Security, King *Edward* caus'd all the Nobility of the Realm to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawful Heir and King of *England*, after his Deceaſe; nor durſt his Uncles, tho' famous Warriors, contradict their Father's Act. Finally the good old King, to comfort himſelf in Honouring the living Image of his nobleſt Child, to give the Mind of his Grand-child a Sight of future Majeſty, and to make his Uncles acquainted with the Reſpect due to his Perſon, he caus'd him to ſit above all his Children in an open ſolemn Feaſt.

Richard. Son to the Black Prince, *declar'd Heir to the Crown.*

Doctor Wicliff *broaches his Opinions.*

About this Time the famous Doctor *John Wicliff*, a Man of an acute Wit, profound Learning, and great Judgment, publickly maintain'd ſeveral material Points and Propoſitions in the Univerſity of *Oxford* againſt the Church of *Rome*; particularly againſt the Pope's Supremacy, the Infalibility of the Church, and Tranſubſtantiation. The Pope being inform'd of theſe, and foreſeeing how much his Authority might be call'd in Queſtion, condemn'd twenty three of his Propoſitions as Heretical; whereupon the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*, having attack'd the Body of the ſaid *Wicliff*, in the Preſence of his great Favourers the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord *Peircy*, declar'd the Judgment of the Pope concerning his Doctrines, which had then taken deep root in the Univerſity, Court and Country; ſo that for a while all ſeem'd to be quiet. But upon ſome ſecret Incouragements he was not long ſilent. His Followers were in the Phraſe of theſe dark Days call'd *Lolards*, implying a Sort of *Weeds*; tho' in reality they endeavour'd to extirpate all pernicious Weeds, which Time, Sloath and Fraud had introduc'd into the Church. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, as ſome think out of private Reſentments againſt *Courtney* Biſhop of *London*, was ſo far ingag'd in his Protection, that he and the Lord *Peircy* with great Difficulty eſcap'd the Fury of the *Londoners*, who would unqueſtionably have cut them in Pieces in Revenge of ſome diſgraceful Words utter'd by the Duke againſt their Biſhop. He notwithſtanding diſſuaded them from all Violence, and kept them from forcing his Palace of the *Savoy*; but ſtill in a moſt opprobrious manner they defac'd his Armories in the open Market; a Diſhonour not to be indur'd by one of the Royal Blood. By this Outrage the People let him ſee what he and the Lord *Peircy* were to have expected, if they could have ſeiz'd them, before they had gotten to *Kenington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remain'd with his Mother. The Duke for this was highly inrag'd, and would not deſiſt from proſecuting his Revenge againſt the *Londoners*, 'till he had procur'd the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to be turn'd out of their Places, and others put in their Rooms.

Ibid.

The Duke of Lancaſter *protects him.*

Which cauſes a great Diſturbance in London.

One of the laſt publick Acts of the old King was the triumphant Celebration of St. *George*'s Feaſt at *Windſor*, where he himſelf had founded the Order of the Garter; and at this Solemnity he beſtow'd upon his Grand-child Prince *Richard* the Dignity of Knighthood, the only Thing in all the Patrimony of Honour that could not deſcend to him. Not long after, weaken'd with innumerable Toils and Age, he was forc'd to relinquiſh the World, as the World did him, before his Breath left him. For firſt his Concubine packing up what ſhe could get, even to the Rings of his Fingers, abandon'd him. Then his other Attendants, by her Example, ſeizing upon what they could find, fled away; and even his Counſellors forſook him in his laſt Agony, when he moſt needed their Advice, leaving his Chamber in a manner empty; which a poor Prieſt of the Houſe obſerving, approach'd to the King's Bed-ſide, and finding him ſtill breathing, call'd upon him to remember his Saviour, and ask Mercy for

King Edward's *laſt Sickneſs.*

for his Sins, which none before would do, but every one flatter'd him with the Hopes of Life. This had made him negligent of thoſe pious Cogitations fit for a dying Man; but being now excited by the Voice of this Prieſt, he ſhew'd all the Signs of Contrition, and with his laſt Breath expreſs'd the Name of *Jeſus*. Thus dy'd this mighty King at his Manor of *Sheen* now *Richmond*, on the twenty firſt Day of *June*, and ſixty fifth Year of his Age, after a long, and for the moſt part glorious Reign of fifty Years, four Months and twenty ſeven Days. He left the World to the infinite Grief of his Subjects, and he was magnificently interr'd in the South-ſide of the Royal Chappel in *Weſtminſter* Abby, by his beloved Conſort *Philippa*, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen, and near it a prodigious Sword which the King is ſaid to have us'd in his Conqueſt of *France*. *His Death.*

To ſay ſomething of the Perſon of this admirable King, he was ſomewhat tall of Stature, ſtrong and well proportion'd; of ſuch a graceful and noble Aſpect, that in his old Age it commanded a general Veneration, and it was reckon'd a good Omen to behold his Face, tho' only in a Dream. No Man was more mild and gentle, where there was Submiſſion; nor more ſtern and inexorable, where there was Oppoſition. In common Converſation he was very humble and familiar, both to Subjects and Strangers, but with great Gravity and Diſcretion; and nothing mean or trivial could enter into his Thoughts, but all was great and magnificent. He admirably well knew his Buſineſs, and perform'd it; therefore he was better reſpected, and better ſerv'd than any of his Predeceſſors. He was a Father to Orphans and diſtreſſed Perſons; generous in conferring Favours upon Men of true Merit; modeſt and humble in Proſperity, and never dejected in Adverſity. He ſhew'd many noble Inſtances of Piety and Charity, and in all his mighty Victories, he ever took care to give all the Glory to God. Yet his Valour and Bravery was beyond Expreſſion, and if we conſider the greateſt Part of this Reign, nothing can be imagin'd more glorious and triumphant, his Fame reaching to remote and barbarous Nations, all Foreigners envying the Happineſs of his Subjects. Some Failures indeed happen'd in the latter End of his Reign; but it was when he had in a manner out-liv'd himſelf, as well as the beſt Wife, and beſt Son in the World. Tho' he was a Prince that highly valu'd his Prerogative, yet none of his Predeceſſors paſs'd more or better Statutes for the Benefit and Liberty of his Subjects, or was more ſtrict in puniſhing his Judges and Officers for Oppreſſion, Bribery or Corruption. And as no King had more frequent and greater Taxes from his People, ſo they were ſatisfy'd they were laid out for the Honour and Defence of the Nation; and theſe were as willingly given, as they were worthily expended, 'till towards the latter End of his Reign, when he was too much in the Poſſeſſion of others. In ſhort, *Walſingham* tells us, That God had never rais'd up a King in *England*, ſo valiant, generous and fortunate as himſelf. For Monuments of his Charity and Munificence he founded *Eaſtminſter* an Abby near the Tower of *London*, a Nunnery at *Debtford*, *Kings-Hall* in *Cambridge* ſince part of *Trinity Colledge*, an Hoſpital for the Poor at *Calais*, and St. *Stephen*'s Chappel at *Weſtminſter* nobly endow'd; and alſo augmented the Chappel at *Windſor* with the Proviſions for Churchmen, and twenty four poor Knights. His other Buildings were great and numerous, as the Caſtle of *Windſor*, which he re-edify'd and enlarg'd, the Caſtle of *Queenborrow*, the Fortifications at *Calais* and many other Places. *His Perſon and Character.*

Thus we are arriv'd at the End of this great and mighty King's Reign, which began a new Scene of Miſeries and Calamities. We find how he came to the Throne and how he left it; in both which we have Conſiderations of great Importance. His mounting over his Father's Head into the Throne, tho' it might not be his Crime, yet it went not without a Puniſhment, and that in a high Degree. For tho' he left behind him three Sons of extraordinary Figure and Ability, yet he had not one to ſit on his Seat, but left it unguarded to a Child

Child of eleven Years of Age, expos'd to the Ambition of Uncles who over-power'd him; to a factious and diſcontented Nation at home, and to broken and diſtracted Inheritances abroad; Himſelf having ſeen all his great Acquiſitions, gain'd with ſuch vaſt Treaſure and Bloodſhed, quite torn from him, and nothing remaining but the ſingle Town of *Calais*. The fatal Diviſions of his Poſterity were ſo pernicious to the whole Kingdom, as well as to themſelves, that if the Dead know any Thing of the Actions of the Living, he needed no other Torment than the diſmal Viſion of thoſe murder'd Princes of his Blood, whoſe Ghoſts may be ſaid to have juſtled each other where-ever they met.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of King RICHARD *the Second.*

Containing 22 Years, 2 Months, and 8 Days.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 1.

I. KING *Edward* the Third was immediately ſucceeded by his Grandſon the Prince of *Wales*, *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, then but in the Eleventh Year of his Age; not only by Hereditary Right, but alſo the univerſal Wiſhes and Deſires of the People, who had an extraordinary Love and Reſpect for him, for the ſake of his incomparable Father Prince *Edward*, whoſe Fame and Memory was infinitely dear to the Nation: And upon this ancient Stock of Merit he longer maintain'd himſelf in the Peoples Affections, than by any worthy Actions of his own. Shortly after King *Edward*'s Deceaſe, this young Prince made a publick and ſplendid Entry into the City of *London*, attended by his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter*; which happily produc'd a Reconciliation between that Duke and the Citizens of *London* not long after. Then upon *Thurſday* the ſixteenth of *July* the Ceremony of his Coronation was perform'd in the Abby-Church in *Weſtminſter* with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence; and the Oath which he took before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the reſt of the Lords, was ſomewhat larger than what we find taken by former Kings, conſiſting of theſe Articles: '*Firſt that he would permit the* '*Church to enjoy all her Liberties; That he would reverence her Miniſters,* '*and maintain the true Faith; That he would reſtrain Violence, and all Op-* '*preſſion, in all Sorts of Men; That he would cauſe good Laws to be every* '*where obſerv'd, eſpecially thoſe of St.* Edward, *King and Confeſſor; and* '*would alſo cauſe all evil Laws or Cuſtoms to be abrogated: Laſtly, That he* '*would be no Reſpecter of Perſons, but would give right Judgment between* '*Man and Man, and would chiefly obſerve Mercy in all his Decrees or Judg-* '*ments, as God ſhould ſhew Mercy to him.* Which Form of the Coronation Oath, with ſome ſmall Alterations, has been adminiſter'd to all ſucceeding Kings and Queens ever ſince that Time. Then the Arch-Biſhop leading the King to the four Sides of the Scaffolds, ſhow'd him to the People, and according to the ancient Cuſtom ask'd them, *If they would be ſubject to this Prince as their lawful Ruler, and be obedient to his Commands?* In this Coronation *John* of *Gaunt*, King of *Leon* and *Caſtile* and Duke of *Lancaſter*, made the nobleſt Figure of any other; and claim'd the Right of being Steward of *England*, to carry the King's principal Sword, and to be his Carver that Day. And here we may obſerve that Sir *John Dimmock*, in Right of the Manor of *Scrivelſby* in *Lincolnſhire*, was firſt admitted to ſerve as Champion to defend the King's Title againſt all Oppoſers; but how long before this Cuſtom of a Champion had been in uſe, we do not find. Then the King created his Uncle,

Walſing. &c.

King Richard's *Coronation.*

His Oath.

Uncle, the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, with a Penſion of a thouſand Marks; the Lord *Guiſchard D'Augoleſme*, the King's Governor, Earl of *Huntington*, with the like Penſion; *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; and *Henry* Lord *Percy*, Lord-Marſhal, Earl of *Northumberland*. *New Promotions.*

Froiſart. Walſing. The Kingdom being ingag'd in a War with *France* at the Death of the late King, the *French* took Advantage of the unſetled Times, and before the Coronation landed at *Rye* with a conſiderable Fleet, and burnt that Town; whereupon immediately after the Solemnity, the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Buckingham* were ſent to *Dover*, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Southampton* with conſiderable Forces to defend thoſe Parts. It ſeems there was no Fleet then ready to take the Seas, for on the twenty firſt of *Auguſt* following, the *French* with a great Number of Gallies landed in the Iſle of *Wight*, burnt ſeveral Towns there, and indeed took the whole Iſle, except the Caſtle of *Caresbrook*; which being bravely defended by Sir *Hugh Tyrrell* the Governor, they were repuls'd with conſiderable Loſs. But he being unable to ſecure the reſt of the Country, the Inhabitants of the Iſle were oblig'd to pay a thouſand Marks to the *French*, to ſave the reſt of it from Plunder and Burning. After which they landed in other Places, and burnt the Towns of *Haſtings*, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plimouth*, all along that Coaſt, yet with various Succeſs; for at *Winchelſey* they found the Place valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battle*, and the neighbouring Gentry; but in *Suſſex* the Prior of *Lewes* meeting them with ſome new-rais'd Men of the Country Militia, the *French* not only routed them, but kill'd about a hundred of the *Engliſh*, and carry'd the Prior and two Knights Priſoners into *France*, but not without a conſiderable Loſs on their Side: So unſafe was *England* at this Time, when it had neither a Fleet to defend it by Sea, nor regular Troops to oppoſe the Enemy by Land. Nor were the Civil Affairs at this Time much better manag'd; for the King being unfit to govern himſelf, his Uncles, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and Earl of *Cambridge*, with divers other Noblemen, were appointed his Protectors and Governors; who tho' at firſt they took ſome Care of his Education, yet by degrees they gave him his own Will, and ſuffer'd thoſe about his Perſon, who by looſe Principles and ill Examples corrupted his good Nature; and giving him falſe Ideas of Glory, made him think it conſiſted in a riotous Way of Living, and in conferring extravagant Gifts and Honours upon Friends and Favourites. By which Means the Court became too much a School of Licentiouſneſs; but as yet the King's Vices were not thought dangerous to the publick Peace, being interpreted as the Sallies or Over-boylings of Youth, which would be remedy'd by Age and Experience. *The* French *gain Advantages in* England. *King* Richard's *bad Education.*

Walſing. The Weakneſſes of the preſent Government ſoon began to be diſcover'd by an outragious Accident this Year, ariſing firſt from a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, call'd the Earl of *Denia*, who having been taken Priſoner in the late War in *Spain* by *Robert Haule* and *John Shakel* two valiant Eſquires, found ſo much Favour as to have his Liberty, upon leaving his eldeſt Son for a Pledge, and upon Promiſe of paying his Ranſom as ſoon as he return'd home. This being neglected, and his Son remaining a Priſoner 'till his Father's Death, without being redeem'd; the Duke of *Lancaſter*, deſirous of having this young Earl in his own Hands, in Order to a Deſign he had upon *Spain*, procur'd the King to command theſe Gentlemen to deliver up their Priſoner to the Duke; which they looking upon as an arbitrary and unjuſt Proceeding, refus'd, and convey'd him out of the Way; for which they were committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower for Contempt. But finding Means to eſcape from thence, and to take Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter* Abby, the Duke in a Rage ſent Sir *Alan Buxall* Conſtable of the Tower, with fifty armed Men, to take theſe Gentlemen out of the Sanctuary by Force; and coming upon them in the Time of Divine Service, they ſeiz'd *Shakel* and carry'd him back to the Tower. But as for *Haule*, he made ſo brave a Defence with a ſhort Fauchion, that they could not take him; 'till at length

A. D. 1378. Reg. 1. *An outragious Action committed by the Duke of* Lancaſter.

length traverſing his Ground about the Choir, they got ſo much Advantage, that one of them broke his Skull, while another ran him through with a Sword; and at the ſame Time murder'd a Servant of his that ſtood by him, as alſo a Monk who interceded for his Life. This horrid Action was ſo highly reſented by the Clergy, that the Arch-Biſhop and five other Biſhops ſolemnly excommunicated all that were concern'd in it; yet ſtill the Duke's Power was ſo great, that we don't find any Temporal Puniſhment inflicted on the Actors of theſe publick Murders, which ſhews with what great Partiality Juſtice was adminiſter'd during the King's Minority.

John Philpot's Acts.

While the publick Affairs were in a declining Condition, and all Enemies had the Liberty of the *Engliſh* Seas to range in, the worthy *John Philpot*, an Alderman of *London*, ſet out a conſiderable Fleet at his own private Charge; and going in Perſon, was in a ſhort Time rewarded by a Prize of fifteen *Spaniſh* Veſſels richly laden, which abundantly repair'd all his Expences. And not long after being by the Envy of ſome call'd to an Account before the King's Council for his Preſumption, he made ſo noble a Defence, that he was diſmiſs'd with Applauſe, and without further Trouble. But the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel* had not ſo good Fortune with the Fleet they ſhortly after convey'd to *Normandy*, to aſſiſt the King of *Navarre*, who was then in War with the *French* King his Brother-in-Law. For a great Part of their Fleet falling in with a ſtronger Party of *Spaniards*, many *Engliſh* Gentlemen and others loſt their Lives, or were taken Priſoners; yet the Earls themſelves arriv'd ſafe in the Harbour of *Cherburgh*, which together with the Town and Caſtle adjoining, was deliver'd to them by Way of Mortgage by the King of *Navarre*; and it afterwards prov'd very prejudicial to the *French*, in that Part of *Normandy*. About the ſame Time the *Scots* breaking in upon that Part of *Scotland* under the *Engliſh* Dominion, burnt the Town of *Roxburgh*; but the Earl of *Northumberland* i Revenge enter'd *Scotland* with ten thouſand Men, and for three Days made a Ravage principally in the Lands of the Earl of *Marche*, who had burnt the Place. Yet not long after, the *Scots* took the Caſtle of *Berwick* by Surprize, and kill'd Sir *Robert Boynton* the Governor; but the Earl of *Northumberland* gathering new Forces, in nine Days Time retook it by Storm, and put all the *Scots* to the Sword, except one that diſcover'd the Contrivance and the *Scots* Deſigns: And thus by the Valour of the Earl, and his Son the Lord *Percy*, this important Place was recover'd with more Honour and Difficulty than it was ſurpriz'd.

The Engliſh *Fleet ſuffers.*

The Earl of Northumberland's *Acts againſt the* Scots

A. D. 1379. Reg. 2/3.

Nor was the Spirit of the *Engliſh*, which now began to re-kindle, unactive in other Places; for Sir *Robert Rous* had ſeveral Ways moleſted the *French*, and taken *Oliver*, Brother to the renowned *Glequin*, Priſoner; ſo Sir *John de Harleſtone*, Governor of *Cherburgh* after him, ſlew and took many *Frenchmen* in an Ingagement. Theſe were but the forerunning Drops of greater approaching Showers: For Sir *Hugh Calverly* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made Admirals of the narrow Seas, took many rich Prizes, and perform'd many other worthy Actions, bringing home the acceptable News of the great Diſlike that the Inhabitants of *Bretaign* had conceiv'd againſt the *French* King and his ſevere Government in thoſe Parts. In the ſame Year, the Lord *John Montfort*, whom the *French* had expell'd, being invited home by his Barons, return'd into his Dukedom of *Bretaign*, accompany'd with the valiant Knights *Calverly* and *Percy*, where he with his Friends and Followers were receiv'd with extraordinary Honour. But not long after, Sir *John* of *Arundell*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundell*, being ſent into *Bretaign* to aſſiſt the Duke, was with ſeveral others drown'd in the Sea. Our Author imputes it as the juſt Effect of God's Vengeance againſt the ſaid Sir *John* and his Family, for their numerous Vices and Outrages, practis'd by him and them before they left *England*, for which they were loaden with the bitter Imprecations of the People. Theſe Employments, with freſh Deſigns on foot, found need of pecuniary Supplies; whereupon, in a Parliament

Advantages gain'd in France.

Walſing. &c.

Parliament held at *London*, it was agreed, That for a Supply of the King's Neceſſities, the common People ſhould be ſpared, and the Burden wholly laid upon the richer Sort. The Rates of the Tax were theſe; Arch-Biſhops, Dukes, Earls and Biſhops at ten Marks each, Miter'd Abbots at as much, beſides forty Pence for every Monk under their Subjection. In ſhort, ſays *Walſingham*, there was no Religious Perſon, Man or Woman, Juſticiary, Sheriff, Knight, Eſquire, Parſon, Vicar or Chauntry Prieſt free from this Tax, rated according to the Value of their annual Revenues. About the ſame Time *John Shakel*, who had been committed to the Tower for not delivering up his Hoſtage the young Earl of *Denia*, was now by a Reward from the King willing to comply, and put him into the King's Hands. Which being done, the Diſcovery of the Priſoner ſtruck all Men with Admiration: For tho' the young Earl might have been treated according to his Quality, had he diſcover'd himſelf, yet he faithfully kept his Word, and appear'd in no other Habit than that of a meer Servant to his Keeper, under which unſuſpected Diſguiſe he had lain conceal'd in the Tower, from the Time of the Diſpute about him: A noble Example of true Honour, which cannot be paſs'd by without Injury to his Virtue. *A generous Act.*

Froiſart. Walſing. After ſufficient Supplies granted, in the following Year, the King's Uncle the Earl of *Buckingham*, with *Calverly*, *Percy*, *Knolls*, *Windſor*, and other valiant Knights, with competent Forces, were ſent to aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretaign*. But becauſe the *French* Gallies infeſted the narrow Seas, they landed at *Calais*, and from thence they march'd through the Body of *France*, ravaging the Countries and burning the Towns, without any great Reſiſtance from the *French*, 'till they all ſafely arriv'd in the Province of *Bretaign*. About theſe Times were many Civil Conteſts in the Kingdom of *France*: For the Duke of *Burgundy*, younger Brother to King *Charles* lately deceas'd, being made Guardian of the Perſon and Dominions of his Nephew *Charles* then in Minority, had his elder Brother the Duke of *Anjou* for his mortal Enemy. And their bloody Conteſts happen'd fortunately for the *Engliſh* Succours in the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, out of which as Duke *John* had been expell'd for adhering to his Father-in-Law the late King *Edward*, ſo the *Engliſh* did their utmoſt to ſupport him in his Cauſe. In theſe Extremities the *French* were reliev'd by their ancient Diverſion: For the *Scots* entring about that Time with Fire and Sword into *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, drove away much Cattle, ſlew the Inhabitants, rifled the Booths and Houſes of *Perith* in the Time of a great Fair, killed and took many Men, and diſpers'd the reſt. The Earl of *Northumberland* preparing for a bloody Revenge, not without Wonder was commanded to deſiſt by Letters from the King, or rather ſome evil Counſellors about him. But how coldly ſoever the publick Affairs were purſu'd, the Want of Mony for Supplies was ſtill alledg'd and pretended. And therefore in a Parliament held at *Northampton* great Supplies were propos'd, and that the Clergy ſhould pay a Third Part of the Tax, as having in Poſſeſſion one Third of the Nation's Revenues. But at length it was finally agreed that every Perſon in the Kingdom, of all Conditions, Males and Females, of the Age of fifteen Years, except Beggers, ſhould pay twelve Pence a Head; and the richer People in every Town were to contribute to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe that were leſs able.

A. D. 1380. Reg. 4. *New Advantages in* France.

A ſevere Tax laid.

Walſing. Knighton. &c. This extraordinary Poll-Tax was in a ſhort Time made uſe of as a principal Occaſion for a very dangerous Inſurrection, throughout many Parts of the Nation. For ſome of the King's Officers had complain'd that the Mony was not duly collected, therefore one *John Ley* and three of his Aſſociates obtain'd a Commiſſion to inſpect and review the late Levy, agreeing to pay the King a conſiderable Sum for the Advantage of it. On which Pretence they committed horrible Oppreſſions, Exactions and Inſolencies in many Parts, eſpecially in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk* and the adjacent Counties; with which the common People, being highly incens'd, join'd with the *Villains* or *Bondmen*, firſt begun a Mutiny, and afterwards broke out into open Rebellion. For ſome of the Tax-

A. D. 1381. Reg. 4. *Which occaſions a dangerous Rebellion.*

Gatherers had been ſo inſolent as to turn up the Coats of certain young Girls, to ſee if they were of full Age to pay; which ſo provok'd one call'd from his Trade *Wat Tyler*, of *Debtford* in *Kent*, whoſe Daughter had been thus us'd, that he not only beat out the Collector's Brains with his Hammer, but to avoid Puniſhment, drew together the Rabble, and ſoon incens'd them into a moſt deſperate Rebellion. Then great Multitudes being gather'd together, they broke open the Jail at *Maidſtone*, where one *John Ball*, a factious Prieſt then a Priſoner, having gain'd his Liberty, march'd along with them, and growing vaſtly numerous, he at *Black-Heath* made a ſeditious Diſcourſe to them, taking for his Subject this known vulgar Proverb, '*When* Adam *delv'd, and* Eve *ſpan, who was then a Gentleman?* From whence he inferr'd, according to the uſual Topicks of moſt Rebellions, that the Inequality of Mankind was contrary to the Will of God, who if he had pleas'd to have created Slaves or Bondmen, would have appointed who ſhould have been Servants, and who Lords and Maſters. This dangerous Doctrine was highly applauded by the Vulgar, who thus animated by their Multitudes, and holding Correſpondence with others like themſelves in *Eſſex* and other Counties, took up Arms, and ſtopping all Paſſengers they forc'd them to ſwear Fidelity to King *Richard* and the Commons, and never to own any King whoſe Name was *John*, which they did in Hatred to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. In a ſhort Time the *Eſſex* and *Kentiſh* Men being join'd at *Black-Heath*, made up a Body of near a hundred thouſand Men, chiefly conſiſting of *Villains*, Bond-Tenants, Country Clowns, Debtors, and Criminals, all headed by *Wat Tyler*. Their Pretences were Liberty, and a Reformation of evil Laws and Cuſtoms; in Order to which they cut off the Heads of all the Lawyers they could find, alledging, *That the People could never enjoy true Liberty, while they were ſuffer'd to live in the Nation.*

Wat Tyler is Ring-leader.

The King amaz'd at this extraordinary Meeting, ſent to know the Occaſion of it; and his Meſſengers were told, *That they met to ſpeak with the King about certain Matters, and that he muſt come to them, and hear what they had to deſire.* Some about the King perſuaded him to go immediately, but the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Hales*, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it, urging him to think of ſuppreſſing, rather than treating with ſuch an unruly Multitude. Upon Notice of which they threaten'd to cut off the Heads of theſe Counſellors; and forthwith marching into *Southwark*, they pull'd down Houſes, and broke the King's Priſons, and ſet all the Priſoners at Liberty, who join'd with them. The Bridge-Gate was at firſt ſhut againſt them, but by Threatnings and the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the ſame Temper in the City, the Gates were open'd, and they had free Paſſage into the City, where they declar'd *That they came only to ſearch for Traitors to the Kingdom*, and at that Time paid for what they call'd for, which gave them a Reputation among the common Sort, and increas'd their Numbers. The next Day, being the thirteenth of *June*, they march'd through the City to the *Savoy*, then the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Palace, which they burnt and beat down, deſtroying all the rich Furniture, throwing his Gold and Jewels into the *Thames*, as likewiſe all his Plate, firſt breaking it into ſmall Pieces. Here they by Proclamation made it Capital for any Man to retain the leaſt Thing for his own Uſe, to ſhew the People they were not ſway'd by Avarice; and when one of their Companions was diſcover'd to thruſt a Piece of Plate into his Boſom, they immediately threw him into the Fire, declaring, *That they did not come like Thieves, to inrich themſelves by Plunder.* From the *Savoy* they came back to the Temple, the Abode of the Lawyers, and without harkning to Intreaties burnt their Lodgings, Books, Papers, and all the Records that were there kept. From thence they rang'd to *Clerkenwell*, where they deſtroy'd all the Goods in the Hoſpital of St. *John*, and ſet Fire to that magnificent Building. After which they divided themſelves into three Bodies, one of which being headed by another Captain, call'd *Jack Straw*, went to *Heybury* Mannor, belonging

Walſing. Knyghton. Froiſſart.

The Rebels in vaſt Numbers enter London.

They commit many horrid Outrages.

longing to the Maſter of St. *John*'s Hoſpital, where they were buſied in deſtroying and plundering all the Goods belonging to it, and demoliſhing a noble Houſe that ſtood there. A ſecond Body of them, who were moſt of *Eſſex*, and the neighbouring Parts, lodg'd themſelves upon *Mile-End* Green; and a third about St. *Catharine*'s, and *Tower-Hill*.

Froiſart. Waſſing. &c.

The next Day the King went with ſeveral Noblemen to thoſe at *Mile-End*, who were about ſixty thouſand, where he told them *He was their King*, demanding, *What they would have.* Their Anſwer was, *They deſir'd he would make them, their Heirs and Lands free for ever, ſo that they might not be call'd or reputed Bond-men.* The King granted their Deſire, on Condition they would return home, and leave two or three of each Pariſh to ſtay for their Charters of Freedom, ſeal'd with the Great-Seal; which being diſpatch'd with the utmoſt Expedition, and all their Pardons ſign'd, moſt of the *Eſſex* Men return'd home to their own Habitations. Yet all this did not ſatisfie the inſolent *Wat Tyler*, who had plac'd himſelf and his *Kentiſh* Rabble about *Tower-Hill*; where the Terror of his rude Multitude was ſo great, that the Gates of the *Tower* were open'd to them without Reſiſtance, from whence they hurry'd away the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treaſurer *Hales* and ſome others, and impiouſly cut off their Heads upon *Tower-Hill*. After which they rang'd into the City, and cut off the Heads of many *Engliſhmen*, to whom they had any Averſion; and among the reſt they diſpatch'd a famous Merchant nam'd *Richard Lyons*, whoſe Head they ſet upon a Lance: And their Hatred to the *Flemmings* was ſo implacable, that they drew thirteen of them out of the Church of the *Auguſtin Friars*, and ſeventeen more out of other Churches, and cut off their Heads in the Streets with infernal Shouts and hideous Outcries.

The King Treats with them.

They commit new Outrages.

Ibid.

In the following Day, proceeding in the ſame outragious manner, the King ſent to let them know that their Companions at *Mile-End*, upon receiving Charters of Freedom were return'd home in Peace, offering them the like Charters, if they would accept of them. To which *Wat Tyler* reply'd, *He would embrace Peace, if he lik'd the Conditions*; deſigning to have delay'd the King and Council, ſo that in that Night he might deſtroy both King and Nobility, and plunder and burn the City, as it appear'd afterwards. Three Charters being ſent to him without ſatisfying him, the King at laſt ſent a Knight to him, who told him that he ſhould come and treat with him about the Articles to be inſerted in their Charter; and when the Meſſenger deſir'd him to make haſte, he bad him *Tell the King his Maſter he would come when he ſaw his own Time*, and ſo follow'd on very ſlowly on Horſeback for the greater State. Upon his approaching the King in the Streets, the ſame Knight being ſent again to receive Propoſals from him, he was highly offended becauſe he came to him mounted, and told him, *It became him to alight from his Horſe in his Preſence*, and drew out his Dagger to ſtrike him: Upon which the King coming up, caus'd his Meſſenger to alight. Here *Tyler*'s Demands were ſo bold and exorbitant, that the King, tho' never more ready to comply, began to demur; which caus'd the other to behave himſelf with an Inſolence not to be endur'd by any Soveraign. Whereupon the valiant *John Philpot*, fir'd with Indignation, told his Majeſty, *That if he would command the Lord Mayor to Arreſt the Traitor, he would loſe his Life if it did not ſucceed:* To which the King conſented, and gave ſuch a Command to *William Walworth*, then Lord Mayor, who waiting an Opportunity, and obſerving *Tyler* to play with his Dagger as if he deſign'd ſome fatal Stroke, and then to lay one of his Hands upon the King's Bridle, he inſtantly executed his Arreſt, by giving him a Blow on the Head with his Dagger, which being ſeconded by *Philpot*'s Sword in his Body, he fell down dead at the King's Horſe's Feet, with more Honour than he deſerv'd. The Multitude ſeeing this, began furiouſly to cry out, *Our Captain is murder'd, let's revenge his Death*! But the King with a Courage and Ingenuity beyond his Years, clapp'd Spurs to his Horſe, and riding to the Head of them, cry'd aloud,

The King meets Wat Tyler *in* London *Streets.*

Wat Tyler *ſlain at the Head of his Party.*

Never grieve for the Death of a Traitor, I will be your Captain and Leader, follow me into the Fields, and you ſhall have all your Deſires. Upon which Words, in amaze they follow'd him towards St. *George*'s Fields, 'till Sir *Robert Knolls* with a Thouſand armed Men rais'd by the Mayor, came upon them out of the City, which ſo terrify'd this Headleſs Multitude, that they flung down their Arms and begg'd for Mercy; which the King granted freely, but proclaim'd that no Citizen ſhould have any Correſpondence with them, nor ſuffer them to come within the Liberties. When ſome about the King ask'd leave to ſerve the Rebels as they had ſerv'd others, and to cut off a Hundred or two of their Heads, he mercifully forbad it, leſt the Innocent might ſuffer with the Guilty, for many had been drawn in by Fear, and ſuch fair Pretences as they thought good and loyal; ſo that he ſent them the like Charters he had granted to thoſe of *Eſſex*, and other Counties.

The Rebels ſubmit.

Inſurrections in other Counties.

This Spirit of Inſurrection and Rebellion was not confin'd to *London*, but furiouſly ſpread it ſelf through ſeveral Parts of the Nation. In *Suffolk* about fifty Thouſand aroſe under the Conduct of *John Straw* a wicked Prieſt, who beſides many other Barbarities cut off the Head of Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and ſet it upon the Pillory at St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*. In *Norfolk* vaſt Numbers of the ſame ſort of People aroſe under the Conduct of *John Littiſter*, a Dier of *Norwich*, who compell'd the Lord *Scales*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and other Men of Quality to remain with them, and for their own Security to comply with their Actions. Great Numbers alſo appear'd about St. *Albans*, under the Command of a common Chandler, who committed unheard of Outrages and Cruelties; and others again roſe in ſeveral Parts of *Eſſex*. *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich* prov'd very ſerviceable in ſuppreſſing the Rebels of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Buckingham* and Lord *Piercy* did the ſame in *Eſſex*, but in both Places with conſiderable Bloodſhed. However in a ſhort Time all Inſurrections were quell'd, and the Multitudes diſpers'd; and the King appointed Sir *Robert Treſilian* his Chief Juſtice, and ſome others to try and puniſh the Ring-leaders of this dangerous Rebellion. Many were executed at ſeveral Places, of whom *John Straw* and *John Ball* the Prieſt had been moſt notorious; and by the Confeſſions of theſe two it appear'd what deſperate Deſigns had been laid towards the Ruin and Subverſion of the Nation. Particularly, That when they aſſembled at *Black-Heath*, and ſent to the King to come to them, they deſign'd to have ſlain all the Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen that came with him, and to have carry'd the King with them from Place to Place, that the Mob might with greater Aſſurance come in to their Aſſiſtance when they ſhould ſee him, as it were the Promoter of their Inſurrections: That when their Numbers were ſufficient in all Counties, they were to have kill'd ſuch Lords, Knights and others as were moſt able to reſiſt them, eſpecially the *Hoſpitallers*: At laſt they were to have kill'd the King, and all the Biſhops, Monks, and Rectors of Churches poſſeſs'd of any Lands and real Eſtates, only ſparing the *Mendicant* Friars, who were ſufficient to perform Divine Service throughout the Nation: After all, when there had been none more powerful and knowing than themſelves, they would make ſuch Laws as they pleas'd, by which the People were to be govern'd; and they intended to have created new Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and one in each County. In Conſideration therefore of this great Eſcape, and the Worth of particular Perſons, the King Knighted *William Walworth* Lord Mayor, *John Philpot*, *Nicholas Brembre*, and *Robert Laund* Aldermen; and gave to the firſt a hundred Pounds *per Annum* Land, and to the other three forty Pounds *per An.* to them and their Heirs for ever: And, as ſome write, the Dagger was now added to the Arms of the City of *London*. And leſt the miſchievous Multitude ſhould to the King's Diſhonour and common Hurt of the Church and Kingdom, enjoy any Benefit by their intolerable Outrages, the King by the Advice of his Council ſent revocatory Letters into all Parts, by which he declar'd, 'That no Man ſhould

They are ſuppreſs'd.

The Deſigns of the late Rebels.

The King's Grants revok'd.

Walſing. &c.

'enjoy

'enjoy any Freedom or Advantage by virtue of any extorted Grants, and Char-
'ters, during the late Inſurrections: All which was likewiſe declar'd and ratify'd in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* not long after.

Ibid. In the ſame Year of theſe Tumults and Inſurrections, the *Engliſh* Valour began again to diſplay it ſelf in diſtant Countries, chiefly to gratifie the private Ends of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who claim'd the Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon* in *Spain*, in right of *Conſtance* his Wife. For *John* King of *Portugal* had a defenſive War againſt *John* then Poſſeſſor of the Crown of *Caſtile*, who alſo challeng'd the Crown of *Portugal*, in right of *Beatrix* his Wife, the only Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, which this other *John*, a natural Son of *Ferdinand*'s, had by Faction uſurp'd. To the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Portugal* were ſent the King's Uncle, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, with many Knights, and others experienc'd in Arms. Theſe arriving in *Portugal*, moſt valiantly defended that Country for about two Years, and were the principal Cauſe of giving the *Spaniards* a ſignal Overthrow, in which they loſt ten thouſand Men in Battel. But at length the two Kings by a publick Agreement, bore the Charges of conveying home the *Engliſh* in Common, that their Countries might be freed from a Power of which they were both equally jealous. In this Expedition *Edward*, Son to the King's Uncle the Earl of *Cambridge*, marry'd the Daughter of *John* King of *Portugal*; but afterwards, the Earl not thinking it fit to leave his Son behind him as ſuſpecting the Faith of the *Portugueſe*, nor the other to venture his Daughter with the Earl, they ever remain'd disjoin'd in Perſons, however united in Ceremony. In the mean Time the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Occaſion of the Expedition, at breaking out of the Inſurrections was upon the Borders of *Scotland*, about ſetling a two Years Truce with the *Scots*, which he concluded with what Expedition he could before the *Scots* had full Intelligence of the Troubles in *England*. The *Scots*, tho' they were ſorry that this Truce had hinder'd them from great Advantages in *England*, underſtanding that ſome *Engliſh* Peers had form'd Deſigns againſt the Duke, freely offer'd him twenty thouſand Men to defend his Honour; but he loyally refuſing the Offer, they gave him liberty to go and come into their Nation at his Liberty, with all the Marks of Civility and Hoſpitality.

The Engliſh *Acts in* Portugal.

The Duke of Lancaſter *makes a Truce with the* Scots.

Walſing. &c. II. King *Richard* being now in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, and the Nation in quiet, he marry'd the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, and Siſter to *Wenceſlaus* the preſent Emperor and King of *Bohemia*. This Princeſs arriving at *Dover*, was receiv'd with great Solemnity by a ſplendid Concourſe of Nobility, and was marry'd to the King on the fourteenth Day of *January*; and the Nuptials being celebrated with extraordinary Magnificence, ſhe was ſolemnly crown'd Queen by *William Courtney*, lately made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. She was a Princeſs of great Virtue and Goodneſs, which was all the King had with her; for inſtead of a great Portion in Mony which he was then offer'd with the Duke of *Milan*'s Daughter, he gave the Emperor ten thouſand Marks for his Alliance, which never prov'd of any Advantage to him. Not long after, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, where many uſeful Things were enacted concerning the Exceſs of Apparel, the Tranſportation of Corn, and other Matters: But to what Purpoſe, ſays *Walſingham*, are Acts of Parliament, when after they are paſs'd, they take no Effect? For, adds he, the King and his private Council did uſually change or aboliſh all Things which had been eſtabliſh'd by the whole Nobility and Commons of *England*. Nevertheleſs it was then provided, that ſuch as had done any Thing in their own Defence againſt the Rebels, without the Ordinary Forms of Law, ſhould ſuſtain no Damage, but be as much indemnify'd as if they had enjoy'd their particular Pardons; and that all Releaſes, Feoffments, and other Acts done during theſe *Hurling Times*, as they were call'd, by way of Conſtraint or Neceſſity, ſhould be utterly void. With the ſpecial Approbation of this Parliament

A. D. 1382. Reg. 5.

King Richard *marries* Anne *Siſter to the Emperor.*

A Parliament call'd.

ment Sir *Richard Scroop* was made Chancellor of the Realm, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treaſurer: But it was not long after before this worthy Chancellor, denying to paſs ſuch exorbitant Grants under the Great-Seal, as the King in his youthful Humour had imprudently given to ſome greedy Courtiers, fell into the King's undeſerved Diſpleaſure. He alledg'd ſeveral Reaſons for his Denial; as that the King was greatly in Debt, and therefore ſuch Bounties ought rather to be imploy'd in diſcharging ſome of the Creditors; That theſe Courtiers, knowing that he was ſo much involv'd, were not true Friends to his Majeſty, regarding their private Gains before his Profit, or the publick Wants; That the ſame Courtiers had formerly receiv'd ſuch Gifts from his Majeſty, as were anſwerable to their Services; and that himſelf, if he ſhould ſeal theſe Grants made in the King's Minority, would receive no Thanks when he ſhould come to riper Years. After all theſe Allegations, he was order'd more than once to ſend the Seal to the King; and going in Perſon he ſurrender'd it with theſe Words, *That he would always be loyal and faithful to his Majeſty, but would never bear any Office under him as long as he liv'd.* By this Act the King highly diſguſted the great Men and others of the Kingdom; and gave the firſt Occaſion of Diſlike to his Government, or rather to his chief Miniſters, who then manag'd all Affairs, and continually prevail'd upon the King's Youth, and Eaſineſs of his Temper.

The King diſobliges the Nobility and others.

A. D. 1383. Reg. 6/7. About theſe Times, *Henry Spenſer*, the Martial Biſhop of *Norwich*, being drawn on by Pope *Urban* to preach up the *Cruſado*, and to ſerve as General againſt *Clement*, whom ſeveral Cardinals and Prelates had alſo elected Pope, obtain'd a Fifteenth from the Parliament for that purpoſe; and having gather'd a conſiderable Force, he paſs'd over into *Flanders* to ſupport the Cauſe of *Urban* againſt the Anti-Pope *Clement*. Moſt of the Nobility were great Oppoſers of this Expedition, yet ſtill the Biſhop for a while proceeded with great Succeſs, took *Gravelin*, *Burburgh*, *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and ſeveral other Places, and gain'd alſo a Victory at Sea againſt thirty thouſand of *Clement*'s Aſſiſtants; yet at length he was forc'd to return before he expected, being deſtitute of thoſe further Succours promis'd him from *England*. And what prov'd harder to him, the King, upon Pretence that he had not exactly obey'd his Orders and Commands, for a while ſeiz'd upon all his Temporalties. In the mean Time the King himſelf with his young Queen ſpent all the Summer in Jollity and youthful Recreations, going on Progreſs to the great Abbies about the Kingdom, with an exceſſive Retinue of *Bohemians*; and lying at the Abby of St. *Edmund*'s *Bury* no leſs than ten Days, it prov'd a heavy Burden, being both of them preſented there, as well as at all the other Monaſteries they viſited, with large Gifts, which the Queen pour'd forth upon her *Bohemian* Countrymen. And as this was an Indication of exceſſive Eaſineſs and Prodigality in the King, ſo it extreamly diminiſh'd the Eſteem his Subjects hitherto had of him.

The Acts of Spenſer Biſhop of Norwich.

Ibid.

The King's Recreations.

A. D. 1384. Reg. 7/8. In the Beginning of the following Year, the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd from his Embaſſie in *France*, where he could only procure a Truce of half a Year's Continuance. At his Return, he and his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, advanc'd with a very great Force towards *Scotland*, to revenge the Breach of a Truce; but ſtaid ſo long upon the Borders, 'till all Proviſions being conſum'd, the Inhabitants receiv'd more Injury from the *Engliſh* Army than by the Invaſion of the *Scots*. Yet afterwards he enter'd *Scotland*, but by means of his Delays, the *Scots* had ſufficient Time to ſecure their Goods and Perſons; ſo that meeting with nothing but Hunger and Cold, after the Loſs of many Men and Horſes, the Duke return'd with Diſhonour. Soon after his Return he was encounter'd with a more dangerous Enemy; a *Carmelite* Friar, had at a Parliament held at *Salisbury*, made a Diſcovery in Writing to the King, of a Deſign that the Duke had to deſtroy his Majeſty, and uſurp the Crown: But the King adviſing about it only with ſome of his Chaplains, and the Duke coming in ſud-

Walſing.

The Duke of Lancaſter enters Scotland.

He is accus'd of Treaſon.

denly

denly upon them, they counſell'd the King to ſhow the Duke his Accuſation in Writing; upon the Sight of which, he boldly deny'd all, and ſo ſeemingly well clear'd himſelf, that the Friar was committed Priſoner to the Cuſtody of the Lord *John Holland*, and the Evening before the appointed Time of Hearing the Cauſe, he was found murder'd after a moſt barbarous and unheard of Manner. The next Morning the Friar's Body was dragg'd about the Streets, as a Traitor at a Horſe's Tail, to remove all Suſpicion of the Murther; and the Earl of *Buckingham* furiouſly ruſh'd into the King's Chamber, declaring with a terrible Oath, *That he would kill any Perſon living who durſt lay Treaſon to his Brother's Charge, not excepting the King himſelf.* But what tended much to the Duke's Innocency, was, that the Lord *Zouch* was likewiſe accus'd of the ſame Treaſon by the ſame Friar; and being ſick was forc'd to be brought thither in a Litter, and examin'd before the Lords, where he ſolemnly deny'd the whole Accuſation upon Oath, and that he ever heard or thought of ſuch a Deſign: Upon which he was acquitted, and permitted to return home; and afterwards became an utter Enemy to all *Carmelite* Friars. Not long after this Eſcape, the Duke's Enemies, who highly wiſh'd for his Death, ſo repreſented him to the King, that it was agreed he ſhould be ſuddenly arreſted, and brought before chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, who had boldly undertaken to give Sentence againſt him, tho' the Law gave him the Privilege of his Peers. But the Duke being forewarn'd of theſe Contrivances, haſten'd to his Caſtle at *Pomfret*, and there ſtood upon his Guard; upon which the Princeſs *Joan* the King's Mother, dreading the fatal Effects of ſuch a Rupture, took infinite Pains by Riding, notwithſtanding her Years and Corpulency, between the King and the Duke, to pacifie and reconcile them; and at length brought them to ſuch Terms, that all Appearance of Diſpleaſure on one Side, and Diſtruſt on the other, was for that Time remov'd.

He is clear'd.

After new Suſpicions he is reconcil'd to the King.

Ibid. This Storm being over, the Duke went again into *France* in mighty State, to treat about a Peace; and tho' he ſtaid a conſiderable Time with many Noblemen in his Company, yet he only obtain'd three Months Truce, after the Expence of fifty thouſand Marks. During his Abſence, a great Favourite of his call'd *John* of *Northampton*, alias *Comberton*, once Mayor of *London*, was ſummon'd before the King and Nobility, and try'd for ſome late ſeditious Practices in *London*, and formally convicted. Sentence being ready to be given againſt him in the King's Preſence, he alledg'd *That Judgment ought not to paſs upon him in the Abſence of his Lord the Duke of* Lancaſter, *which at the ſame Time render'd him ſuſpected*; but the Judge told the Criminal, *That he muſt acquit himſelf by Duel, or elſe by the Laws of the Land muſt be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd*; to which making no Anſwer, he was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, ſent to *Tintagel* Caſtle in *Cornwall*, and had his Goods ſeiz'd for the King's Uſe. Shortly after, a new Parliament being call'd, News was brought of the Surprize of the Caſtle of *Berwick* by the *Scots*, being ſold by the Deputy-Governor to the Earl of *Northumberland*; for which the Earl, tho' abſent, was accus'd; and, by the Procurement of the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Enemy, found guilty of Treaſon without his Appearance. But Circumſtances being conſider'd, the King pardon'd him, but much againſt the Duke's Inclinations; which was alſo the Occaſion of a freſh Conteſt between theſe two great Men. As ſoon as the Earl was pardon'd and reſtor'd, he himſelf rais'd a conſiderable Army, and march'd to the Siege of that Caſtle in the Depth of Winter; but finding he could not then take it by Force, he recover'd it the ſame Way it was loſt, obtaining it by the Sum of two thouſand Marks paid to the Garriſon; and by that dear-bought Experience learnt to take greater Care of that conſiderable Fortreſs.

He goes into France.

Berwick *Caſtle loſt to the* Scots

but recover'd again.

Knighton. Walſing. The King and Court liv'd in great State, Pleaſure and Security, 'till the Beginning of the next *June*, when News arriv'd of a formidable Invaſion from *France*; and that *John de Vienne*, their Admiral, was ſail'd from

A. D. 1385. Reg. 8/9.

France joins with Scotland. from thence with a vaſt Fleet, and had tranſported a numerous Army into *Scotland*, to join with the *Scots*, and enter *England* that Way. Upon which the King immediately prepar'd an Army to march into *Scotland*, and ſent the Duke of *Lancaſter* with a conſiderable Force to ſecure the Borders. In the Beginning of *July* the King went in Perſon to *Leiceſter*, and his beloved Queen with him; where he was attended by the Flower of the *Engliſh* Militia, as Earls, Barons, Knights and others, to a prodigious Number, who made noble Preparations for them, which extreamly pleas'd the King. But upon his Arrival at *York*, that Satisfaction was much abated by an unfortunate Accident near that City: For a Quarrel ariſing between the Lord *John Holland* the King's Half-Brother, and the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Stafford*; the former kill'd the latter upon the Road, as he was going to the Queen, whoſe menial Servant he was. At which the King was ſo highly incens'd at the Loſs of one bred up with himſelf, that he commanded his Brother to be ſeiz'd, and his Goods to be confiſcated; but this young Lord, finding the Tide run ſo high againſt him, avoided the Storm by taking Sanctuary at *Beverly*. The Princeſs *Joan*, Mother both to the King and this Nobleman, hearing this ill News, immediately ſent Meſſengers to the King to intercede for her Son, and obtain his Pardon; but the King was ſo inrag'd, that he abſolutely deny'd her Requeſt; with which ſhe was ſo ſenſibly afflicted, that it caſt her into a Fit of Sickneſs, which in four or five Days prov'd her Death. Her Body being embalm'd was preſerv'd 'till the King's Return from *Scotland*, when it was ſolemnly interr'd in the Church of the *Friars Minors* at *Stanford*; after which the King's Fury againſt his Brother gradually diminiſh'd.

A bad Accident near York

King Richard *enters* Scotland About the Beginning of *Auguſt* the King enter'd *Scotland* with his mighty Army, but to little Effect; for either he could not find the *Scots*, or could not follow them into their Woods, Bogs and Faſtneſſes, whither they and their Cattle were retired. So finding the Country vacant, he burnt the City of *Edinburgh*, and ſeveral other Places, and deſtroy'd many Woods and Groves. But when the Duke of *Lancaſter* urg'd him to imitate his noble Grand-father King *Edward*, in carrying his Arms beyond the *Friths*, and in totally reducing that Kingdom, the King was ſo far from complying, that ſuſpecting the Duke gave him this Advice only to ruin him and his Army with long Marches and Famine, he return'd him very ſharp and opprobrious Language upon that Subject; and tho' the Duke's Anſwers were temper'd with great Duty and Modeſty, yet they had ſo little Effect, that the Lords found it very difficult to reconcile the King and him. The Seaſon being far advanc'd, King *Richard* return'd into *England*, and in full Time; for during theſe Tranſactions in *Scotland*, the *Scotch* and *French* Forces ſlipping paſt the *Engliſh*, enter'd the *Weſt-Marches*, burnt *Penrith*, plunder'd the Country, took many Priſoners, and indanger'd *Carliſle*. But hearing of the Return of the *Engliſh* Army, they retir'd into their own Country; but carry'd more out of *England*, than King *Richard* with his dreadful Army could do out of *Scotland*, tho' he had the Plunder of the Capital City of the Kingdom: Upon ſuch unequal Terms muſt a Richer Nation make War upon a Poorer as warlike as themſelves. All this Time the *French* King was providing a mighty Fleet and Army at *Sluis* in *Flanders* to invade *England*, but was hinder'd in the Attempt by the *Flemmings*, who tir'd with the Heavineſs of the *French* Yoke, had taken up Arms and ſurpriz'd the ſtrong Town of *Dam*; which tho' it was recover'd in no long Time, yet by this Diverſion the *French* King was forc'd to defer his intended Invaſion 'till the next Year.

Walſing. &c.

but to little Effect.

A Parliament. In the mean Time the King held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in which was granted large Supplies towards an Expedition to be made by the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *Spain*, under the Title of King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. In which Parliament alſo the King's Uncle *Edward* Earl of *Cambridge* was created Duke of *York*, and had a Grant from the King of a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* to ſupport

Several new Promotions.

Ibid.

port his Dignity; and alſo *Thomas* Earl of *Buckingham*, the King's other Uncle, was created Duke of *Gloceſter*, with the like Gift or Settlement to ſupport his Dignity. At the ſame Time *Michael de la Pole* was made Earl of *Suffolk*, with a ſuitable Penſion, which occaſion'd ſome Diſcontent, tho' his Family had well deſerv'd of the Crown in the laſt Reign. But what rais'd the greateſt Envy was the Advance of *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who, without any Thing to recommend him but a beautiful Body, was now by an unuſual Title created Marqueſs of *Dublin*, and had a Grant of all the Revenues of *Ireland*, except ſome Royalties reſerv'd to the Crown, upon paying the annual Sum of five thouſand Marks. The King's extraordinary Fondneſs to this handſom Favourite, was the Occaſion of great Scandal, both to One and the Other. To conclude this Year, the famous *John Wickliff*, after he had made great Numbers of Proſelytes, dy'd of a Palſie, to the great Joy of the Monkiſh Writers of thoſe Times; who boldly aſcrib'd his Death to the Judgement of God, and that as a Puniſhment for his Heretical Sermons, the Uſe of his Tongue was taken from him. He was bury'd at his own Pariſh-Church at *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where his Bones reſted in Peace, 'till forty one Years after, by a Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, they were dug up and burnt as thoſe of a Heretick.

Dr. Wickliff's Death.

Knighton. Walſing. The Time was now come when King *Richard* ſhould ſee himſelf deliver'd from thoſe Fears and Jealouſies which the Greatneſs of his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* had rais'd in his Mind. And upon *Eaſter* Day the Duke, as King of *Caſtile*, with the Princeſs *Conſtance* his Wife, came to take Leave of the King, who beſtow'd on him a Crown of Gold, and the Queen gave another to the Dutcheſs his Wife; and at the ſame Time the King commanded all about him to ſtile and honour him as a King. On the ninth of *July* he ſet Sail for *Spain*, with a ſelect Army of near twenty thouſand Men, in which ſeveral brave Noblemen were chief Officers; and took with him his Wife, eldeſt Daughter and Heireſs to the late *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, and his two Daughters. And this Titular King now obtain'd ſo much Favour from Pope *Urban*, that out of the Hatred he bore to *Henry* the preſent Poſſeſſor of *Caſtile*, who deny'd his Authority, he granted the like Indulgence or Remiſſion of Sins to all ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt him in his Expedition, as had been granted to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, when he made War in *Flanders*. But this Indulgence, tho' ſolemnly publiſh'd at the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, did the Duke little Service; for the frequent Diſpenſations and Abuſes of theſe Indulgences, had render'd them ſo contemptible, that few would contribute any Thing to this pretended *Cruſado*. However the Duke proceeded with Fame and Succeſs for a long Time; and firſt landing in *Bretaign*, reliev'd *Breſt* beſieg'd by the Duke of that Country, tho' with the Loſs of ſome Men of Quality. Then landing at the *Groyne*, he proceeded with great Terror and Valour, took *Compoſtella* and *Villeclope*, with ſeveral other Places, ſubdu'd the greateſt Part of *Gallicia*, and marry'd his eldeſt Daughter *Philippa* to *John* King of *Portugal*. Yet after all this, before the End of the next Year, the *Engliſh* Army was ſo waſted by the Diſeaſes of that Country, that not being able to act any thing more of Note, the Duke was oblig'd to enter into a Treaty with *John* King of *Caſtile* the Son of *Henry* the Baſtard, and to quit all his Right to that Kingdom, upon certain Conditions and Articles. So that this Expedition into *Spain*, tho' it much diſplay'd the Valour of the *Engliſh* Nation, yet it prov'd much more to the Honour than the Advantage of *England*, which was extreamly weaken'd, by being depriv'd of ſo many brave Soldiers, when the Nation had ſo much need of them againſt the common Enemy the *French*.

A. D. 1386. Reg. 2/10.

The Duke of Lancaſter *goes into* Spain *with a brave Army.*

His Acts and Succeſs.

Walſing. Mezeray. Froiſart. For at this Time the *French* threaten'd a more terrible Invaſion than ever was known before; but the King fearing that *Calais* might be firſt in Danger, immediately ſent for its Security *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and By-nam'd *Hotſpur*, a young Gentleman, whom our Author

ſays was the Pattern of all Virtue and Martial Bravery. But in a ſhort Time, after he had in ſome Degree anſwer'd this Character in *France*, he return'd home to defend his Native Country, which was this Summer under frequent Alarms and great Conſternation from the formidable Preparations of the *French* King, who had gather'd a vaſt Navy and a prodigious Army at *Sluis* for that Deſign. And the better to ſecure the Soldiers at their firſt Landing, the *French* had fram'd a wonderful Wooden Wall, three Miles in Compaſs, no leſs than twenty Foot high, with a great Number of Turrets, with which they were to have ſuddenly inclos'd their Camp. But it fortunately happen'd, that the Lord *Beauchamp*, Commander in *Calais*, took three of their Ships laden with Part of this extraordinary Incloſure, which the King caus'd to be ſet round *Winchelſea* to ſecure that Town; and alſo took another Ship full of great Guns, and other Inſtruments of War. Tho' this was a great Diſcouragement, yet the *French* King, having moſt of his Nobility with him, reſolv'd to purſue his Enterprize; but Providence, which had ſav'd *France* in the laſt Reign, ſeem'd to have ſav'd *England* in this: For the Wind kept contrary from the Middle of *Auguſt* to the Middle of *November*; and at length chopping about, ſo far flatter'd the *French*, that they ſet out the Fleet to Sea; but being ſeven or eight Leagues from the Shore, it not only turn'd about to its former Quarter, but drove them back with ſuch a violent Fury upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, that it deſtroy'd ſeveral of their Ships. Upon which Accident the King of *France* reſolv'd to defer the Expedition 'till the next Spring; but before that Time, *England* being put into a better Poſture of Defence, the Deſign became ineffectual. All agree that the Kingdom had never a greater Eſcape and Deliverance, as well for the Want of its beſt Soldiers, as for many other Reaſons; and we are aſſur'd That the World never ſaw a greater and more glorious Fleet together; for it conſiſted of near thirteen hundred Sail of Veſſels of all Sorts: And as for Land Forces, beſides fifteen Dukes, twenty ſix Earls, and two hundred Barons, there were a hundred thouſand Soldiers. At this great Diſappointment, the *French* Nobility were highly diſguſted, but much more the common People, by reaſon of ſo vaſt a Sum of Mony being rais'd for nothing; for the preſent Charge was found to ſurpaſs the Ranſom of King *John* in the laſt Reign.

The French *make vaſt Preparations againſt* England.

but to no Effect.

This Deliverance was ſo much the more ſignal, becauſe in the Time of the greateſt Danger, violent Diſcontents and Murmurings aroſe among the Commons as well as Nobility againſt the King's Favourites; particularly *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been made Lord-Chancellor of *England*; and *Robert de Vere*, who was now advanc'd to the unheard of Honour of Duke of *Ireland*, with a Grant of the Profits and Government of the whole Kingdom, only reſerving to the King the Superior Dominion. Theſe Diſcontents appearing in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commons being ready to impeach the Chancellor of ſeveral Crimes, the King retir'd after he had once appear'd, and trifled away his Time at *Eltham*, during a great Part of the Seſſion. Whereupon the Nobility and Commons by joint Conſent, diſpatch'd a Meſſage to him, declaring *That the Chancellor and Treaſurer ought to be remov'd from their Offices, becauſe they were not for the Advantage of himſelf and Kingdom.* At which the King being highly offended, commanded them to mention no ſuch Matter, but immediately proceed to the Buſineſs for which they were ſummon'd; declaring, *That he would not for their Sakes, or at their Inſtance, remove the meaneſt Scullion Boy in his Kitchen.* But what yet more inrag'd them againſt the Chancellor was, That he, in the Name of the King, had deſir'd of the Commons extraordinary Supplies for the Neceſſities of the King's Houſhold, as well as the publick Wars; therefore by joint Aſſent the Lords and Commons return'd this Anſwer to the King, *That they neither could nor would proceed in any Buſineſs of Parliament, or diſpatch the leaſt Article, 'till the King came in Perſon amongſt them, and remov'd the Chancellor from his Office.* Upon which the King appointed them that they ſhould order forty

Knighton. Walſing.

Great Diſcontents in Parliament againſt the King's Favourites.

Knights

Knights of the moſt ſubſtantial and wiſeſt of the Commons to come to him, and declare the Opinions of the reſt; but a ſtrong Rumour ariſing that theſe Knights would be in danger of their Lives, the Project was altogether ineffectual. After this the whole Parliament by common Conſent deputed the King's Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, to go to the King at *Eltham*, and deliver to him the Senſe of the whole Aſſembly; which they did in a ſet formal Speech, in which they declar'd to his Majeſty, *That they had it eſtabliſh'd by ancient Conſtitution, That the King ought to call a Parliament once every Year, upon many Accounts; That if the King through his ungovernable Will did eſtrange and withdraw himſelf from his Parliament for the Space of forty Days, the Members were at liberty to return to their own Habitations without further Proceedings.* Upon this the King imprudently anſwer'd, *That now he perceiv'd that his People and the Commons intended to make Inſurrections againſt him; and in ſuch a Caſe nothing ſeem'd more proper than to call in his Coſin the King of* France, *to receive Advice and Aſſiſtance from him, and even to ſubmit himſelf to him, rather than truckle to his own Subjects.* To which theſe Lords return'd a long and ſevere Anſwer, and particularly declar'd to him, *That they had an ancient Conſtitution, not very long ſince put in Execution, That if the King, through evil Council, Obſtinacy, Contempt of his Subjects, or by any other irregular Courſes, ſhould alienate himſelf from his People, and refuſe to govern by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and ſhould precipitate himſelf into wild Deſigns, and abandon himſelf to his arbitrary Will; that from that Time it ſhould be lawful for his People, by their full and free Conſent, to* depoſe *that King from his Throne, and ſet upon it another of the Royal Family.*

They ſend a bold Meſſage to the King.

Walſing. Knighton. Theſe and the like Speeches had ſuch an Effect upon the King, that within three Days he came to the Parliament, where *De la Pole* was impeach'd of ſeveral high Crimes and Miſdemeanors by the Commons, which are too long to be here ſpecify'd; and which were ſo fully prov'd, that the Earl having nothing to reply, the King bluſhing and ſhaking his Head, ſaid, *Alas, alas,* Michael, *ſee what thou haſt done?* And when his Majeſty deſir'd a Supply, the Commons anſwer'd, *That he did not need any Taxes of his Subjects, while he might ſo eaſily furniſh himſelf from him who was his juſt Debtor:* Yet upon the King's yielding to have him turn'd out of all Offices, they granted him a Supply and a Tax upon ſeveral Commodities. They alſo granted that the new Duke of *Ireland* ſhould have the thirty thouſand Marks, which was to be receiv'd of the Heirs of *Charles* of *Blois*, provided he would go into *Ireland* before *Eaſter*, and uſe the Mony towards the Recovery of thoſe Dominions the King had given him in that Iſland; ſo paſſionately did the Parliament deſire his Abſence, that they would rather want ſo much Treaſure, than indure him in *England* to influence the King. At the ſame Time *Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely* was made Lord Chancellor, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Hereford* made Treaſurer, and *John de Waltham* Keeper of the Privy-Seal. Furthermore, the Parliament obſerving, that by the great Corruption of the King's Officers, the publick Revenue was vainly conſum'd, the King inſufferably defrauded, the common People by continual Burthens miſerably impoveriſh'd, the Rents and Profits of the great Men much impair'd, and by all this that the King's Officers became unmeaſurably rich; they therefore choſe eleven Lords, and gave them Leave and Power to inſpect, treat and determine all Affairs, Cauſes and Complaints ariſing from Matters of this Nature ſince the Death of King *Edward* the Third, 'till this preſent Time. Then the Parliament broke up, and the King made this Proteſtation, *That for any Thing that was done in that Parliament, he deſign'd it not to the Prejudice of himſelf or his Crown.* The Reaſon of this Proteſtation ſoon appear'd to the whole Nation, for the King was ſo diſſatisfy'd at the Treatment of his Favourites, that he afterwards revok'd and abrogated all

The King complies with the Parliament.

The Parliament makes many Regulations.

the Proceedings of this Parliament. He was ſo far from parting with the Earl of *Suffolk* and the Duke of *Ireland*, that he receiv'd them into much greater Favour and Confidence than ever; and at *Chriſtmaſs* following, admitted the former to ſit down with him at his Table, not in the uſual Habit of a Peer, but in the Robes of a Prince. And our Authors agree, That theſe Favourites had ſo tranſcending an Influence, that during the Seſſions of this Parliament, they with the King's own Conſent had form'd a Deſign of inviting the Duke of *Gloceſter* and other leading Men to a Supper at the Houſe of a certain Citizen of *London*, where they were all to have been murder'd; by whoſe Death they not only hop'd to be reveng'd on their Enemies, but alſo to ſet the King free from all future Reſtraints: But this Conſpiracy was defeated by means of the timely Notice that was given to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who prevented the reſt from accepting the Invitation. This was firſt effected by the Induſtry and Courage of Sir *Richard Exton*, the Mayor of *London*; who being ask'd by the King to give his Conſent, or at leaſt Connivance to this Action, declar'd, *He would never imbrue his Hands in innocent Blood*. So that the Perſons againſt whom this Deſign was form'd, by this means became more popular and beloved, while their Enemies grew more and more odious to the Body of the People.

A. D. 1387. Reg. 10/11. Theſe Favourites, and ſome others, not long after hearing that *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham* Marſhal of *England* had ingag'd with a great Fleet of *French*, *Flemmings* and *Spaniards*, and had taken above a hundred Ships with nineteen thouſand Tun of Wine, beſides the Admiral of *Flanders* and other Men of Note, they openly degraded the Victory, and ſaid, *That the Vanquiſh'd were only Merchants, whoſe Amity would have been more advantagious to the Nation than all that they had gain'd.* Yet ſtill the Earls proceeding in their Expedition, ſail'd to the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, and landed near *Breſt*, where they not only reliev'd the Place, but attacking two Forts lately built for the Defence of the Court, they took and garriſon'd the one, and burnt and deſtroy'd the other; and then return'd home with the great Applauſe of all Men except the Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and ſome Courtiers, who not being inclin'd to Martial Actions themſelves, envy'd the worthy Exploits of others. Yet theſe had ſo much Influence over the King, that tho' the Earl of *Nottingham* was Lord Marſhal, and had been brought up with him, he was ſo far from congratulating or thanking him, that he receiv'd him with the greateſt Coldneſs, and ſcarce took any Notice of him. After this Earl, the brave Lord *Piercy*, *Henry Hotſpur*, was ſent to Sea; who tho' he was poorly provided of Men, and not much countenanc'd at Court, which envy'd the great Reputation he gain'd at the Recovery of *Berwick*, yet he undertook the Employment; and having guarded the Seas the reſt of the Year, and behaved himſelf gallantly againſt the *French*, he return'd in Safety, much to the Diſappointment of his Enemies at Court. By ſuch Means and Practices as theſe, King *Richard*, from being highly reſpected and belov'd, came to be generally hated and deſpis'd by the Nobility and People; for theſe Favourites had ſo corrupted his natural Temper by Luxury and Effeminacy, that not only Military Affairs, but the Princely Exerciſes of Hawking and Hunting were thought too rough and tireſome for their tender Bodies.

Ibid.

The Kingdom endanger'd by Favourites.

As to the Duke of *Ireland*, he became ſo inſolent, that preſuming on his Power with the King, he openly divorc'd his Wife *Philippa*, tho' Grand-Daughter to King *Edward* the Third, and a Lady of no ſmall Beauty and irreproachable Virtue; and in her ſtead preferr'd to his Bed one *Lancerona*, a *Bohemian* of the meaneſt Extract who waited upon the Queen. Tho' the King took no Notice of this Affront offer'd to his Coſin-German, yet her Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter* highly reſented it, and only waited for an Opportunity of Revenge; which the other perceiving, he reſolv'd to ſtrike firſt. And now the Time being come for the Duke of *Ireland* to depart, to amuſe the People the

Walſing. Knighton.

the King went down with him into *Wales*, pretending to ſee him take Shipping there; but the true Reaſon was, that being remote ſom the Nobility, they might the more ſecurely conſult how to circumvent and deſtroy the Duke of *Gloceſter*, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby* and *Nottingham*, and others of the contrary Party. Here the Earl of *Suffolk* and chief Juſtice *Treſilian* join'd with the utmoſt Zeal; and having form'd their Deſign and agreed upon the Execution, the King came to *Nottingham*, bringing the Duke of *Ireland* and the reſt of the Cabal along with him; to which Place they ſummon'd divers Citizens of *London*, the Sheriffs of every County, and all the Judges of *England*. They advis'd with the Sheriffs about what Forces they could raiſe for the King's Service againſt the Lords, and commanded them, *That they ſhould not ſuffer any to be return'd as Members for the next Parliament, but ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould nominate.* To which the Sheriffs reply'd, *That the Commons generally favour'd the ſaid Lords, ſo that it was not in their Power to raiſe an Army in that Caſe; and as for Parliament Men, they could not hinder the People from keeping to their ancient Cuſtom of free Elections.* But the Anſwers of the Judges were more agreeable to the Court than thoſe of the Sheriffs; and the better to colour theſe Proceedings with a Form of Law, ſeveral Queſtions were propounded to the Judges, touching the late Proviſions, or Act of Parliament, giving the eleven Lords Power to inſpect and puniſh Miſcarriages in the King's Miniſters. But the main Queſtion was, Whether by the Law of the Land the King might not diſanul the Decrees of the laſt Parliament: They jointly anſwer'd *He might, becauſe he was above the Law*; confeſſing alſo, *That they themſelves had in that Parliament given their Judgment that Things were according to Law, which now they acknowledg'd to be contrary to it.* But when they were order'd to ſign their Opinions in Writing, Sir *Robert Belknap*, chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, ſtood out againſt the reſt; but being highly threaten'd by the Duke of *Ireland* and Earl of *Suffolk*, he at laſt conſented, and having put his Seal to it, he broke forth into theſe Words: *Now I want nothing but a Hurdle and a Halter to bring me to the Death I deſerve: If I had refus'd it, I had ſuffer'd by your Hands; and now I have gratify'd the King and you, I deſerve to die for betraying the Nobility of the Kingdom.* The King having the Lawyers of his Side, endeavour'd to raiſe Forces in ſeveral Parts of the Land, but with no great Effect; and after a long Progreſs, he return'd to *London*, where he was receiv'd with great Pomp and Splendor, and where his Friends were moſt numerous.

They form a pernicious Deſign at Nottingham.

The Judges join with them.

Ibid. The Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Lords of his Party finding the Deſigns of the Courtiers againſt them, firſt endeavour'd to vindicate, and then to defend themſelves againſt their Artifices. And the Duke offer'd to purge himſelf by Oath before the Biſhop of *London*, *That he had no Deſign againſt the King's Perſon or Dignity*; with which the Biſhop acquainted the King, and was like to have obtain'd Credit, 'till the Earl of *Suffolk* violently incens'd his Majeſty againſt the Duke. For which the Biſhop took the liberty to tell him openly, *That it became him to be wholly ſilent, ſince he ſtood condemn'd in Parliament, and liv'd only by the King's Grace and Favour.* But finding the King ſo much at the Earl's Diſpoſal as to command him out of his Preſence, he inform'd the Duke how much the King was influenc'd by his wicked Counſellors, and adviſ'd him to obviate the Deſtruction prepar'd for him. Whereupon the Duke immediately ſent for the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Derby*, Eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who all reſolv'd to raiſe an Army and ſtand upon their Guard, and ſo treat with the King concerning the publick Affairs, and *that immoderate Favour ſhown to them who were Traitors both to him and the Publick.* But the King endeavour'd to have ſurpriz'd them ſingly, before they had join'd their Forces; but failing in the Deſign, the Confederate Lords march'd towards *London* to *Haringay-Park* near *Highgate*, where at their Ren-

The Duke of Gloceſter *and others oppoſe them.*

They take up Arms, and march towards London.

Rendezvous they muſter'd above forty thouſand Men. This broke all the King's Meaſures, and prevented a Voyage he had deſign'd for *France*; where, as *Walſingham* aſſures us, he was to have deliver'd up *Calais* and other important Places to the *French* King, which by the fatal Counſel of his Flatterers he was to have ſold to that Prince, on Condition he would aſſiſt him to ſubdue his rebellious Nobility. The King was now in great Confuſion, and held ſeveral Conſultations with his Favourites; and being one Time willing to divert himſelf by the rambling Diſcouſe of a crack'd-brain Knight call'd Sir *Hugh de Lynn*, kept by the Charity of the Courtiers, he jocularly ask'd him, *What he ſhould do with the Lords at* Haringay-*Park?* To which Sir *Hugh* anſwer'd very gravely, *Let us march out, Sir, and kill every Man of them; and then, by God's Eyes, you'll have bravely deſtroy'd the moſt faithful Subjects in your Kingdom.*

This was thought by ſome to contain a dangerous Truth, but was not duely follow'd; however the moſt peaceable Men procur'd that the Lords ſhould repair ſafely to *Weſtminſter*, and there be heard. Upon their near Approach, they were advertis'd by the Biſhop of *Ely* and others who had ſworn and ingag'd for their ſafe Conduct, that at the *Muſe* near *Charing-Croſs*, a thouſand armed Men under Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, lay in Ambuſh to intercept them. The King clear'd himſelf upon Oath from this Deſign; and being ſeated in his Royal Robes in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with many of his Prelates and Peers about him, the Lords preſented themſelves before him upon their Knees; and being demanded of the Biſhop of *Ely* the Lord Chancellor, *Why they were aſſembled in warlike manner contrary to the Laws*, their joint Anſwer was, *That they were aſſembled for the Good of the King and Kingdom, and to root out ſuch Traitors as were Enemies to both*; naming the Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, whom they averr'd to be no leſs, and thereupon flung down their Gloves, in Token that they were ready to prove them ſo by Combate. The King, knowing that they were out of the Way, told theſe Lords, *That at the next Parliament, all Parties ſhould receive according to their Deſerts*; and then with a loftier Air he demanded of them, *How they durſt preſume to levy Forces againſt their Soveraign? Could they think to terrifie him by their Preſumption? Had not he Soldiers ſufficient to have deſtroy'd them like Cattle? Therefore in that Reſpect he eſteem'd of them no more than the meaneſt Scullion in his Kitchin.* After theſe and other high Words, he took up the Duke his Uncle from the Ground, and bad all the reſt riſe; and after ſome more kind Diſcourſe, and drinking with the King, they took their Leaves. Two Days after, to appeaſe the Lords and ſatisfie the People, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd in *London*, ſeemingly in Excuſe and Vindication of the the Duke of *Gloceſter* and his Aſſociates; but more to amuſe them, and to preſerve his beloved Favourites from the Storm that threaten'd 'em.

They appear before the King,

and are ſeemingly reconcil'd.

But notwithſtanding all the King's Promiſes, the Lords knowing his fleeting and variable Temper, and the vaſt Influence of his Favourites, thought it ſafeſt not to ſeparate themſelves, but with a vigilant Eye to obſerve their Motions; which prov'd much to their Advantage: For the Duke of *Ireland* and others, not daring to hazard the Juſtice of a Parliament, with the King's Privity, had rais'd conſiderable Forces in *Wales* and *Cheſhire*. To prevent this, *Henry* Earl of *Derby* and others march'd with a great Part of their Army, and met the Duke near *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, who at the firſt Charge cowardly fled away, and left a brave Commander call'd *Molineaux* to be ſlain in the Field, and an eaſie Victory to the Earl of *Derby*. The Duke fled into *Holland*, where meeting with cold Entertainment, he went to *Utrecht*, and after two or three Years wandering as a Traitor, he dy'd at *Lovain* in *Brabant*. Amongſt his Baggage was taken a conſiderable Sum of Gold, and, what was of greater Moment, the

Walſing. Knyghton.

They defeat the King's Forces.

King's

King's Letters, ordering him to come to *London*, and promiſing him to live and die with him againſt all Oppoſers. This Defeat confounded the whole Cabal of the Favourites; the Earl of *Suffolk* in Diſguiſe fled to *Calais*, where his own Brother, being Governor of the Caſtle, not only refus'd to harbour him, but ſeiz'd and deliver'd him into the Hands of the Lord *Beauchamp*, who commanded the Town, who return'd him back Priſoner to the King in *England*, where he was ſet at large. The King betook himſelf to the Tower of *London*, and there made Proviſion for his Winter-Quarters: And what added to his preſent Confuſion, about the ſame Time an Envoy from the *French* King was taken with Letters, in which he ſent a ſafe Conduct to King *Richard*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and ſome others, to come to *Boloign*; where he would be ready to receive them according to his Royal Dignity and Character; and then he was likewiſe to take Poſſeſſion of *Calais*, and other ſtrong Places, for which *Walſingham* ſays he had already made King *Richard* Part of Payment.

The King retires to the Tower of London.

Ibid. The Confederate Lords finding that ſuch conſiderable Territories were in danger of being loſt abroad, as well as freſh Extravagancies acted at home, in the Beginning of the Year march'd from *Oxford* to *London* with an Army of forty thouſand Men; at whoſe Arrival the Mayor and Aldermen deliver'd up the Keys of the City, while the Citizens furniſh'd them with all neceſſary Proviſions. Then cauſing all ſuſpicious Places to be ſearch'd, the Lords took up their Head Quarters in the Suburbs, proteſting that they would not depart without a perſonal Conference with the King, which at length he granted, when he ſaw he could no longer withſtand it. Having firſt permitted the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the other Lords to ſearch the Tower, where he then lodg'd, they waited upon him there; and after ſome few cold Compliments, they laid before him the Confederation againſt their Lives at *Nottingham*; his late Letters to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his Royal Word and Agreement made at *Weſtminſter*, together with his diſhonourable Treaty for delivering up *Calais* to the *French*, and other Matters. The King heard them with a formal Patience and a dejected Countenance, and with Tears running down his Cheeks; which warm Drops, and the Conſideration of the King's Youth and eaſie Nature, mollify'd the Lords and caus'd them to relent. But to end all Conteſts, it was at laſt poſitively agreed That he ſhould meet them the next Day at *Weſtminſter*, there to treat of the weighty and neceſſary Affairs of the Realm. Yet as ſoon as they were gone, ſome falſe Friends ſuggeſted to him That his Going would be neither ſafe for his Perſon, nor conſonant to his Dignity; whereupon the King chang'd his Mind, and began to retract his Promiſe; which Mutability ſo inrag'd the Lords, then fluſh'd with Succeſs and Power, that they ſent him this peremptory Meſſage, *That if he thus trifled with them, and would not come according to Appointment, they would take other Meaſures, and proceed to the Election of another Prince.* This ſo terrify'd the King, that he did not only meet them, but alſo conſented to the perpetual Baniſhment of theſe Favourites, namely, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the King's Confeſſor, the Lords *Zouch* and *Beaumont*, and ſeveral Knights; together with certain Ladies, who were not only uſeleſs and chargeable to the Court, but likewiſe ſcandalous and infamous in their Converſations; ſuch were the Lady *Mohun*, the Lady *de Molyns*, and the Lady *Poynings*. Several others were at the ſame Time taken into cloſe Cuſtody, as Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *William Elenham*, Sir *John Beauchamp*, and ſeveral of the Clergy. As for the Judges, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Holt*, *Burgh*, *Cury* and *Lacton*, they were arreſted as they ſate upon the Bench; but *Treſilian* at preſent made his Eſcape, tho' he was not long after diſcover'd and ſent to the Tower.

A. D. 1388. Reg. 11/12.

The confederate Lords attend him there.

The King is forc'd to comply.

Many brought to Puniſhment.

Walſing. Knighton. &c. The Parliament began at *Candlemaſs*, in which the confederate Lords juſtify'd their former Proceedings, and had twenty thouſand Pounds given them out of a Tax upon Leather and Wool, in Conſideration of their Labour and Expences,

A Parliament meet call'd the Unmerciful Parliament.

Expences, for the Honour, Profit and Safety of the King and Kingdom. After which they proceeded to draw up many Articles of Impeachment againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and chief Juſtice *Treſilian*; in which they were accus'd of High-Treaſon, as well as other Crimes too numerous to mention here. *Treſilian*, lying in Diſguiſe at a Houſe near the Parliament to diſcover daily Paſſages, was betray'd by one of his Servants; and after much ignominious Uſage, was drawn through the City and hang'd at *Tyburn*. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*'s Turn was next, who being Companion to *Treſilian* in his Actions, exactly follow'd him in his Fortunes. Then Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berners*, two young Knights, Sir *John Beauchamp* Steward of the King's Houſhold, and *John Blake* Eſquire, were likewiſe ſacrific'd to the publick Revenge. But the Death of Sir *Simon Burly*, the King's Chamberlain, was thought leſs juſtifiable than all the reſt, who only met with the Favour of being beheaded. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* was likewiſe condemn'd, and all the Judges, for ſigning the dangerous Paper at *Nottingham*; but at length they found ſo much Mercy as to be baniſh'd into *Ireland*, where they had ſome Allowance for their Subſiſtance. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk* and others had their Eſtates confiſcated to the King's Uſe by Act of Parliament. After which an Act of Indemnity was paſs'd for the Pardon of all other Perſons concern'd on either Side, during the late Inſurrections: And it was likewiſe declar'd by the Parliament, *That conſidering the tender Age of the King, and the Innocency of his Royal Perſon, nothing ſhould be accounted any Fault or Diſhoneſty in his Perſon in any manner, nor ſhould turn to his perſonal Prejudice by any Contrivance or Interpretation whatſoever*. Laſt of all the Parliament petition'd the King, that for nouriſhing of greater Love, Peace and Tranquility in his Kingdom, he would be pleas'd to renew his Coronation Oath, and that the Prelates might renew their Fealty, and the Lords Temporal their Homage, notwithſtanding it had been done formerly. To all which the King aſſented, and perform'd it with the utmoſt Pomp and Ceremony in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, after publick Maſs and Sermon, and with the ſolemn Execrations of the Arch-Biſhop againſt all Infringers whatſoever. On the next Day, being the fourth of *June*, the Parliament ended; which, ſays *Knighton*, was call'd the *Unmerciful* Parliament; ſince by the rigid and ſevere Proceedings againſt the Favourites, they ſo far alienated the King's Affections from his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the reſt of the Lords of his Party, that he never forgave them as long as he liv'd.

The King renews his Coronation Oath.

During theſe inteſtine Struggles in the Nation, the *Scots* found Opportunity to invade the Northern Parts of *England* under the Conduct of Sir *William Douglaſs* a brave young Knight, a Parallel and Rival in the Honour of Arms to the famous *Henry Hotſpur* Lord *Piercy*, whom *Hotſpur* fighting Hand to Hand, ſlew in Battel. But the Earl of *Dunbar* coming up with a great Number of *Scots*, took *Hotſpur* and his Brother Priſoners, and kill'd many of the *Engliſh*, but not without great Loſs to his own Men. About the ſame Time the Earl of *Arundel* again put out to Sea, and burnt, ſunk or took fourſcore *French* Ships, and likewiſe ſeiz'd and plunder'd the Iſles of *Rea* and *Oleron*, together with ſome other ſmaller Iſlands in thoſe Parts. This occaſion'd a Meeting between the *Engliſh* and *French* Envoys at *Calais* the next Year about concluding a Peace: And tho', becauſe the *French* inſiſted upon having the *Scots* and *Spaniards* included, the Concluſion was deferr'd; yet ſhortly after it was reſolv'd upon for three Years, and the *Scots* alſo included.

Ibid.

Actions againſt Scotland.

A Peace with Scotland *and* France.

A. D. 1289. Reg. 12/13. **III.** The Affairs of *England* were for a Time in a quiet and peaceable Poſture; when in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, by the Advice of ſome of his Courtiers, ſummoning a full Council, he demanded of them *How old they took him to be?* They anſwer'd him *Somewhat above twenty one Years*. At which he

Walſing. Knighton

he reply'd, *Then I am of full Age, and capable to manage my own Inheritance; and certainly I ought not to be in a worſe Condition than any of my Subjects; for every common Heir at that Age enjoys his Eſtate, and takes it into his own Hands.* The Lords keeping a profound Silence, the King thus proceeded, *'Tis well known, That for many Years I have liv'd under your Tuition, and We thank you for the Pains you have taken; but having attain'd to a full Age, We are reſolv'd to continue no longer in Ward, but to take the Government of the Realm into Our own Hands, and to appoint and remove ſuch Officers and Miniſters as We think fit.* Accordingly he forthwith commanded the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, then Lord-Chancellor, to reſign the Seal; which being done, the King took it and retir'd, but ſoon after return'd and gave it to *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He likewiſe turn'd out the Biſhop of *Hereford* from the Office of Treaſurer, and put another of leſs Quality in his Room; and chang'd ſeveral chief Miniſters of State, partly to ſhew his Authority, and partly to manifeſt his Diſpleaſure; particularly he remov'd his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earl of *Warwick* and others from his Privy-Council, and admitted others more agreeable to his Diſpoſition. And indeed the King, tho' he was of Age, yet ſtill ſhew'd himſelf a Minor in the Art of Governing; making ſo unhappy a Choice of new Miniſters and Favourites, as in a ſhort Time brought the Kingdom into great Confuſion. Shortly after this Change, ſome Detractors had ſo prevail'd upon the King, as to make him believe that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was forming ſome Deſign againſt him; but upon Examination, the Falſhood and Malice of it ſoon appear'd; and the King bluſh'd at his own Credulity againſt ſo near and eminent a Relation: And tho' divers of the Inventers of theſe Reports were preſent when the Duke would have queſtion'd them, yet the King charg'd him, as he lov'd him, not to ſtir any further in the Matter.

The King declares himſelf of Age.

He takes the Government upon himſelf.

His unhappy Management.

Walſing. Froiſart. While the King was under the Apprehenſions of one Rival, another more formidable arriv'd in *England*, which was the Duke of *Lancaſter* from his *Spaniſh* Expedition, who had marry'd his Daughter *Philippa* to the King of *Portugal*, and had made a Peace with the King of *Caſtile*, for which he receiv'd an immenſe Sum for the firſt Payment, and for the Second, the King of *Caſtile* ſent him forty ſeven Mules laden with Gold. This great Warrior was graciouſly receiv'd, and he happily reconcil'd the King and ſome of the Nobility: But whether the King found the Keeping of *Gaſcony* an unprofitable Burthen, or the Abſence of this Uncle worth the purchaſing at any Rate, in the following Year in a Parliament he inveſted him with that famous Dukedom, by delivering him the Cap of State and Ducal Rod. The Duke went over ſhortly after to take Poſſeſſion of his new Government; and his valiant Son *Henry* of *Bullingbroke* Earl of *Derby*, unwilling to ſpend his Time in Idleneſs, and eager after Glory and Fame, ſail'd to the Wars in *Pruſſia*, where in ſeveral Actions againſt the *Lithuanians*, he gain'd extraordinary Honour; which being afterwards compar'd with King *Richard*'s Softneſs, made a Way for him into the Hearts and Affections of the *Engliſh* Nation. However the King employ'd his Time in the Appearances of War and in feign'd Combates; of which a ſhort Account may give the Reader ſome Idea of the Romantick Humour of this Age. The King appointed Royal Juſts and Tournaments to be perform'd in *Smithfield*, and to begin on *Sunday* after *Michaelmaſs* Day; which was proclaim'd in all the Courts of Chriſtendom by certain Heralds ſent for that Purpoſe. Upon which Notice great Numbers of Noblemen and Knights from *France*, *Germany* and the *Low-Countries* came over to *London*; particularly *William* Earl of *Oſtrevant*, and *Valerian* Earl of St. *Paul*, who had marry'd the King's Siſter. The Solemnity began from the Tower of *London* with a noble Cavalcade of ſixty Ladies richly adorn'd, who riding upon fine Palfreys, led every one their Knight by a Chain of Silver by her Side, garniſh'd with white Harts and golden Crowns, having their Courſers led before by as many Eſquires of Honour; and in this pompous

The Duke of Lancaſter *returns from* Spain.

A. D. 1390. Reg. 13/14.

He is ſent into Gaſcony.

A famous Tournament.

pompous Manner they paſs'd through *Cheap-ſide* to *Smithfield*. The Juſts continu'd for many Days, in which the King himſelf perform'd his part, and the Nights concluded with Muſick, Dancings and ſofter Entertainments; and during this Time the King and Queen lodg'd at the Biſhop's Palace by St. *Paul's* Church, and kept a moſt magnificent Houſe for all Strangers and others.

Laws againſt the Papal Incroachments.

The Pope now underſtood that the *Engliſh* State began again to be ſenſible of the *Romiſh* Incroachments; and as in a former Parliament they had paſs'd an Act to prevent all Collations of Biſhopricks and Dignities by the Pope, with Baniſhment to all ſuch as accepted the Collations, and Death to all that brought any Excommunications from *Rome* to hinder the Execution of the Act; ſo in the preſent Parliament another ſevere Act was made againſt all ſuch as ſhould go to the Pope to procure any ſuch Proviſions. A Proclamation was alſo publiſh'd at *London*, That all benefic'd Perſons then in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould return by a prefix'd Day, or loſe their Livings. The Pope himſelf, alarm'd with ſo great a Thunder-clap, ſent with all ſpeed into *England* to perſuade this eaſie King, that ſuch Statutes as were made in Prejudice of thoſe who follow'd the Court of *Rome*, and ſuch other Clauſes as tended to the Damage of that See, ſhould be aboliſh'd. To which the King anſwer'd *That the Pope's Nuncio muſt wait 'till the next Parliament*; at which Parliament the King, as alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter* who was by that Time return'd, ſeem'd to have ſome Reſpect to his Holineſs, whoſe Nuncio was there preſent; but the Commons would by no means give their Conſents, That ſuch *Rome-Rangers*, as they were call'd, ſhould without due Puniſhment purſue their uſual Courſes any longer than 'till the next Parliament. At the ſame Time, to furniſh the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *France*, to treat of a Peace, and to promote the King's intended Invaſion of *Scotland*, large Supplies were given both by the Clergy and Laity. Hereupon *Henry Hotſpur*, who had long ſince ranſom'd himſelf, was recall'd from his Charge at *Calais*, and made Commander of the Marches againſt *Scotland*; and was ſucceeded by the Earl of *Nottingham* in the Government of *Calais*. The Duke of *Lancaſter*'s chargeable Employment in *France* produc'd no other Fruits than one Year's ſhort Truce.

A. D. 1391. Reg. 14/15. *A new Parliament.*

Walſing. &c.

The Splendor of the King's Court.

However this gave King *Richard* leiſure to live according to his Inclination, which was to keep the greateſt and nobleſt Court of any King in *Europe*; and his Subjects led by his Example, abandoning all Thoughts of Frugality, gave themſelves over to Luxury. Great was the Exceſs of Diet, the Pomp and Grandeur of his Court, in Apparel inimitable, in Number of Servants exceeding all Belief; ten thouſand Men fed daily on his Bread, the Queen had three hundred Women belonging to her Service, and three hundred was the Number that belong'd to the Kitchin. In his private Family he knew not how to deny any Thing, and the Eaſineſs of obtaining Favours debas'd the Value of them; his Expences were innumerable, ſo that his ordinary Revenues not ſufficing, he was forc'd to uſe extraordinary Means. His immoderate Affection to his Servants, his Uncles Power, and the Peoples Hatred, being not ſufficient to undo him, his own immenſe Prodigality in Time effected it, without which he could not eaſily have been ruin'd. Being under Neceſſities, and perhaps willing to try whether he might rely upon a greater Sum, he deſir'd to borrow of the City of *London* a thouſand Pound, an inconſiderable Sum for ſuch a King and ſo rich a City; yet he was not only refus'd, but when an *Italian* Merchant freely offer'd to lend the Mony, he was for his Officiouſneſs barbarouſly beaten and almoſt ſlain. This, and a Tumult rais'd not long after by a Baker, ſo inrag'd the King that he committed the Mayor cloſe Priſoner, ſeiz'd the Liberties of the City into his own Hands, annull'd all their Privileges, and commanded that for the future no Mayor ſhould be elected, but he would appoint one that ſhould be call'd *Keeper* of the City; and more than this, he remov'd the Terms and Courts of Judicature to the City of *York*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* and others were not wanting to intercede with the King on Behalf of the *Londoners*,

1382.

A. D. 1392. Reg. 15/16.

London depriv'd of all her Privileges.

ners, of whom the principal were brought before him to *Windſor*, and ſubmitted themſelves and Fortunes to his Mercy; with whom he ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfy'd that three Days after he came to *London*, where he was met with the moſt imaginable Pomp and Magnificence. And to make their Peace, they preſented the King with a Crown of Gold of great Value, and another of the ſame Metal to the Queen, together with many other noble Gifts; by which means they got their Privileges to be reſtor'd, and confirm'd to them, with the Election of a Mayor, and all Things as formerly. But after all their chargeable Preſents, and their Submiſſions, the King forc'd them to pay ten thouſand Pound by way of Fine, or elſe they muſt have ventur'd the Effects of his new Diſpleaſure; which ſevere Uſage loſt him the Affections of the Citizens ever after. It was the following Year before the King remov'd his Courts of Judicature from the City of *York* to *London*. In this Year a Parliament was held at *Wincheſter*, in which were granted to the King a *Tenth* by the Clergy, and a *Fifteenth* by the Laity for the Expences of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, who were then going over into *France* to treat about a Peace. But their expenſive Journey prov'd of no great Effect, and a final Peace could not be then concluded, by reaſon that the King of *France* had been ſeiz'd with an unaccountable ſort of Frenzy.

But is reſtor'd with great Expence.

A. D. 1393. Reg. 16/17.

Walſing. Froiſart. The following Year was remarkable for the Death of ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons, particularly Queen *Anne*, who to the King's great Grief deceas'd at his Manor of *Sheen*. Her Death was ſuch a ſenſible Affliction to him, that he not only ever after hated the Place, but alſo defac'd it by pulling down the Pinnacles, and demoliſhing the Apartment where ſhe dy'd. She had the Character of a beautiful, charitable and good humour'd Lady, but too much given to her Pleaſures, of which ſhe is ſaid to have repented on her Death-Bed: We are told that ſhe firſt taught the *Engliſh* Ladies the modeſt Cuſtom of riding on Side-Saddles, whereas before they rode aſtride like Men. About this Time dy'd the Dutcheſs of *Lancaſter*, the Counteſs of *Derby*, and not long after the Dutcheſs of *York*; as if Fortune had conſpir'd to make almoſt all the Princes of the Blood accompany the King in his Widowerſhip. Theſe Afflictions did not alter the King's Reſolution of paſſing over perſonally into *Ireland*; nor did they divert the Duke of *Lancaſter* from going to his Dukedom of *Gaſcony*. In *Ireland* the wilder ſort had much broken in upon the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhments, and done great Damage to the good Subjects of *England*; ſo that tho' in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, *Ireland* annually yielded thirty thouſand Pounds into the King's Exchequer, now it was ſo out of Order, that it coſt the King thirty thouſand Marks a Year for its Defence. To reduce the Rebellious he himſelf led a brave Army againſt 'em, attended by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, with the Earls of *Marche*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*. The Terror of his Preparations, and the ſhining Preſence of a King, which of all Things was moſt grateful to the *Iriſh*, had ſuch good Effects, that many of their chief Men were compell'd to ſubmit.

A. D. 1394. Reg. 17/18.

The Death of Queen Anne, *and ſeveral others.*

The King goes into Ireland.

Walſing. &c. To ſupply the King's Wants occaſion'd by this *Iriſh* Expedition, the King's Uncle the Duke of *York*, as *Cuſtos* or Warden of *England*, call'd a Parliament at *London*, where the Duke of *Gloceſter* alſo repair'd to declare the King's Occaſions, and had liberal Supplies granted. But before the King could perform much more in *Ireland*, the Biſhops and Clergy were ſo alarm'd with the bold and numerous Accuſations which the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards* had made againſt their Body, that they ſent the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *London* to the King, begging of him to haſten his Return, *to defend and ſuccour the true Faith, and Holy Church, that were both in danger of being ruin'd by the Hereticks*, who were contriving how to take away the Poſſeſſions of the Church, and overthrow all Canonical Sanctions. The King greatly ſurpriz'd at the News, leaving the Earl of *Marche* his Lieutenant in *Ireland*, haſten'd into *England*, where he ſafely arriv'd in the Beginning of *May*. Upon his

A. D. 1395. Reg. 18/19.

The Wickliffites *proſecuted.*

Arrival he ſeverely reprimanded ſome of the Nobility and Gentry, who were the chief Favourers of theſe *Lollards*, cauſing Sir *Richard Story* publickly to abjure their Principles, openly declaring, *That if he ever found him to relapſe, he ſhould ſuffer Death without Mercy.* And now the King, in Memory of his former great Favourite the Duke of *Ireland*, who dy'd at *Lovain* in great Miſery, order'd his Body to be embalm'd and brought into *England*. His Love aroſe to that Fondneſs, that he commanded his Cypreſs Coffin to be open'd, that he might view and handle the Body of his Friend, and openly expreſs his Affection. The Body was carry'd to the Priory of *Colne* in *Eſſex*, where a magnificent Funeral was made for it; the King in Perſon, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Counteſs Dowager of *Oxford*, Mother to the Deceas'd, being the chief Mourners; and ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots attended, but very few of the Nobility would appear, as having not yet digeſted their Reſentments againſt him.

The King's Fondneſs to the Duke of Ireland.

A. D. 1396. Reg. 19/20. All this Time the Duke of *Lancaſter* continu'd in *Gaſcony*, where he endeavour'd to gain the Peoples Affections by his extraordinary Munificence; but when his Hopes were at the higheſt, he receiv'd a Command from King *Richard* to return, in order to go with him into *France* to finiſh a Treaty then on Foot; all which he readily obey'd. The King being then at *Langly* in *Hartfordſhire*, the Duke was there entertain'd with more Honour, as it was believ'd, than real Affection. Having leave to depart for a Time, he repair'd to the City of *Lincoln*, where he had a Palace, and there marry'd the Lady *Catharine Swinford*, Widow to Sir *Thomas Swinford*, his old Miſtreſs, by whom he had four Children during the Life of his Dutcheſs. But this Match highly diſcontented the Duke of *Gloceſter* and others, who judg'd it a great Diſhonour to the Royal Family. However the Duke, in the next Parliament procur'd an Act to Legitimate all the Children he had by this Lady, and ſirnam'd them *Beaufort*; and one of them was by the King's Favour created Earl of *Somerſet*. *Walſing.*

The Duke of Lancaſter *repairs to* Lincoln.

All things being prepar'd, the King accompany'd by his two Uncles of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, at a moſt magnificent and expenſive Enterview between him and *Charles* King of *France*, between *Calais* and *Ardres*, eſpous'd the Princeſs *Iſabel*, Daughter to that King. The young Lady was then no more than ſeven or eight Years of Age, but King *Richard* receiv'd her with many Compliments and great Solemnity, and a Truce was thereupon concluded for thirty Years. Her Perſon was committed to the Dutcheſs of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Calais*; from whence, after a ſhort Stay, the King and all the glorious Company came over into *England*, where the young Queen was crown'd with great Solemnity at *Weſtminſter* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The King loſt his rich Tents, and a great Part of his Equipage at Sea; and our Author tells us, That this Journey and Enterview, beſides innumerable Preſents made, coſt the King three hundred thouſand Marks, which was more than all the Portion he receiv'd with his Queen. And the Duke of *Gloceſter* was neither ſatisfy'd with the Truce or the Match, and took the liberty to ſay, *That it had been more proper to recover by Arms what the King's Father and Grand-father had loſt in* France, *than to enter into new Alliances with that Crown, which had always better Succeſs in Treaties than Wars with* England. *Ibid.*

The King in France *marries* Iſabel *the* French *King's Daughter.*

A. D. 1397. Reg. 20/21. **IV.** In the twentieth Year of this Reign all Things ſeem'd to be in a peaceable and quiet Condition in *England*; and the King found a Parliament that was ready to comply with his Deſires, and grant whatever he demanded. Yet all this did not ſatisfie the King's Occaſions; for upon certain Rumours ſpread abroad, That he either was now, or elſe very ſhortly to be choſen Emperor, he thereupon began to take greater State upon him, and a higher way of Living than ever before: To maintain which he fleec'd his Subjects, and bor- *Walſing. Froiſart. Fabian. &c.*

The King's Extravagancies.

row'd

row'd large Sums of Mony; ſo that there was no Prelate, Man of Quality, or Citizen of any Eſtate in the Kingdom, but were oblig'd to lend the King Mony, tho' much againſt their Wills; which was one of the main Things that turn'd the Trading Part of the Nation againſt him. When he had thus far compaſs'd his Deſigns, he reſolv'd to proceed, and remove ſuch as either had or might oppoſe him. And ſeeing his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſtood moſt in his Way, he deſign'd to begin with him, and deſtroy him firſt, not by Law, but by ſecret Contrivances. What mov'd the King to act ſo ungenerouſly, is variouſly reported: *Froiſart* and *Polydore Virgil* with Probability relate, That the Duke carrying himſelf with too great Pride and Moroſeneſs towards the King, he ſometimes complain'd to his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York* of their Brother's haughty and diſobliging Carriage towards him. They, to excuſe him and pacifie the King, alledg'd, *That tho' their Brother was more hot and vehement than became him, yet they durſt aſſure his Majeſty that his Heart was dutiful and loyal; and that this Vehemency proceeded from a zealous Regard he had to the Honour and Revenues of his Majeſty*; with which the King ſeem'd ſatisfy'd at preſent. But however, theſe Dukes not knowing how much they might be involv'd in that Diſpleaſure which they perceiv'd he retain'd againſt their Brother, thought fit to retire from Court; and by that means gave the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Enemies the greater Opportunities to incenſe the King againſt him. At length many Deſigns were laid to the Duke's Charge, and many Things whiſper'd againſt him, who had given but too much occaſion for diſadvantagious Reports; ſo that the King being under great Apprehenſions, reſolv'd to ſecure him by a Stratagem, which he thus effected. The Duke being at his Manor of *Pleſhy* in *Eſſex*, the King from a Hunting Seat came in a Summer's Evening to give him a Viſit, where he was receiv'd with all due Reſpect by him and his Dutcheſs. After a ſhort Refreſhment, he commanded the Duke to order ſome of his Horſes to be Sadled, to bear him Company that Night to *London* upon an extraordinary Council; upon which the Duke with only five or ſix Attendants, immediately mounted and accompany'd him towards *London*, while the other entertain'd him with the moſt familiar and obliging Diſcourſe. Coming near *Stratford*, where an Ambuſh was laid to apprehend him, the King ſuddenly clapp'd Spurs to his fleet Horſe, and left the Duke to be unexpectedly ſeiz'd by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and a great Number of Horſemen; who hurry'd the unfortunate Prince to a Veſſel prepar'd for him on the *Thames*, and carry'd him over to *Calais*, where he was kept cloſe Priſoner, and never return'd after.

The King's Deſigns againſt the Duke of Gloceſter.

The Duke of Gloceſter *ſeiz'd and carry'd to* Calais.

Walſing. &c. The King being now reſolv'd to finiſh his intended Projects, proceeded after the like manner with the reſt of the Duke's Party; and to that End he ſent for the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel* to Court, where he treated them with gracious Words and Promiſes, but in their Return arreſted them for Treaſon and ſent them to the *Tower*, as he did not long after the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheney*, with ſeveral others of the ſame Faction. The Nation being much alarm'd at theſe uncommon Proceedings, the King by a Declaration ſet forth, *That the Lords lately apprehended were not thus treated for former Offences, but for certain new Treaſons, which ſhould be prov'd in due Time*; tho', as *Walſingham* ſays, the Event declar'd the contrary. After this he call'd a grand Council of Peers at *Nottingham*, in which ſeveral Lords were accus'd, and left to anſwer in the next Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* in the middle of *September*: In the Election of which Parliament our Hiſtorians tell us, That the King by certain indirect Practices, and Management of the Sheriffs of the Counties, whom he had made for his Purpoſe, caus'd them to return ſuch Members of Parliament, as he had before nominated: Which is the firſt Example of any King's making uſe of an arbitrary Power in this Kind, and which prov'd one grand Step to his Ruin. In this Parliament the King had a great Guard of *Cheſhire* Men to ſecure his Perſon; and the Lords attended alſo

Others ſeiz'd.

The King makes a Parliament of his own,

alſo with no ſmall Numbers about him. The Biſhop of *Exeter*, then Lord Chancellor, open'd the Seſſion with an Oration upon a Text of Scripture, and declar'd the Royal Power to be the only real Power, and that thoſe who endeavour'd to deſtroy or diminiſh it, deſerv'd the ſevereſt Puniſhments. Then Sir *John Buſhy*, a Creature of the King's, being by him nominated Speaker, the Parliament proceeded to reverſe all the Proceedings in that of the eleventh Year of this Reign; and firſt of all that Commiſſion which had impower'd eleven Lords to inſpect the publick Revenues of the Nation, declaring it obtain'd traiterouſly, by Conſtraint, and againſt the Royal Crown and Dignity. Next they annull'd all the Pardons granted to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* and others, as being obtain'd by Conſtraint, and againſt the King's Will; not conſidering, ſays our Author, that the recalling ſuch Pardons ſtruck at the King's Safety; for ſince Mercy is the Strength of the Royal Throne, whoever takes that away deſtroys its main Foundation. In Sum this Parliament revers'd every Thing of moment enacted nine Years before by that which was call'd the *Unmerciful Parliament*; ſuch uncertain Things have theſe general Aſſemblies been, when manag'd either by Court Intrigues, or popular Factions.

which advances his Prerogative.

Many of the Nobility condemn'd by it.

The Conſequences of theſe Proceedings were firſt the Impeachment and Condemnation of *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, chiefly for being traiterouſly concern'd in the above-nam'd Commiſſion for inſpecting the publick Revenues; for which he was baniſh'd the Kingdom, and had all his Temporalties confiſcated. Next the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* were impeach'd and condemn'd of High-Treaſon that had paſs'd nine and ten Years before, and for which they had been pardon'd. The former was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, where his Behaviour was extraordinary; and ſeeing his Son-in-Law the Earl of *Nottingham*, and his Nephew the Earl of *Kent* preſent with all the Marks of Satisfaction, he calmly told them, ***That it became them at leaſt to have been abſent from ſuch a Sight; but the Time would ſhortly come, when as many ſhould admire at their Misfortune, as they now did at his.*** *Froiſart* ſays that the King was preſent at the Execution, and *Walſingham* affirms, that he was often hunted with an Apparition or Imagination of his Ghoſt; for he no ſooner clos'd his Eyes to Sleep, but he fancy'd *Arundel* ſtood by him. The Earl of *Warwick* pleading guilty, obtain'd a more merciful Sentence, being condemn'd to a perpetual Impriſonment in the Iſle of *Man*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter*, being too popular and formidable to be brought to a publick Trial, was not long before by the King's Order ſecretly ſmother'd by Pillows and Feather-Beds at *Calais*, where it was reported he dy'd of an Apoplexy; after which he was attainted of High-Treaſon, and had all his Lands and Poſſeſſions confiſcated to the King's Uſe. This was the unfortunate End of a Man majeſtick, valiant and brave, but of a reſtleſs and turbulent Temper, which being blown up by his Greatneſs, brought him into many unjuſtifiable Actions, which at length produc'd his Ruin. After this the King to ſtrengthen his Party, and to kindle new Lights in the Room of ſuch as he had extinguiſh'd, made his Coſin *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Albermarl*, the Earl of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Huntingtон* Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Somerſet* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Spenſer* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Neville* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *William Scrope* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter*. Among theſe, to maintain their Dignities, the King made a Diſtribution of the greater Part of the Lands of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, hoping to have bound them by a double Obligation of Duty and Affection; not conſidering that ſuch purchas'd Friends are ſeldom well ſatisfy'd, or true in Time of Need.

The Duke of Gloceſter *murder'd.*

His Character.

New Advancements.

1382.

A. D. 1398. Reg. 21, 22.

This Parliament was ſo highly ſerviceable to the Court Deſigns, that contrary to the uſual Methods of theſe Times, it was only prorogu'd, and ſummon'd to meet at *Shrewsbury*, as a Place more proper than *Weſtminſter*. Here the

Walſing. &c.

the bold Aſſertions and Opinions that the Judges had made at *Nottingham*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, for which they ſuffer'd, were now confirm'd to be good in Law; and the whole Proceedings of the Parliament held in the ſame Year, at once declar'd to be null and void, as being done contrary to the Will and Liberty of the King, and the Dignity of his Crown. The Judges alſo at this Time gave their Opinion, That when the King had propos'd Articles to be handled in Parliament, it was Treaſon to propoſe others 'till they were diſpatch'd. Under a Pretence of Diſpatch of Affairs the King by an unpreſidented Action obtain'd that the Authority of this Parliament ſhould be delegated to a ſelect Number of Lords and Commons appointed by himſelf; by which Act the whole Power of the Kingdom was now devolv'd upon the King, twelve Peers, and ſix Commoners. Then he granted a general Pardon to all except fifty Perſons, whom he would not have nam'd, but reſerv'd them for a Curb to his Nobility, to keep them ſtill in Danger of being nam'd one of the fifty, if they diſpleas'd him. Laſtly, to add the greater Strength and Reverence to the Acts and Proceedings of this Parliament, the King ſhortly after procur'd the Pope's Bull, containing great Execrations upon all that ſhould preſume to break or oppoſe them, which was ſolemnly publiſh'd at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, and other Places throughout *England*. Furthermore to gratifie the *Cheſhire* Men, who had chiefly aſſiſted him and his late Favourites, he honour'd that County with the Name and Dignity of a Principality, and added to the reſt of his own Titles that of *Prince of* Cheſter, and to his Coat of Arms the ſuppos'd Bearing of *Edward* the Confeſſor.

Many dangerous Proceedings.

Ibid. For the preſent all Things ſeem'd to concur with the King's Deſigns; the Heads of the Party that ſo long oppos'd him were cut off, and the Nobility either terrify'd or brib'd by Honours or Eſtates; the Commons were unable to expreſs their Reſentments otherwiſe than in Sighs and Murmurs, and the King's great Officers of State, and his very Parliaments were now modell'd according to his Pleaſure; ſo that no King ſince the Conqueſt had been more abſolute than he was at preſent. Yet notwithſtanding all his Power and Grandeur, in a ſhort Time by ſmall Accidents and unlikely Inſtruments, he was more plunged and embroiled than ever, and without Reſiſtance reduc'd to a ſhort and ſpeedy Overthrow. The Occaſions of this great Revolution proceeded firſt from a Quarrel that aroſe between the Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, the former accuſing the latter of certain Words ſpoken to him againſt the King's Perſon and Government. The Subſtance of the Words was, *That King* Richard *had no Regard to the Peers of the Land, but as much as he could endeavour'd to deſtroy them by baniſhing ſome and putting others to Death: That he never troubled his Thoughts with conſidering how his Dominions were diminiſh'd by his Careleſsneſs; and that all Things ran to Ruin, both in the Time of Peace and War.* The Duke of *Norfolk* being accus'd, deny'd that he ever ſpoke ſuch Words, and challenging his Adverſary, *Coventry* was appointed by the King for the Place of Combate. Where both appearing in great Pomp, and the King being preſent with a mighty Train, as the two Combatants ſtood ready to ingage, the King, under the Pretence of preventing deadly Feuds between two ſuch Families, or rather to be freed from an Enemy tho' with the Loſs of a Friend, baniſh'd the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever, and the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years, and then for ſix. The former dy'd in a ſhort Time miſerable and unlamented at *Venice*; and 'tis obſervable that Sentence was pronounc'd againſt him on the ſame Day Twelve-Month that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been murder'd by his Order at *Calais*; ſo juſt is the Divine Vengeance at ſome Times, not only in puniſhing Villanies, but in cauſing the Puniſhment to be attended with ſuch Circumſtances as may render it more conſpicuous to the World.

The ill State of the Nation.

A Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford *and* Norfolk.

Both are baniſh'd by the King.

Ibid. The following Year is introduc'd by our Hiſtorian with ſtrange and unuſual Prodigies; as of a deep River's ſtopping its Courſe near *Bedford*, and remaining dry for three Miles without any viſible Cauſe, and of all the Laurels withering

A. D. 1399. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

thering throughout the Nation, and then re-flouriſhing contrary to Expectation. Theſe were look'd upon as very ominous in thoſe Times; and the firſt Conſequence of them, as it was thought, was the Death of the great Duke of *Lancaſter*, who deceas'd about *Candlemaſs*; a Prince active and couragious, and who had made a noble Figure in the World. He had the Character of a Man prudent and wary in his Actions, an Approver of ſafe Councils on good Reaſons, rather than fortunate Exploits with Hazards; one that was neither too negligent or ambitious of Glory, and therefore deported himſelf towards the King his Nephew with a Reſpect decent enough for a moderate Prince, but not ſo much as the inſatiable Deſire of Arbitrary Power, join'd with the depraved Manners of the Court, might require. His brave Son, *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, unjuſtly baniſh'd, ought to have inherited not only his Title, but alſo his vaſt Eſtate; but the King, being jealous of ſo great a Power in a near Relation he had ſo highly exaſperated, took care to prevent it by ſeizing all his Poſſeſſions, and pronouncing his Baniſhment perpetual. This was done by a Meeting at *Weſtminſter* of thoſe few Lords and Commons, who had the Authority of a Parliament conferr'd upon them. And theſe proceeded to a more ſevere and unjuſt Action againſt one *Henry Bonet* Clerk, who for regularly procuring Letters Patents from the King in favour of the exil'd Duke, was adjudg'd as a Traitor to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd: Only by being the King's Chaplain, he found Favour to eſcape with Life, and ſo ſuffer'd perpetual Baniſhment.

The Death of the Duke of Lancaſter.

His Character.

His Son Henry *diſinherited by the King.*

By theſe and the like arbitrary Acts, the Laws and Liberties of *England*, were reduc'd to a dangerous and languiſhing Condition; for the King having diſpatch'd the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the reſt of the Noblemen who oppos'd him, and being now freed from his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* by Death, and his Son by Baniſhment, had the Liberty to act at Pleaſure. His only remaining Uncle the Duke of *York*, being an eaſie and quiet Prince, more addicted to Pleaſures than Buſineſs, and much govern'd by his Son the Duke of *Albermarl*, was ſo far from oppoſing, that he ſeem'd rather to countenance the King's late Actions, by voting with the preſent ſtanding Committee of Parliament. So that the King now looking upon himſelf as *Hors-du-page*, and free from all Control, abandon'd himſelf to ſoft Eaſe and the deſtructive Charms of Pleaſure; by whoſe fatal Example many of the Nobility deliver'd themſelves up to Sloth and Luxury, which introduc'd Cowardice and Effeminacy, and deſtroy'd both Manhood and Reputation. The publick Affairs both at home and abroad were in a Condition anſwerable to ſuch Managers, who had been long byaſs'd more by private Reſpects than publick Advantages; which caus'd the Nation to decline both in Honour and Riches; ſo that all Things being out of Order, the Commonwealth ſeem'd haſtning into inevitable Ruin. The Northern Counties, through frequent Devaſtations and unfaithful Truces, were impoveriſh'd by the *Scots*, who had gain'd ſeveral important Poſts, and depopulated thoſe Parts with their continual Inroads. On the Seas the Merchants Ships were frequently ſurpriz'd by the *French*; and the King's Hereditary Dominions in *France* reduc'd to a narrow Compaſs, and many ſtrong Places loſt by Negligence or ſold by Treachery. The Profits and Revenues of the Crown, and even of the whole Kingdom, were farm'd out to certain Favourites, who unmercifully rack'd and oppreſs'd the King's Subjects. Great Sums of Mony were by new invented Methods, rather extorted than borrow'd from all Sorts of People, of which no Advantage accru'd to the Kingdom; only the King's private Pleaſures were extravagantly maintain'd, and unworthy Favourites advanc'd. To add to all, Seventeen whole Counties, which ten Years before had join'd with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, notwithſtanding the general Pardon, were now held guilty of High-Treaſon: For which they were forc'd to compound for a large Sum of Mony, to take new Oaths of Allegiance, and the richeſt among them to ſign and ſeal to a Blank, in which the appointed Officers might inſert what Sum they

Ibid.

The Publick in a dangerous Condition.

they pleas'd; which was ſufficient to ruin whole Counties, as well as Families. In ſum, the unfortunate King was not only ſurrounded, but in a manner beſieg'd by ignorant Miniſters and ſordid Flatterers, who kept him from all Relief of good Counſel, and render'd him ſo univerſally hated, that great Numbers deſign'd to rebel at the firſt Opportunity; being reſolv'd rather to run the Hazard of a ſhort and ſpeedy Ruin, than languiſh under the Torment of a tedious Slavery. *The King generally hated.*

Walſing. Ar. Hib. In the midſt of theſe uneaſie and unſetled Times the King imprudently reſolv'd upon an Expedition into *Ireland*, to revenge the Death of his Lieutenant the Earl of *Marche*, the neareſt Heir to the Crown, who had been ſlain in an Ingagement with the wild *Iriſh:* In Order to which, he rais'd a numerous Army, but not without a vaſt Charge, and grievous Oppreſſion of his Subjects, not only in levying Mony by illegal Methods, but taking up Carriages, Victuals and other Neceſſaries without paying for them; which raſh and unadvis'd Practices render'd himſelf and his Government ſtill more and more uneaſie to the Nation. About *Whitſontide* he took Shipping for *Ireland*, accompany'd with the Dukes of *Albermarl* and *Exeter*, the Sons of the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Lancaſter*, and divers other Noblemen; but his Forces moſtly conſiſted of *Cheſhire* Men, on whom he chiefly confided. He alſo carry'd over with him his chief Relicks, with his Plate and Jewels of the Crown that were in his Treaſure; as if he had deſign'd to have taken a final Leave both of his Kingdom and Dignity in *England*. At his going off, he committed a new Error in Politicks, which was his proclaiming the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends Traitors, and ordering their Eſtates to be ſeiz'd, only for not attending him in this Expedition, when their Preſence was requir'd in the North againſt the *Scots*; which caus'd the Earl in a ſhort Time to be one of the Firſt that revolted from him. In the mean Time the King landed at *Waterford*, and immediately after his Arrival, march'd from *Dublin* againſt the *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, and got many little Victories in ſeveral Ingagements he had with them; in all which, the King is ſaid to have behav'd himſelf with great Courage and Reſolution. And theſe petty *Iriſh* Princes were ſo terrify'd with the Force of his Arms, that they ſent Envoys to him to petition for Pardon, and to ſue for Peace, which at length they obtain'd, tho' with ſome Difficulty. *He makes an Expedition into* Ireland,

Walſing. &c. But theſe inconſiderable Triumphs coſt King *Richard* no leſs than his Kingdom: For while he was thus ingag'd and abſent from his diſcontented Nation, *Henry* the new Duke of *Lancaſter* being invited over by many of the Nobility and Gentry, and likewiſe excited by the exil'd Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, reſolv'd to try his Fortunes in the Kingdom of *England*. Wherefore after he had diſpatch'd ſome of his choice Friends over to make the beſt Preparations for his Arrival, he addreſs'd himſelf to the *French* King with a Compliment, that he deſign'd a Viſit to his Kinſman the Duke of *Bretaign*, therefore deſir'd his Letters of ſafe Conduct; which being granted, he there privately levy'd a few Soldiers, and hiring three Ships of the Duke of *Bretaign*, he put to Sea with them for *England*, accompany'd with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington* and Sir *Thomas Ramſtone* Knights, with ſome other Gentlemen, his whole Retinue not conſiſting of above eighty Perſons: So that it is hard to judge which was more wonderful, that he durſt attempt, or that he ſhould ſucceed with ſo ſmall a Number. However the Duke was too wiſe and cautious to puſh Things beyond all Poſſibility of a Retreat; and therefore did not immediately land, but lay cruiſing up and down, ſometimes appearing on one Coaſt and ſometimes on another, that he might the better diſcover the Inclinations of the People towards him, and what Forces were ready to receive or reſiſt him. But at laſt being ſatisfy'd with what he obſerv'd, he landed without Oppoſition about the Beginning of *July* at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*, with no more than twenty Lances, tho' he might have had a greater Force from the Duke of *Bretaign*; ſo much did he confide in the Juſtice *which occaſions his Fall.* Henry *the baniſh'd Duke of* Lancaſter *invited into* England. *He lands with a few Men in* Yorkſhire.

ſtice of his Cauſe, and the Favour of the People. Yet he did not then make any Pretenſions to the Crown, but only gave out that he came to regain the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, and the reſt of his lawful Inheritance, which all the Nation knew was wrongfully detain'd from him, and ſo hop'd that they were the more ready to pity and favour him in a Cauſe wherein he had receiv'd ſuch palpable Injury from the King.

Many Lords join with him. His Arrival being known, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Roſs*, *Darby* and *Beaumont* immediately repair'd to him, and ſhortly after the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, with great Numbers of the Gentry and common People. Upon which, the King's Lieutenant and Uncle the Duke of *York*, ſummon'd the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Lord Chancellor *Scrope*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* Lord Treaſurer, Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *John Ruſſel*, chief Counſellors and Confidents to King *Richard*, to adviſe how to act in this dangerous Exigency. Among whom it was ignorantly or treacherouſly concluded to abandon the City of *London*, and appoint the general Rendezvous to be at St. *Albans*. But when the common People were call'd out of ſeveral Counties to that Place, they openly declar'd, *That they would not act any Thing to the Prejudice of the Duke, who they knew was unjuſtly baniſh'd his Country, and illegally kept from his Inheritance.* This was like a Thunder-clap to the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and the other Favourites, who were conſcious that the Peoples Hatred was greater againſt them, than the King's Perſon, becauſe they had farm'd the Publick Revenues, and us'd intollerable Extortions; therefore, ſuddenly leaving the Duke of *York*, they fled to *Briſtol*; which gave ſo great a Diſcouragement to him, that not daring to venture an improbable Reſiſtance, he gave over the Cauſe, and laid down his Arms. Upon which the reſt of the Nobility either openly declar'd for the Duke, or held ſecret Correſpondence with him, reſolving to ſwim down with his mighty Stream, rather than pretend to ſtem an impetuous Torrent that bore away all before it. For nothing could increaſe faſter than the Duke's Forces in his March; inſomuch that they were ſoon grown to ſixty thouſand ſtrong, with which he reſolv'd to puſh on his good Fortune, and haſten to *London*. There he found a Reception ſuitable to the uſual Joy that diſcontented and turbulent People ſhew in Alterations; he was receiv'd in Triumph without Victory, and with all the Teſtimonies of Zeal and Affection, which flattering Crouds could pay their lawful Soveraign. Pageants and rich Preſents entertain'd him, with all the Acclamations and extravagant Praiſes that could be invented, and as many opprobrious Reflections caſt on the Conduct of King *Richard*. From *London* he haſten'd to *Briſtol*, to purſue the fugitive Favourites; and finding the Caſtle fortify'd againſt him, he ſo briskly attack'd it, that in four Days Time he forc'd it to ſurrender upon Diſcretion. And taking therein the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John Buſhy*, and Sir *Henry Green*, he the next Day ſacrific'd them to the importunate Rage of the incenſed People, by cutting off all their Heads without Mercy.

Ibid.

His Forces vaſtly increaſe.

He marches to London.

and from thence to Briſtol.

During theſe Succeſſes, there was no News of King *Richard*; who either was hinder'd by contrary Winds, or acted according to the Humour of ſome weak Spirits, who contemn remote Dangers, but are aſtoniſh'd at their near Approach. However at length, ſecuring the Sons of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, he reſolv'd for *England*; but the Duke of *Albermarl* perſuaded him to ſtay 'till his Prepartions were ready, which fatal Council, as it was his ill Deſtiny to follow, ſo it prov'd his Ruin: Yet he immediately ſent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raiſe an Army in *Wales* and *Cheſhire* againſt his Return, which he ſtrictly promis'd ſhould be within ſix Days at furtheſt. The Earl was very ſucceſsful in his Levies, and ſoon got together no leſs than forty thouſand Men; but the King much failing in his Time of Appearance to head them, they in great Diſcontent return'd home. At length, in eighteen Days time, the King, attended by the Dukes of *Albermarl*, *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Biſhops of *London*,

Walſing. &c.

King Richard *ill adviſ'd.*

He returns into England.

don, *Exeter* and *Carliſle*, and ſome others of the Nobility, landed at *Milford-Haven* with a conſiderable Number of his *Cheſhire* Army, and march'd to *Caermarthen*, where he ſtaid to conſult how to proceed; but when he underſtood that the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Forces were disbanded, that moſt of his ſtrong Places as well as *London* had declar'd for the Duke of *Lancaſter*, that moſt of the Nobility and Gentry had eſpous'd his Cauſe, and that his principal Favourites had loſt their Heads, he was ſo far from retaining the Magnanimity of a King, that he almoſt ceas'd to be a Man, and abandon'd himſelf to Deſpair; being perplex'd and confounded with Uncertainties, and deſtitute both of Reſolution and good Counſel in ſuch amazing Difficulties. For while ſome advis'd him to march bravely forwards, as being ſure of many who out of Duty, or Affection, or for Pay, would follow his Standard; others perſuaded him to return into *Ireland*, and go over to his Father-in-Law of *France*, and ſtay 'till the Storm was over, and 'till a more convenient and favourable Seaſon. But the King rejecting both Counſels, took a middle Courſe, and reſolv'd to ſtay in *Wales*, and expect the Event of this Defection; while the Soldiers he had brought over with him, endeavour'd to incourage him to Battel, vowing to live and die with him. But this could not raiſe his drooping Spirits, for in the Night he ſtole away from his Forces, and with ſome of his Nobility went *Incognito* croſs the Country to the Caſtle of *Conway*; where the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, Steward of his Houſhold, openly in the Hall before all the King's Servants, broke his white Staff of Office, and repair'd to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and moſt of the Royal Retinue by his Example diſpers'd and ſhifted every one for himſelf. Such uncertain Attendants are the common ſort of Courtiers, who like Flies, upon the firſt Storm, leave the Body that has nouriſh'd them.

Being under great Perplexities.

he abandons his Army.

Walſing. Chron. Lanc.

The poor unfortunate King being thus abandon'd, had no Hopes left but in a Parly; in Order to which, the ejected Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* repair'd to him to *Conway* Caſtle. The Sum of the King's Propoſals was, ***That if he and eight Perſons, whom he would name, might have an honourable Allowance, and the Aſſurance of a quiet private Life, he would reſign his Crown.*** To which the Earl of *Northumberland* gave his Oath; which ſo ſatisfy'd the King, that he immediately departed in their Company to the Caſtle of *Flint*, where he put himſelf into the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Hands, and rod with him that Night to the Caſtle of *Cheſter*. This is *Walſingham*'s Account; but others ſay that *Northumberland* deluded the King with more plauſible Propoſals than the fore-mention'd, and by a ſort of Stratagem got him into his Poſſeſſion and convey'd him to the Duke of *Lancaſter* at *Flint* Caſtle; where the King having din'd, the Duke appear'd before him, to whom the King ſaid, *Coſin of* Lancaſter, *you are welcome.* The other anſwer'd, *I am come ſooner than you appointed me, becauſe the Fame of your People is, that for theſe twenty one Years you have govern'd ill and rigorouſly, for which they are highly diſſatisfy'd; but if Heav'n pleaſes, I will help to govern them better for the future.* To which the King return'd no other Anſwer but, *Fair Couſin, ſince it pleaſes you, it pleaſes Us alſo.* Soon after the Duke, with the miſerable King in his Poſſeſſion, and a great Part of his Army, march'd directly towards *London*, where he was receiv'd with infinite Acclamations, and the other with as many Reproaches. Before he enter'd the City, the Recorder, with many Knights and Eſquires, met him, and deſir'd in behalf of the Commons of *London*, that he would cut off the Head of King *Richard*, and of all that were taken with him: But the Duke would by no means harken to ſuch a Piece of Villany, but told them, ***That ſuch an Act would prove an everlaſting Reproach to him and his Adherents; but he would carry him along with them to the Tower of*** London, ***and then leave him to the Judgment of the Parliament.*** And here it is obſervable that the King having ſurrender'd himſelf the twentieth of *Auguſt*, but ſeven and forty Days after the Duke's Arrival in *England*, the Duke might well aſſume the noted Motto of *Julius*

He falls into the Hands of the Duke of Lancaſter.

who carries him to London.

The Duke's great Succeſs.

Cæsar; for considering his Marches from *Ravenspur* in the North up to *London*, and from thence to *Bristol*, and so through all *Wales* to *Chester*, a Person can scarce travel over so much Ground in the Space that he conquer'd it. And so indulgent was Fortune to him, that all the King's Jewels and Treasure which were deposited in *Holt* Castle, amounting to seven hundred thousand Pounds, with all his Horses and Baggage now fell into his Hands.

A Parliament call'd in King Richard's Name.

The King being secur'd in the Tower, the Duke of *Lancaster* lost no Time, for he had already at *Chester* caus'd Writs to be issu'd out in King *Richard*'s Name for the summoning a Parliament to be held at *Westminster* on the last Day of *September*; and in the mean Time he consulted with his Friends how to compleat those Designs which beyond his Hopes had been favour'd by Providence. In this Matter the Duke of *York* was now become his chief Director; and after divers Debates he propos'd it as very expedient, That King *Richard* should both voluntarily *Resign* the Crown, and likewise be solemnly *Depos'd* by all the Estates of the Realm; for otherwise his *Resignation* would be imputed only to his Fear, and his *Deprivation* only to their Force, of which the one is always apt to move Pity, and the other to excite Envy: *But if both concurr'd, and his Desires agreed with his own Deserts, as being willing to relinquish what he was adjudged worthy to forfeit, then it would appear that he neither was expell'd his Kingdom by meer Constraint, nor left it without a just Cause.* This Advice was generally approv'd, and accordingly pursu'd; and a solemn *Resignation* was render'd to the King on *Michaelmas-Day*, which he first read with his own Mouth, and then sign'd it with his own Hand. The Form was very full and expressive, and in it was declar'd, *That his Resignation was purely, voluntarily, simply and absolutely*; and more than that, *That he judg'd himself to have been insufficient and unfit for the Rule and Government of his Kingdoms, and by his notorious Demerits had deserv'd to be Depos'd.* After this he declar'd his Desire that the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him in his Kingdoms, and in Token of his Will and Intention, he openly pull'd off his Signet Ring, and put it upon the Duke's Finger. The next Day at the meeting of the Parliament, the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Hereford* publickly declar'd the King's *Cession* and *Renunciation*, with the Inscription of the King's Hand, and the Delivery of his Signet; all which was unanimously approv'd and admitted by the whole Body.

The Tower Rolls.

He formally resigns the Crown.

After which Articles are exhibited against him.

But all this was not thought sufficient; therefore to remove all Doubts and Scruples, thirty three Articles of his Crimes and Failings were drawn up and openly read in the Parliament; of all which, it was said that he had confess'd himself guilty. These Articles were very long and aggravating, and may be seen at length in Doctor *Brady*'s and Mr. *Tyrrell*'s Histories, where they take up above eight Pages in *Folio*. In the Beginning of them was plac'd his Abuse of the publick Treasure, and dishonourable Waste of the Crown Lands, by which he became intollerably grievous to his Subjects. The particular and unhappy Causes of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Lancaster*, of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Arundel*, fill'd up several Articles. In the rest he was charg'd with Dissimulation, Falshood, Loss of Honour in the World, Rapines, Extortions, Denial of Justice, Rasures and Embezelling of Records, dishonourable Shifts, wicked Actions of State, Cruelty, Covetousness, Subordinations, Lasciviousness, Treason to the Rights of the Crown, Perjuries; and in short with all sorts of unkingly Vices, and with absolute Tyranny it self. And indeed there was nothing so improbable that could then be objected, but would have gone for current and undeniable with Affections so throughly prepar'd. These Articles being read, all the Estates of the Realm unanimously consented *ex abundanti* to proceed to the *Deposition* of King *Richard*, for the greater Security and Tranquility of the People: And accordingly they appointed certain Commissioners, the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, the Abbot of *Glastonbury*, the Earl of *Gloucester*, the Lord *Berkly*, Sir *Thomas Erpyngham*, Sir *Thomas Grey*, and

Ibid.

and *William Thirnyng* Juſtice, to pronounce a ſolemn Sentence of Depoſition againſt King *Richard* from all Royal Dignity, Majeſty and Honour, in the Name of all the Eſtates of *England*. Which being done, they conſtituted certain Perſons to be their Proctors or Agents to go to King *Richard* and reſign the Homage and Fealty that before had been made to him, and give him Notice of what had been done touching his *Depoſition*, and *Renunciation*. *He is ſolemnly depos'd.*

Ibid. Upon this, the Royal Throne being now reputed vacant, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* riſing from his Seat, and ſtanding ſo as he might be ſeen by the People, after he had croſs'd himſelf and ſolemnly invocated the Name of *Chriſt*, in a Form of Words laid Claim to the vacant Crown of *England*, as being truly and lineally deſcended from King *Henry* the Third. Upon which Claim, and his ſhowing King *Richard*'s Signet, all the Eſtates unanimouſly conſented that the ſaid Duke *Henry* ſhould reign over them; and both the Arch-Biſhops of the Kingdom ſolemnly plac'd him in the Royal Throne, with the general Acclamations and Applauſes of the People. Then to compleat the Solemnity, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* made a ſhort Sermon or Diſcourſe upon the Words of *Samuel*, *A Man ſhould reign over the People*; from whence he took an Occaſion to deſcribe the Happineſs of that Kingdom which was govern'd by a Man, and the Infelicity of that govern'd by a Child, whether in Age or Diſcretion; *and whereas they had dangerouſly felt the Evils of the latter under King* Richard, *ſo they hop'd abundantly to enjoy the Bleſſings of the former from King* Henry. After which the new Monarch aroſe from his Throne, and with an affable Countenance and a gracious Smile declar'd, *That none would think that he intended by Way of Conqueſt to diſinherit any Man, certain evil Members only excepted.* On the ſame Day he made a ſplendid Entertainment for the Nobility and Gentry, who were there in great Numbers. As for King *Richard* then in the Tower, when all Homage and Fealty was reſign'd to him by *William Thirnyng* in the Name of the reſt, he only anſwer'd, *That he look'd not after ſuch Things, but after all he hop'd That his Couſin would be his good Lord and Friend.* Thus was King *Richard* depos'd upon *Tueſday* the Thirtieth Day of *September*, after a diſhonourable and unfortunate Reign of twenty two Years, two Months and eight Days, being then in the Strength and Vigour of his Age, and not above thirty three Years old.

Henry *Duke of* Lancaſter *plac'd in his Throne.*

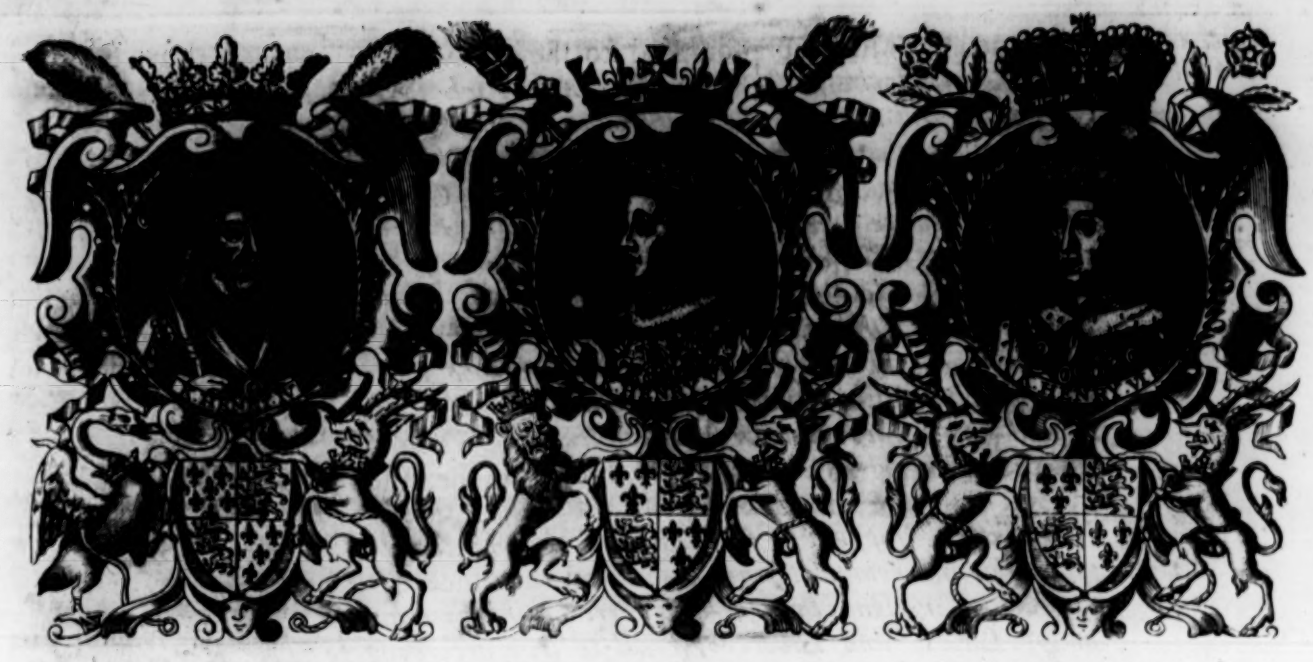
King Richard *ſubmits.*

Here ended the Reign, tho' not the Life of King *Richard* the Second; a Prince who as to his Perſon was the moſt amiable and handſom that ever reign'd ſince the Conqueſt, agreeable to the Son of ſo beautiful a Father and Mother; and he might have prov'd an excellent Prince had his Education been anſwerable to his natural Diſpoſition. For there appear'd in him many good Inclinations, which might have grown to perfect Virtues, if they had not been blaſted by corrupt Flatterers in his Youth. Theſe taught him Luxury, Viciouſneſs and the Deſire of Power, ſo that in a ſhort Time, by his being ſtill govern'd by them, he loſt all the Eſteem and Affection the Nation had once for him; and this occaſion'd great Hardſhips, and very unjuſtifiable Uſage from his Subjects to him, beſides the Ruin of his moſt beloved Friends. He acted as one of a revengeful Spirit, and was guilty of many Breaches of Faith; for which he more than once receiv'd his Puniſhment from the Hands of thoſe who had not the moſt Right to inflict it. As to his Temper, he was rather profuſe than liberal in his Gifts and Expences, keeping greater State and Hoſpitality than any of his Predeceſſors; and tho' we find no publick Act of Charity done by him, yet his rebuilding of *Weſtminſter-Hall* in that noble manner it now ſtands, ſufficiently ſhews that he lov'd to appear great and magnificent in whatſoever he undertook: But his Grandeur was one great Step to his Ruin. His Reign in general, in ſeveral Reſpects reſembled that of King *Edward* the Second, his Great-grand-father; for both adher'd to the Advices of Favourites, and both equally neglected the Councils of the ancient Nobility: *His Perſon and Character.*

A Compariſon between him Edward II.

bility: But with this Difference, that *Edward* was paſſionately fond of the Perſon of his Favourite, and would endanger his Crown to preſerve him; whereas *Richard* ſo little regarded the Perſon of his, that he would not hazard his Throne in his Defence. *Edward* ſeem'd of a more eaſie and flexible Temper, being always govern'd by them he lov'd; but *Richard* of a more diſſolute and wilful Inclination, ever loving thoſe whom he could beſt rule; ſo that ſuch only were his Favourites, as would be ſubſervient to his Will. The former was ruin'd more by the Faults of others, and the latter more by thoſe of his own; ſo that *Edward*'s Caſe was more pitiable, and *Richard*'s more blameable. *Richard* aſſum'd a more abſolute Power than *Edward*, or indeed any of his Predeceſſors, and more than that obtain'd it; and his Fall did not only ſhow a great and wonderful Revolution, but alſo moſt ſignally manifeſted that the moſt abſolute Princes are ever moſt liable to be ruin'd, eſpecially in thoſe Kingdoms where there is, or rather ought to be any Concurrency in the Legiſlature.

CHAP.



CHAP. IV.

The Royal Houſe of Lancaſter: *From the Depoſition of King* Richard *the Second, to the Depoſition of* Henry *the Sixth, and the Beginning of the Royal Houſe of* York.

Containing the Space of about 61 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Fourth.*

Containing 13 *Years,* 5 *Months, and* 21 *Days.*

I. KING *Richard* II. being thus formally depriv'd and depos'd, was in his Life-Time ſucceeded by *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, from his Birth-Place in *Lincolnſhire* ſirnam'd *Bullingbrook*, a Perſon of great Note and Renown, and now about thirty three Years of Age; every Way qualify'd for his high Office, only he wanted an unqueſtionable Title: For beſides King *Richard* himſelf, who proceeded from *Edward* the Eldeſt Son of *Edward* III. the Earl of *Marche* was then living, who deſcended from *Lionel* his Third Son, while his own Deſcent was from his Fourth Son *John*. However being ſo well ſupported on all Sides, he immediately call'd a Parliament in his own Name, who met in ſix Days Time, and conſiſted of the ſame Members that King *Richard* had ſummon'd not long before. In this Parliament, which met on the ſixth Day of *October*, King *Henry* being ſeated on his Royal Throne in *Weſtminſter-Hall* before the full Aſſembly, and a numerous Concourſe of others, *Arundel* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in a formal Oration firſt declar'd the Cauſe of their Summons, and that King *Richard*'s former Summons was of no Force or Effect, by reaſon of the Acceptation of the Renunciation made by him, before King *Henry* had iſſu'd out his Writs for this Parliament.

A. D. 1399. Reg. 1.

Rot. Parl. *A Parliament call'd.*

The Arch Bishop's Speech.

Parliament. Then he proceeded to shew *That this honourable Kingdom of* England, *and the most abounding with Riches, had been long govern'd by Children, and the Counsels of young Persons, so that it was reduc'd to a State of Desolation highly to be lamented, had not the Goodness of Almighty God sent a knowing and discreet Man for the Government of the Nation, who by the Assistance of Heav'n would be rul'd and advis'd by the Sages and Ancients of his Kingdom, for the mutual Succour and Comfort of himself and his whole People.* Adding further, *That Men ought especially to consider how this honourable Kingdom could so long subsist under such miserable Waste and Destruction, which if it had been under good and regular Government, and wise and sufficient Counsel, it would have been the most considerable in the World for Riches and other Advantages.* Then having declar'd how ready the present King *Henry* was to be advis'd by the wisest of the Nation, he again insisted upon the Excellencies of the *English* Empire, *That no Kingdom in the World could support it self without the Assistance of others, so honourably, gloriously and compleatly as this:* And then shew'd, *That in the Government of every Kingdom three Things were especially required, Justice, Observation of Laws, and Liberty for all to live according to their Ranks and Degrees; and that it was the King's Will, by the Help of God, to make good these three Particulars.* He further declar'd, *That it was also his Majesty's special Will, That the Holy Church should enjoy all her Liberties and Franchises; that all the good Statutes enacted in the Time of his noble Progenitors should be firmly observ'd, and that all the Nobility, Commons, and all others, should enjoy all their Liberties and Franchises, according to the Grants made by his foresaid Progenitors. And that no Man ought to censure any Thing done this Parliament, for the King was resolv'd in his Faith and Conscience to do equal Justice to all Parties, according to the Will, Assistance and Grace of God afforded to him.*

After this, and the Dispatch of some formal Matters, the Parliament by Consent was prorogu'd 'till the Day after the King's Coronation, which was appointed on the thirteenth of *October*, on the same Day Twelve-Month that he had been banish'd by King *Richard*. His Coronation was extraordinary solemn and magnificent, and he was anointed with a peculiar Oyl which a Religious Man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, with a certain Prophecy, That all Kings anointed with That should be Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming into the Hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking among his Jewels, then going into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but the Arch-Bishop prevented him by assuring him, That it was not lawful to be anointed more than once. Upon his Return into *Wales*, the Arch-Bishop got it into his own Possession, and reserv'd it to the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. Immediately after his Coronation this wise Prince us'd all Precautions to establish and perpetuate his Power and Authority; and particularly provided for the Indemnities of all such as join'd with him before King *Richard* was depos'd, and caus'd all the Acts made by the Parliament of the 21st of the late Reign to be revok'd and annull'd for ever. By which his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Arundel* and several others were freed from the Infamy of that Corruption in Blood which follows executed Traitors. At the same Time the Statutes made in the eleventh Year of *Richard* the Second were reviv'd and confirm'd to be kept according to their full Intent and Purport, as being for the Good and common Profit of the Kingdom. And whereas the Articles of those Times exhibited against Treasonable Practices, usually extended so far as to give the Prince too unlimited a Power over his Peers and People, this King therefore reduc'd the Case of Treasons to a more certain Head, utterly abolishing all such Cases as were establish'd in the late Reign. The Substance of the Statute upon that Occasion is, 'Whereas in a Parliament helden by the late King *Richard*, 'divers

Rot. Parl. Walsing. &c.

King Henry's Coronation.

Several Establishments.

'divers Penalties of Treaſon were ordain'd in ſuch a Manner, that no Man 'could know how to behave himſelf, to act, or to ſpeak, for fear of ſuch Pe-'nalties; it is enacted by the King, Lords and Commons, That for the future 'no Treaſon ſhall be adjudg'd otherwiſe than it was ordain'd by the Statute in 'the Reign of his noble Grand-Father King *Edward* the Third of glorious 'Memory. By which the Net was broken, the perilous Eſtate of Subjects re-liev'd, the People gratify'd, and the King ſecur'd in their Affections. But for a farther Security, in this Parliament, after he had made the Earl of *Northumberland* Conſtable of *England*, the Earl of *Weſtmorland* Lord Marſhal, Sir *John Serle* Chancellor, *John Newbury* Treaſurer, and Sir *Richard Clifford* Lord Privy-Seal, he created his eldeſt Son *Henry*, then about thirteen Years of Age, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*, and ſhortly after Duke of *Gaſcony*; and the Crown by Parliament was entail'd upon him and the Heirs of his Body, to the Excluſion of all others that could claim any Right of Soveraignty in the Nation.

The Crown entail'd upon Henry's Heirs.

Rot. Parl. &c. After ſome exemplary Puniſhments of ſome of the late King's evil Counſellors, in the latter End of this Parliament, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* charg'd all preſent, upon their Allegiance, *That what was then ſpoken or propounded ſhould be kept ſecret from all Mankind*; and then it was demanded, for the Security of the King, and all the Eſtates of the Nation, what ſhould be done with the depoſed King *Richard*. To which Queſtion all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal unanimouſly anſwer'd to this Effect, *That he ought to be put under ſafe and ſecure Guard, in a Place where there was no Concourſe of People, and be kept by ſure and ſufficient Perſons, after the moſt ſecret Manner, without any one who had been formerly Servant to him.* Only *Thomas Merks*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, a Perſon of great Learning and Spirit, diſſented from the common Opinion; and, according to Sir *John Hayward*, in a long and remarkable Speech bravely ſtood up for the Power and Authority of the Kings of *England*, and by ſeveral Arguments drawn from the Conſtitution of the Nation, from Hiſtory and Scripture, evinc'd *That neither King* Richard *could be legally depos'd by his Subjects, nor the Duke of* Lancaſter *legally ſucceed him, tho' he had been depriv'd never ſo juſtly:* And further diſplay'd the innumerable Miſchiefs that uſually attended and followed ſuch unjuſtifiable Proceedings. But his Arguments were then look'd upon as only the Opinion of a ſingle Man, and he was ſo far from being incourag'd, that he was order'd to be arreſted by the Marſhal, and committed to Priſon in the Abby of St. *Albans*; tho' afterwards without further Cenſure he was ſet at Liberty. During this Seſſion of Parliament, the Arch-Biſhop had convok'd a Synod in St. *Paul*'s Church, to whom the King ſent the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, who declar'd to the Clergy, *That they were not ſent to them to require any Mony from them, but to acquaint them with his Majeſty's Reſolution to confirm all their Privileges and Immunities, and to join with them, as they ſhould deſire him, in the Puniſhment of all Hereticks and Oppugners of the eſtabliſh'd Religion; for all which he only crav'd their Supplications to God for the Safety of him and his Poſterity, and the Proſperity of the Kingdom*; which all there preſent ſolemnly and religiouſly promis'd.

A Conſultation about King Richard.

A Synod meets.

Walſing. Pol. Virg. All theſe Proviſions King *Henry* made at home for his Honour and Security; and being ſenſible that his Actions might be ſeverely cenſur'd in Foreign Parts, he ſent wiſe Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, *France*, *Spain* and *Germany*, to give Reaſons for his extraordinary Proceedings. To *Rome*, he ſent the Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheney*, Knight, and *John Cheney*, Eſquire; to *France*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Lord *Thomas Percy* and *William Heron*; to *Spain*, the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* and Sir *William Par*; and to *Germany*, the Biſhop of *Bangor* and others: All whom were arm'd with full Inſtructions for the Juſtification of their new advanc'd Soveraign. In *France* they found the greateſt Difficulty in giving Satisfaction, becauſe the *French* King's Daughter by this

King Henry *vindicates himſelf to foreign Princes.*

The French are diſſatisfy'd.

Revolution loſt the Benefit of her Marriage with King *Richard*; therefore this News was taken very heinouſly, and a War was immediately threaten'd, or at leaſt deſign'd, but King *Charles* relapſing into his old Diſeaſe of Frenzy, and King *Richard* dying not long after, all Thoughts of that kind expired. But the Inhabitants of *Gaſcony* were not ſo eaſily appeas'd, but ſtood vigorouſly for their Countryman King *Richard*; and thoſe of *Bourdeaux* openly declar'd *That ſince the World began, there was never a more cruel, unreaſonable and impious Fact; that the good Prince was betray'd by faithleſs Men, and all Law violated.* Yet ſtill the *French* were deceiv'd in their Hopes of converting theſe popular Heats to their Advantage; for partly by the Wiſdom of the chief Magiſtrates, and partly by the Peoples comparing the Severity of the *French* Government with the Lenity of the *Engliſh*, they were kept firm. Much Labour and many fair Promiſes were us'd by *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon* to draw the *Gaſcoignes* to revolt; but his Deſigns were ſoon defeated by the Arrival of *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter* with competent Numbers of Men, ſent thither to withſtand the *French* Practices, and reſtore the Peoples Affections.

A. D. 1400. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

A great Conſpiracy againſt King Henry.

King *Henry* was ſcarce eſtabliſh'd in his new gain'd Soveraignty, before a private Body of Enemies were forming his Deſtruction under the very Protection of his own Wings. The depos'd *Richard* was ſtill alive, and tho' great Numbers in the Kingdom approv'd of his Downfall, yet many others did not; for ſome mov'd by Nearneſs of Blood and Friendſhip, ſome by Conſcience and Honour, others tranſported with Envy and Diſappointments, and not a few with the Remembrance of former Benefits, or the Hopes of future Advantages upon a Change, much deſir'd to ſet *Richard* upon the *Engliſh* Throne again. The Manner of this Conſpiracy is variouſly related by Authors; but it is commonly agreed that the chief Parties concern'd were ſuch as had their Lives ſpared in the laſt Parliament, but had been ſtripp'd of a conſiderable Part of their Honours; as *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, and *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; the two firſt Half-Brothers to King *Richard*, and the laſt his Coſin-German, all three in the late Reign having been Dukes, of *Exeter*, *Surry* and *Albermarl*. Beſides theſe were *John Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, late Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Bernard Brokas*, Sir *John Shelley*, and *John Magdalen*, a Chaplain to King *Richard*, and much reſembling him in Perſon. But one of the principal Inſtigators in this Deſign was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, an entire Friend to King *Richard*, and one who had taken a particular Prejudice againſt King *Henry*, becauſe formerly when he was Earl of *Darby* he publickly deliver'd a dangerous Truth, *That the King of* England *had too little, and the Clergy too much.* The above-nam'd Perſons and ſome others being aſſembled in a Private and convenient Place, the Earl of *Huntington* in a Speech declar'd *That King* Henry *by violently invading, and fraudulently mounting the Throne of his ſole Soveraign, was both a Tyrant and Uſurper, and ſuch a One as it was lawful for any Man, by any Means to deſtroy, without Reſpect to his good or evil Qualifications; ſince it was lawful for no Man under his Pretences to aſſume Soveraign Power. Therefore the Examples of the beſt Common-wealths did not only permit ſuch an Action, but alſo honour'd the Actors with Statues and Titles, and rewarded them with the Wealth and Riches of the ſuppreſſed Tyrant.* And becauſe Policy was as neceſſary as Force, it was propos'd and approv'd that ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments ſhould be held at *Oxford* in *Chriſtmaſs* Holy-Days between the Earl of *Huntington* and twenty more on his Part, and the Earl of *Salisbury* and as many more on his, to which King *Henry* ſhould be invited; and when he was intent upon the Spectacle, he ſhould be ſuddenly ſurpriz'd by ſuch a Number as at that Time might be aſſembled without Suſpicion. Upon this they all took a ſolemn Oath of Secrecy; and an Indenture *Sextipartite* was likewiſe made between the Lords, wherein

Walſing. &c.

The Manner of it.

wherein they mutually bound themſelves to each other, to do their utmoſt for the Ruin of the preſent, and the Delivery of the former King. They likewiſe concluded what Forces ſhould be rais'd, where and by whom they ſhould be order'd and plac'd, as likewiſe to whoſe Truſt the Execution of this Exploit ſhould be committed.

Walſing. Hall. &c. In Purſuance of this Deſign, the Earl of *Huntington* acquainted King *Henry* with the deſign'd Tournament between him and the Earl of *Salisbury*, and begg'd of him to honour them with his Preſence, and that he would be pleas'd to be their Judge in caſe any Difference ſhould ariſe; to which he graciouſly promis'd to conſent. In the mean Time every Conſpirator provided himſelf with what Number of Men he could procure, under the Pretence of Magnificency; and at the Time appointed enter'd the City of *Oxford*, where the King and Court was expected the next Day. The Earl of *Rutland* was only wanting, who having ſent his Men before, went to viſit his Father the old Duke of *York*, who liv'd in a Country Houſe upon that Road; where being at Dinner, the Duke accidentally eſpy'd a Label of the Indenture hanging out of his Son's Boſom; and juſtly ſuppoſing it ſomething extraordinary, he forc'd it from him. Viewing the Contents, the ſix Seals, and his Son's Name, he was ſo incens'd, that riſing immediately from the Table, he gave order for his Horſe to be made ready; reproaching his Son *for that having been falſe to King* Richard, *and now prov'd a Traitor to King* Henry; *That he was very ſagacious in finding out Inventions to ruin his Father, who in the laſt Parliament had been bound with him Body for Body; therefore ſince he had ſo little Value for his Father's Head, he would have as little for his:* Upon which he immediately took Horſe for *Windſor*. The Earl finding that his Father was not to be withdrawn from his Reſolution, that all was diſcover'd, and his Life in the greateſt Danger, with the utmoſt Expedition rod to *Windſor* another Way; and being arriv'd before his Father, upon Pretence of an extraordinary Accident, he procur'd the Caſtle Gates to be lock'd up. Then taking the Keyes with him, he threw himſelf at the King's Feet, and crav'd his Mercy. The King in a great Surprize demanded his Offence; which when he fully heard, he promis'd him his Pardon, provided his whole Relation prov'd exactly true. Shortly after the Duke of *York* being admitted into the Caſtle, without further Ceremony, put the Conſpirators Contract into the King's Hands; who finding by that all *Rutland*'s Account to be true, deferr'd his Journey to *Oxford*, reſolving at *Windſor* to expect the Conſpirators new Reſolutions. He alſo ſent expreſs Meſſengers to the Lord High-Conſtable the Earl of *Northumberland*, and to the Lord Marſhal the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and likewiſe to all his other Friends, that they might all haſten to the Court, with what Forces they could immediately raiſe.

The Diſcovery of it.

Ibid. In the mean Time the Conſpirators, being got to *Oxford*, ſoon concluded from the Abſence of the Earl of *Rutland*, and the Non-appearance of the King, that all their Plot was diſcover'd. They had now no Hopes of Mercy, as having been formerly condemn'd and pardon'd, therefore in this deſperate Juncture they endeavour'd to effect that by open Force which they could not do by Treachery; and for their own Safeties they cloath'd *Magdalen* with Royal Robes, who much reſembling King *Richard*, eaſily deceiv'd the Multitude. To render the Thing plauſible, they reported, that being aſſiſted by his Keepers, he had eſcap'd out of Priſon; by which means they ſoon gather'd together forty thouſand Men, the leaſt Part of whom came out of good Will, the moſt inconſiderable out of Hopes, and moſt unuſeful out of Fear; conſequently all of them variable and unconſtant. However they reſolv'd to ſeize upon the King at *Windſor*; but he hearing of their coming, had with ſome few Horſe withdrawn himſelf to *London*, to which City they intended to purſue him, and take him unprovided, which probably was their beſt Courſe; but Fear put a Period to their Deſign, when Wiſdom was more dangerous than raſh Attempts.

The Conſpirators raiſe an Army.

The King prepares against them.

The King upon his Arrival at *London* fortify'd himſelf; the City furniſh'd him with Soldiers, and he provided himſelf a ſufficient Guard; and hearing of the others Coming, he march'd out to meet them with twenty thouſand Men, not diffident of his own ſmall Numbers, nor terrify'd with his Enemies Multitudes. They, on the other ſide, apprehending the King's Valour and their Mens Inſtability, ſhunn'd the Encounter, and retir'd towards *Reading*, where King *Richard*'s Queen lay; cauſing her to believe that her Husband was at *Pontfract* with a hundred thouſand fighting Men, and that *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, with his Children and Friends, had ſhut himſelf up in the *Tower*, not daring to come out; and the better to colour this Report, they threw down King *Henry*'s Arms, and took his Badges from ſuch of the Queen's Servants as wore them, as if *Richard* had been ſtill in his Throne. They made no further uſe of *Magdalen*'s Pageant, but chang'd their Reports of *Richard*'s Deliverance and Power as often as they chang'd their Stations; as it is uſual for ſuch as are juſt ſinking, to lay hold of any falſe Rumour.

The Conſpirators leaving *Reading*, march'd towards *Ciceſter*; where the Earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury* took up their Lodgings in a ſmall Village, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Gloceſter* theirs in another, leaving their Army in the Field. The Townſmen thereabouts, being inform'd that Affairs were quite otherwiſe than they had reported them, about Midnight ſurrounded the Houſe where the two former were lodg'd, who withſtood their Fury for many Hours. *Huntington*, who was advis'd of this Misfortune, could not poſſibly ſuccour them, for all his Men out of a ſudden Fear had fled; for a certain Prieſt, to divert the Aſſault, had ſet Fire to ſome Houſes in the Village, which occaſion'd theſe Men to fly, as fearing that King *Henry* was come in Perſon, and had fir'd the Village. The Townſmen on the contrary, being by this doubly inrag'd, reſolv'd to extinguiſh the Flames with nothing but the Blood of their Oppoſers, and fought with greater Fury than ever. So that unfortunate *Kent* and *Salisbury*, abandon'd by their Friends, and taken by their Enemies, after many deſperate Wounds, had their Heads ſtrucken off, and ſent to *London*: Twenty nine of their Company, Barons as well as Gentlemen, were taken Priſoners, and ſent to *Oxford*, where King *Henry* reſided, and there had publick Juſtice paſs'd upon them. The Earl of *Gloceſter* thinking to eſcape, was taken Priſoner in *Wales*, and beheaded at *Briſtol*; and *Magdalen*, flying into *Scotland*, was taken and ſent to *London*, where he dy'd the Death of a common Traytor. The Earl of *Huntington* often endeavour'd to get into *France*, but was always driven back by contrary Winds; and wandering unknown, he was taken by chance, and brought to the late Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Houſe, where his Head was ſtrucken off; the Divine Vengeance meeting him in the Territories of a Perſon of whoſe former Murder he had been too much guilty. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, now finding the miſerable Effects of his Counſel, fled from his Monaſtery; but being ſeiz'd by an Apoplexy, eſcap'd common Execution: The like happen'd to the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who ſuddenly dy'd of a violent Feaver; tho' ſome ſay he was firſt condemn'd, and had his Puniſhment generouſly remitted by the King. Infinite was the Number of others that dy'd; the High-Ways were fill'd with the Heads and Quarters of miſerable Wretches; among whom many Innocent Perſons ſuffer'd, who under Pretence of Rebellion, or out of former Reſentments, were put to Death. Inſomuch that King *Henry*, tho' of a moderate and generous Diſpoſition, was look'd upon in this Matter as too mercileſs and revengeful; for ſo much Blood, both of the Nobility and others, at one Time, and for one Offence, was never ſhed in any preceding Reign ſince the Conqueſt. And it is further obſervable, that the principal of thoſe who now ſo diſhonourably loſt their own Lives, were nearly concern'd in that of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s.

They are defeated.

The chief of them puniſh'd.

The unfortunate King *Richard* was ſtill a Stranger to all theſe Tranſactions, and was reſerv'd for the laſt Scene of this diſmal Tragedy. His approaching Death had

Walſing. Pol. Virg. Fabian. &c.

had now all the Appearances of Neceſſity, for which Reaſon he was remov'd from the Tower of *London* to a Caſtle in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire*, that the Cauſe of his Death might be unknown. That his Death was unnatural and unjuſt, is more than probable; but the Manner of it is very uncertain, and differently related. Some write that when he underſtood the Defeats and Deaths of his chief Friends, he became ſo diſconſolate, that he pin'd away and ſtarv'd himſelf; others, that for fifteen Days he was kept from Suſtenance, and with the Addition of Cold ſtarv'd to Death; and others ſay he had Feaſts ſet before him, but deny'd to touch any Thing, as if deſign'd to imitate the Fable of *Tantalus*, and aggravate his Torments. The Account that *Hollinſhed* gives from a Writer, who ſeems to have had great Knowledge of King *Richard*'s Actions, appears more probable, tho' it is too uncertain to be abſolutely rely'd on. He relates that ſome uneaſie Words falling from King *Henry*, gave a Hint to one Sir *Pierce Exton*, to undertake the Death of King *Richard*; who with eight other Aſſaſſinates haſten'd to *Pontfract*, as if he fear'd to be depriv'd of the Honour of the Action. Upon his Arrival, the Preface to the intended Cruelty was the Omiſſion of the Ceremony of Taſting that was uſually paid *Richard* at his Table; who upon demanding the Reaſon, was anſwer'd, That Sir *Pierce Exton* had brought ſuch Orders from King *Henry*: At which *Richard* was ſo tranſported, as to ſtrike the Taſter, and to curſe the King by the Name of *Harry* of *Lancaſter*. Immediately after, Sir *Pierce* with his bloody Followers enter'd, and ſhut cloſe the Door; which being perceiv'd by the unfortunate King, he gueſs'd at their fatal Intentions, and with a Reſolution becoming his Heroick Father, ſnatch'd a Halbert from the foremoſt, and bravely ſlew four of the Aſſailants: And with no leſs Courage fought with the reſt, 'till *Exton* got upon a Chair behind him, and with a Pole-Axe ſtruck him down; where the poor miſerable King ended all his Calamities, upon the fourteenth Day of *February*, near five Months after he had loſt his Crown. This was the fatal End of King *Richard* II. which afterwards open'd a larger Fountain of Blood than ever was known in the Nation. His Body was embalm'd and cover'd with Lead all but the Face, and brought to St. *Paul*'s Church, where out of Policy it was for three Days expos'd to publick View, and then obſcurely interr'd at *Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, tho' afterwards it had a more publick Funeral in *Weſtminſter* Abby. It is obſervable that in the three greateſt Exigencies of this Prince's Life, he appear'd above himſelf; the firſt in the Rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, the ſecond in the Reſignation of his Crown, and the laſt in the Loſs of his Life: The firſt he perform'd with a skilful Ardour beyond his Age, the ſecond with a ſteady Calmneſs above the ordinary Temper of Man, and the laſt with an Heroick Courage equal to the Braveſt.

Different Accounts of King Richard's Death.

His Body expos'd.

Walſing. Buttinſ. &c.

II. King *Henry*, tho' now more ſafe in his Throne than before, thought it convenient to divert the Eyes and Humours of the People from the Remembrance of the late Tragedy; and this he did by an Expedition into *Scotland*, occaſion'd by the unreaſonable Demands of the King of that Country, who would have no Peace, unleſs King *Henry* deliver'd up the Lord *Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, contrary to his Royal Promiſe and Protection. The valiant *Henry*, chuſing rather to make *Scotland* the Seat of the War, than to expect King *Robert*'s Arrival in *England*, march'd with a well order'd Army into the Bowels of the Country, where he burnt Towns, Villages and Caſtles, ſparing nothing but Religious Houſes and Churches. Then advancing to the City of *Edinburgh*, he burnt a great Part of that and the Town of *Leith*, and beſieg'd the ſtrong Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was defended by Prince *David* the Governor, with the Earl of *Douglaſs*, and many other brave Men. During the Siege, the Duke of *Albany*, Governor of the Realm, ſent a Herald to King *Henry*, aſſuring him upon his Honour, *That if he would tarry his Coming, within*

A. D. 1400. Reg. 12.

King Henry makes an Expedition into Scotland.

within six Days he would give him Battel, and raise the Siege, or else would lose his Life. The King of *England* was so pleas'd with the Message, that he generously rewarded the Herald with a Chain of Gold and other Gifts, promising him upon the Word of a King, *Not to depart thence during the appointed Time of the Governor.* But after many six Days, without any Appearance of the Governor, upon the Account of Colds and Rains, as well as Sickness and Want of Provisions, King *Henry* broke up the Siege, and left *Scotland* without any Battel or Skirmish offer'd. During his Stay in *Scotland*, he shew'd a more than ordinary Respect to the Religious Houses, and treated the People of such Places with great Courtesie and Humility, being gratefully mindful of the obliging and generous Entertainment the Duke of *Lancaster* his Father had found among the Monasteries, when he fled into *Scotland* for Refuge, in the Time of the Rebellion in *England.*

His Kindness to Ecclesiasticks.

While the Affairs of *England* seem'd in a calm and peaceable Condition, Providence thrust a Thorn in King *Henry*'s Side at a Time and Place he little expected; for the *Welsh*, who had paid Obedience to so many Kings of *England*, contrary to all Mens Expectations, broke out into open Acts of Hostility, under the Conduct of a certain Gentleman of that Nation nam'd *Owen Glendour*, Lord of *Glendour* in *Merionethshire.* This Man was descended from the youngest Son of Baron *Bromfield*, and his Inclinations were not common; while he was young he repair'd to *London*, with Intention to study the Law; but soon weary of that, he betook himself to the Service of King *Richard*, and was one of his Houshold Servants. Being as soon tir'd with that sort of Life as the former, he retir'd to some Possessions of his own in *Wales*; which bordering upon the Lands of *Reynald Gray* Lord *Ruthin*, after a violent Dispute, Burning of Villages and Houses, and Killing of Servants, he met with that Lord, and in a Fight took him Prisoner. *Glendour* daily encreasing in Power, the *Welsh*, who were displeas'd at King *Richard*'s Deprivation, and inrag'd at his Death, soon took up Arms, and chose him for their Commander, who immediately committed Devastations in several Parts. Upon Intelligence of this, King *Henry* march'd with an Army into *Wales*, wasting, destroying, and taking such Revenge as Time and Opportunity would permit. In the mean Time *Glendour*, whom Pride and Indiscretion had arm'd for the further Ruin of his Country, retir'd into the unaccessable Fastnesses of *Snowdon*, where for this Campaign he secur'd himself from the Storm; and shortly after the King return'd with such Spoils as the Country afforded. The last Action of this Year was peaceable and pompous; for *Manuel* Emperor of *Constantinople* came in Person into *England* to beg Assistance against the growing Power of the *Turks*; and upon St. *Thomas*'s Day he was met at *Black-Heath* by King *Henry*, magnificently feasted at *London*, richly presented, and treated according to the height of his Quality.

Pont. Waling.

An Insurrection in Wales.

The Emperor of Constantinople *comes into* England.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 2/3.

In a Parliament held the next Year, by reason of the increasing Numbers of those called *Lolards*, the Punishment enacted for them was Burning. And in the same Year, the Articles of Peace being first agreed between the two Nations the *English* and *French*, notwithstanding the latter deny'd a Match with the young Prince of *Wales*, the Lady *Isabel* who had been crown'd Queen of *England*, as Spouse of the late King, was now sent back into *France* after a royal and solemn manner; but being now but twelve Years of Age, and the Marriage not consummated, no Dowry was allow'd her in *England.* When she was restor'd to her Friends, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, before the Ambassadors of both Nations, who met between *Calais* and *Bouloign*, openly declar'd, *That the King of* England *his Master had sent her to be deliver'd to her Father, free from all Bonds of Marriage, or other Obligations; and that he would take it upon his Soul that she was sound and untouch'd, as she was when deliver'd to King* Richard, *and if any said to the contrary, he was ready to prove it by single Combat.* But the Earl of St. *Paul* declaring, *That he believ'd*

Froiſart. Waling.

King Richard's *Queen sent into* France.

liev'd it to be true, the Lord *Piercy* took her by the Hand, and deliver'd her to the Earl; and then the Commiſſioners of *France* gave certain Letters of Releaſe and Acquittance. She was afterwards marry'd to *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*. In the mean Time King *Henry* was much in Danger of his Life, even in his Bed-Chamber; for a deſperate Engine was diſcover'd in his Bed, with three long and ſharp Iron Pikes, all with their Points upwards; but the King very happily perceiv'd it before he laid himſelf down, and ſo eſcap'd the Miſchief and Danger, tho' he could never diſcover the Actor.

King Henry *in Danger.*

Walſing. Powel. &c.

All this Time *Owen Glendour*, ſwell'd with his Succeſs againſt the Lord *Ruthen*, became more and more inſolent, and after ſome Time enter'd with his Forces into *Herefordſhire*. In this County *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche* liv'd in a private Condition; ſo that by keeping at Diſtance from the Court, without Splendor, he might avoid thoſe Dangers which in the preſent Conjuncture threaten'd him, as next lawful Heir to King *Richard*. *Glendour* practiſing his accuſtom'd Cruelties, awaken'd the County, which under the Conduct of the Earl of *Marche* endeavour'd to bridle his Inſults. So that in a ſhort Time a ſharp Battel was fought; in which *Glendour* had two Advantages, the Number of his Men, and his own Conduct; by which means he became Victor, Obedience and good Order having won him the Laurel. On the other Side the *Herefordſhire* Men, fewer in Number, led on by Neceſſity, diſtracted and uncertain, kept the Field 'till Night, rather by an obſtinate Reſolution than any Reaſon or Order. At length they yielded, but fled not, there being none to purſue them; for *Glendour* ſatisfy'd with the Advantage, finding himſelf in an Enemy's Country, the Night dark, and many of his Men ſlain, forbore all Purſuit of his Foes. Two thouſand *Herefordſhire* Men were left dead in the Field, and the Earl himſelf was taken Priſoner, and without Reſpect to his Perſon, kept in the Bottom of a Tower; nor did King *Henry*, tho' much importun'd, endeavour for his Liberty, for he concluded his Impriſonment to be one of the moſt fortunate Events that could happen to him.

A. D. 1402. Reg. 4.

Glendour *and the* Welſh *diſturb* Herefordſhire.

The Earl of Marche *taken Priſoner by them.*

Walſing. Pol. Virg. &c.

But ſtill King *Henry* could enjoy no true Peace nor Satisfaction, for about this Time ſeveral Conſpiracies were diſcover'd in *Embrio*, all which were ſupported by Calumnies and Forgery; for by the firſt *Henry*'s Actions were traduc'd in Libels, and by the ſecond *Richard* was reported to be ſtill alive, to raiſe a new Head of Separation. *Henry*, thus wounded in his Honour, and endanger'd in his Perſon, reſolv'd to ſpare none upon whom the Crime or Concealment was found. The firſt that felt the Hand of his Juſtice was a Prieſt of *Ware*, with whom was found a Liſt of Names which he collected, ſuppoſing them ſuch as out of Gratitude and Conſcience would hazard all for King *Richard*; which Vanity of his created great Trouble to many, 'till it appear'd that he wrong'd them, and that they were Perſons utterly ignorant of the Man or the Matter; upon which he was drawn and hang'd. *Walter Baldock* Prior of *Laund* met with the like Fate, who confeſs'd he had conceal'd the Treaſon of others, tho' he had not acted himſelf. A *Friar Minor* alſo being taken, with ſome others of his Order, was ask'd *What he would do if King* Richard *was alive and preſent*; he confidently reply'd, *He would fight for him to the laſt Minute of his Life againſt all Oppoſers*; for which he was drawn and hang'd in his Friar's Weeds. Nor did this hard Fortune fall only upon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son to the famous Black Prince, together with an Eſquire and Servant of his, finiſh'd their Affections to King *Richard* by ſuffering a ſhameful Death. Not long after eight *Friar Minorites* were taken, convicted, hang'd and beheaded for the ſame Cauſe; and this occaſion'd the King to be a ſevere Maſter towards their whole Order. It was vulgarly reported, that a little before this Diſcovery, the Devil appear'd in the Habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church, to the incredible Aſtoniſhment of the Pariſhioners; all which was ſucceeded by a prodigious Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning, which had wonderful Effects upon the Fabrick of the Church.

Several Conſpiracies againſt King Henry.

Many ſuffer.

But however the Branches were lopp'd off, the Roots of all theſe Practices lay deeper and out of Sight; for the *Piercys*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, and *Henry Hotſpur*, becauſe they thought perhaps that they had done unjuſtly in ſetting up King *Henry*, began now to form thoſe bloody Deſigns, which were afterwards proſecuted. But King *Henry* not yet knowing their Intentions, in *September* led an Army into *Wales*, to take Revenge upon his rebellious Subjects, where he was in danger of periſhing by the ſudden Storms and Rains, which were more terrible than ever had been remember'd; ſo that after he made ſome Devaſtations in the Country, he return'd. The common Fame was that *Glendour* by his infernal Arts had rais'd theſe hideous Tempeſts; which Opinion added no ſmall Strength to the *Welſh* Faction.

The King unſucceſsful againſt Wales.

The King's Fortune was much happier in the North, where his Lieutenant had two noted Victories againſt the *Scots*, the one at *Niſbet*, and the other at *Halidown-Hill*, near a Village call'd *Woller:* And tho' the firſt was but ſmall, yet the other deſerves the Name of a compleat Victory. The *Scots* marching with ten thouſand Men under the Conduct of the brave Earl of *Douglaſs*, had made great Ravages as far as *Newcaſtle*, but in their Return were couragiouſly encounter'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* and his valiant Son *Hotſpur* with the Earl of *Dunbar*, and entirely defeated. This Victory is in a great Meaſure attributed to the Gallantry and Valour of *Hotſpur*'s ſtrong Archers; againſt whoſe piercing Arrows neither the *Scottiſh* Shields, nor their beſt Armour could protect them. Earl *Douglaſs* the General, after much Bravery, and ſealing his Valour with five Wounds and the Loſs of an Eye, was taken Priſoner, with *Murdack Stuart* Earl of *Fife*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Murrey* and *Orkney*, the Lords *Montgomery*, *Erskin* and *Grahme*, and about fourſcore Knights, beſides Eſquires and Gentlemen. The Lords *Gourdon* and *Swynton*, with ſeveral other Men of Honour and Note fell upon the Place; and above five hundred in their Flight were drown'd in the River *Tweed*. This Victory was obtain'd upon *Holy-Rood* Day in the Time of Harveſt. In the ſame Year *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *York*, and fifth Son of King *Edward* III. departed this Life, and was bury'd at *Langley* with his Brothers; leaving an untainted Honour, and unblemiſh'd Reputation behind him. Not long after, in the following Year, King *Henry* marry'd a Second Wife, *Jane* of *Navarre*, Widow of *John de Mountfort* Duke of *Bretaign*, by whom ſhe had both Sons and Daughters, but not any by the King. He met, and marry'd her at *Winchеſter*, and then crown'd her Queen at *Weſtminſter*; but he was not truſted with the Cuſtody of any of her three Sons, *John*, *Richard* and *Arthur*, who remain'd in *France*.

Rotuli. Walſing. &c.

A great Victory obtain'd over the Scots.

The Duke of York *dies.*

The King marries.

A. D. 1403. Reg. 4. 5

III. King *Henry* now daily increas'd in Power and Grandeur; yet in a ſhort Time, he and the Nation were involv'd in greater Troubles and Calamities than had been felt before. For the great Earl of *Northumberland*, with his uneaſie Brother the Earl of *Worceſter*, and his gallant Son *Hotſpur*, who had been formerly great Friends and Aſſiſtants to King *Henry*, now began to envy his Wealth and Felicity; but were particularly diſpleas'd at the King's demanding of them ſuch *Scotch* Priſoners as had been taken at *Nesbit* and *Halydown:* For of all the Priſoners taken at thoſe Places, only the Earl of *Fife* had been delivered to the King, tho' he had ſeveral Times with Threatnings requir'd the Remainder. The *Piercys*, accounting them as their own proper Priſoners, were highly offended, and by the Advice of the Earl of *Worceſter*, whoſe Deſign was to imbroil the publick Affairs, they repair'd to the King at *Windſor*, purpoſely to ſound him. Here they boldly requir'd of him, *That either by Ranſom or other Means he would ſet at Liberty their Couſin* Edmund Mortimer *Earl of* Marche, *whom* Owen Glendour *had kept in a loathſom Priſon, only becauſe he had been true and faithful to him.* The King, after Conſideration, made Anſwer, *That the Earl of* Marche *was not made Priſo-*

Walſing. Hall. &c.

The Family of the Piercys *diſpleas'd.*

ner

ner for his Cauſe or Service, but willingly ſuffer'd himſelf to be taken, becauſe he would not oppoſe the Attempts of Glendour *and his Accomplices, therefore he would neither ranſom nor relieve him.* This Anſwer ſo kindled the fiery Spirit of *Hotſpur*, that he cry'd out *The Heir of the Realm was robb'd of his Right, and the Robber would not allow him part of his own for his Redemption*; and in a Fury the *Piercys* departed the King's Preſence, reſolving to ſet up the Earl of *Marche*, whoſe Deliverance they not only procur'd, but alſo enter'd into a Confederacy with *Owen Glendour*. Here ſome Writers have made a ſtrange Obſervation upon the Earl of *Marche*, that on the Night he was born, all the Horſes in his Father's Stable were found up to the Belly in Blood: A dreadful Prodigy, which afterwards ſeem'd verify'd by more dreadful Events; when upon the Conteſt of *Mortimer*'s Title, by which the Houſe of *York* claim'd the Crown, the War-Horſes might be ſaid rather to ſwim than to ſtand in Blood. Here alſo *Walſingham* tells us of ſtrange Apparitions that were ſeen this Year between *Bedford* and *Biggleſwade*, where ſeveral Monſters of divers Colours in the Shapes of armed Men were often ſeen to iſſue out of the Woods, and to encounter each other after a terrible and unheard of Manner.

They confederate with Glendour *againſt the King.*

Ibid. The firſt who appear'd in Arms was the valiant *Hotſpur*, who under Pretence of the *Scotch* War, made head about *Cheſter* and the Marches of *Wales*. To him repair'd the Earl of *Worceſter*, leaving the young Prince of *Wales*, and that Prince's Houſhold, over both which the King had plac'd him. And now the Torch of War was lighted up, and began to blaze; for tho' the chief Mover the Earl of *Northumberland* had not join'd them, as he deſign'd, yet their Numbers increas'd exceedingly, with which they propos'd to enter *Shrewsbury*, and to make that Place the Seat of the War. Here they iſſu'd out Letters and Manifeſto's declaring their Reaſons for thus appearing in the Field, as Firſt, 'That the publick Mony had not been employ'd in the real Defence of the Na-'tion, but unduly waſted. Secondly, That by Reaſon of malicious Informati-'ons to the King, they could not with Safety approach him, to declare their 'Innocence, unleſs the Prelates and Peers of the Realm firſt interceded for 'em. 'Thirdly, They took up Arms only to ſecure their own Perſons, and ſee the 'Kingdom better govern'd. Theſe were their outward Pretenſions, but their real Deſigns and Reſolutions were not only to depoſe King *Henry*, and advance the Title of the Earl of *Marche*, but likewiſe to ſhare the whole Kingdom between three Perſons, the Earl of *Marche*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Owen Glendour*. Concerning which Partition an Indenture *Tripartite* was ſign'd and ſeal'd by them, by vertue of which all *South-England* was to remain to *Mortimer*, *North-England* beyond *Trent* to *Piercy*, and *Wales* beyond *Severne* to *Glendour*. Beſides this, the Earl of *Douglaſs* their Priſoner, as a Perſon highly ſerviceable, by common Conſent for his Share was allow'd to be free from Ranſom, and to have the Town of *Berwick* aſſign'd him. Some Writers tell us that this was done out of a fooliſh Credulity given to a vain Prophecy of *Merlin*'s, by which many thought That King *Henry* was the Mouldwarp curs'd by God's own Mouth, and that *Mortimer*, *Piercy* and *Glendour*, were the Dragon, the Lion and the Wolf, that ſhould divide the Realm between them. Then to ſtrengthen their Power, it was again reported, That King *Richard* was alive, and in the Caſtle of *Cheſter*.

Their Reaſons alledg'd.

Their Deſigns.

Walſing. Hall. Pol. Virg. &c. On the other Side King *Henry*, attack'd with ſuch unexpected Dangers, defended his Cauſe by Letters, and threw all the Guilt upon his Accuſers, declaring *That he was extreamly ſurpriz'd, ſince the Earl of* Northumberland *and his Son had the greateſt Part of the publick Mony deliver'd to them, for the Defence of the Borders againſt* Scotland, *why they ſhould make that the Ground of their pretended Grievances*. And to remove all Pretence of Fear from the Conſpirators, he ſent to the three *Piercys* a ſafe Conduct under his Royal Seal, by which they might come and return without Moleſtation; but, as our

The King's Vindication.

Author words it, unbridled Raſhneſs deſpiſing the Royal Clemency, puſh'd them on to the Height of Rebellion. In the mean Time the King arm'd with the utmoſt Expedition againſt his Enemies, and being attended by the Earl of *Dunbar* and the young Prince of *Wales*, advanc'd with a conſiderable Force within Sight of *Shrewsbury*, when the furious *Hotſpur* ſtood ready to attack the Town; who no ſooner diſcover'd the Royal Standard, but he abandon'd that Enterprize to draw up his Army in Battalia, which conſiſted of fourteen thouſand ſtrong and hardy Men, eager to try their Fortunes againſt a well-temper'd and experienc'd Adverſary. Peace had notwithſtanding enſu'd, by the exceeding Tenderneſs of the King; but the malignant Earl of *Worceſter*, by miſrepreſenting and falſifying the King's Proffers, did precipitate his Nephew into a ſudden Engagement.

He prepares againſt them.

He fights them near Shrewſbury.

Never was Battel fought on both Sides with more martial Rage and Bravery; in which the two mighty Champions, *Hotſpur* and *Douglaſs*, inſtead of ſpending their Strength upon the Multitude, reſolv'd to encounter the King in Perſon, as in whoſe Death they knew ten thouſand would fall. Accordingly they ruſh'd forwards with a Fury ſcarce to be equal'd; but the prudent Earl of *Dunbar* diſcovering their Deſign, drew the King from the Ground he had choſen, and probably ſav'd his Life; for the Royal Standard was overthrown, the Earl of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blount*, and ten new Knights were deſtroy'd by the Force of theſe ſudden Thunder-bolts. *Douglaſs* kill'd three ſeveral Perſons in the King's Coat-Armour; ſo that many of his Soldiers believing they had loſt their General, quitted the Field. But the King, whoſe Valour was equal to his Danger, by his undaunted Courage reſtor'd the Battel, and with his devouring Sword perform'd Wonders, killing no leſs than ſix and thirty with his own Hand. The noble Prince of *Wales*, then but fifteen Years of Age, and firſt enter'd into the School of War, now gave ſignal Inſtances of his preſent Courage, and no leſs happy Omens of his future Glory; and being ſo wounded in the Face that ſeveral Noblemen offer'd to carry him out of the Battel and Danger, he diſdain'd to retire, and fought bravely to the laſt. After three Hours dreadful Conflict, the Fall of the great *Hotſpur* put an End to this Tragick Scene, who riding in Defiance of Death and all Difficulties, was ſlain by an unknown Hand, drawing a Ruin after him ſuitable to his Spirit and Bravery: For there fell with him moſt of the Eſquires and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, in Number two Hundred, and above five thouſand common Soldiers. The reſt fled; but the King generouſly declining to make further Execution of his miſguided Subjects, ſuffer'd them to ſhift for themſelves without Purſuit. This Victory was gain'd with the Loſs of ſixteen hundred Men upon the twenty firſt Day of *July*, in Memory of which the King founded a College on the Place, and call'd it *Battelfield*. The valiant *Douglaſs*, together with the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and Sir *Richard Vernon* were taken Priſoners; the firſt, who once unhors'd the King, and no Subject to him, was for his Courage ſet at Liberty without Ranſom; but the other three were all beheaded two Days after the Battel. The Body of *Hotſpur*, tho' once permitted to be bury'd, was afterwards quarter'd, and ſent to ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; and this was the Fate of one of the braveſt Warriors of the Age, who 'till this Time had ever been fortunate, victorious and triumphant.

The King's Valour.

Hotſpur *ſlain.*

The King prevails.

Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland*, pretending to come with Forces to the King's Aſſiſtance, was diverted by the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and Sir *Robert Waterton*, who had rais'd a conſiderable Power. *Northumberland* judging neither of them his Friends, ſuddenly turn'd about to his Caſtle of *Warkworth*; ſince nothing could ſecure him from the victorious Army of a martial King. Of this he was ſenſible, manifeſtly feeling the irrecoverable Maims of his Houſe in the Loſs of his Brother and beloved Son, and therefore form'd his Methods accordingly. The King therefore, as prudent as fortunate, having ſetled Affairs in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, advanc'd to the City of *York*, there to provide againſt future Exigencies. Here he commanded the Earl of *Northumberland*

Ibid.

berland to repair thither in Perſon, which he accordingly obey'd on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*, arriving with a ſmall Train in the Nature of a humble Petitioner. He could not in Reaſon hope for the uſual familiar Favour of the King, nor did he obtain it, for it was judg'd ſufficient to have his Life pardon'd, tho' his Eſtate and Liberty was abridg'd, the King only allowing him neceſſary Maintenance. Having ſetled the Northern Counties, the King reſolv'd to return towards North *Wales*, to chaſtiſe the Preſumptions of ſome of the Inhabitants; but wanting Mony at preſent, the Arch-Biſhop and Clergy afterwards conſented to ſupply him with a Tenth. Towards the Relief of theſe his Neceſſities, the valiant Exploits of *William de Wilford* an Eſquire, who was then cruſing upon the narrow Seas, brought ſome Aſſiſtance; for he took forty lawful Prizes, loaden with Iron, Oil, Soap and *Rochelle* Wines, to the Quantity of a thouſand Tun, upon the Coaſts of *Bretaign*, and in his Return ſet forty Sail on Fire. And to make the *Bretaigns* know that he was not only formidable at Sea, he landed at *Penarch*, burnt Towns and Houſes for ſeveral Miles into the Country; and afterwards did the ſame to the Town of St. *Matthew*'s, which he laid in Aſhes, and waſted all the neighbouring Country. The *French* not to ſeem ſlow in the like Ravages, landed at the Iſle of *Wight*, but were compell'd with Loſs to retire to their Ships, with far leſs Succeſs than the *Bretaigns* under the Command of the Lord of *Caſtell* had not long before, who landing at *Plimouth*, took and burnt that Place.

Old Piercy *ſubmits.*

William Wilford's *Acts.*

Walſing. &c.

The King having humbled the great Earl of *Northumberland*, now thought it Policy to take him into Favour, and reſtore him to his Eſtate, but not without ſecret Reſpect to his own Security. This Reſtitution was made to the Earl in a Parliament held at *London* about the middle of *January*, where the King obtain'd an unuſual Tax or Subſidy, of which no Record or Writing was ſuffer'd to remain, that it might not be drawn into Precedent. The King had ſoon Occaſion to beſtow ſome of this Mony; for a Troop of plain Weſt-Country Men preſented themſelves to him, with three *French* Lords, and twenty Knights of Note, whom they had taken Priſoners at *Dartmouth*, for which they receiv'd a munificent Reward. By theſe the King underſtood, That the Lord of *Caſtell* of *Bretaign*, who had formerly burnt *Plimouth*, expecting to do the like at *Dartmouth*, landed with his Forces, where theſe and the like People fiercely ingag'd him; and the Women, like *Amazons*, by hurling of Stones, and the like Artillery, did much facilitate their Husbands and Relations Victory. The Lord of *Caſtell* himſelf, and many others were ſlain; and more might have been ſav'd, but the Ignorance of Language equally confounded the Cries of Indignation and Pity. The *French* alſo made a Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Duke of *Orleans* ſent a particular Challenge to King *Henry*; but neither of them to any great Effect. All this Summer *Owen Glendour*, and the *Welſh* burnt and ravag'd the *Marches*, kill'd and took many Priſoners; and partly by Force and partly by Fraud, gain'd ſeveral Caſtles, demoliſhing ſome, and fortifying others. To add to theſe Troubles, the *Flemmings* and *Bretaigns* took certain *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, and either ſlew or hung up the Sailors.

A. D. 1404. Reg. 5.

Several ſmall Actions with the French.

In this Year dy'd the famous *William* of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who left behind him many noble Monuments of his Zeal to Religion, and Love to the Church; particularly he founded *New-College* in *Oxford*, and another at *Wincheſter*. We are told by *Truſſell* that this Prelate was intruſted with a ſtrange and important Secret in relation to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Father to this King *Henry*; particularly that his Mother *Philippa* ſhould in Confeſſion upon her Death-Bed acknowledge to him, That *John* was a ſuppoſititious Child, and that he ought to uſe all Methods to prevent him or his Progeny from aſcending the Throne of *England:* And that upon the Biſhop's diſcovering this Secret to him, he ever after bore him a Mortal Hatred. This is a Matter of Fact of no great Authority, the Truth of which would be worth a Hiſtorian's Knowledge.

William *of* Wickham's *Death.*

IV. King *Henry*'s Reign was all this Time like a craggy Mountain, from which there is no Deſcent but by a thouſand crooked Ways, full of rocky Stones and jetting Cliffs. The firſt Difficulties eſcap'd, others are met withal of more Danger and Anxiety; in ſuch Paths he walk'd all the Time of his Reign, one Danger was a Step to another, and the Event always doubtful; for his Subjects former Deſire being almoſt extinguiſh'd, his Friends failing, and his Enemies encreaſing, he had no other Support in ſo painful a Deſcent but his own Vigilance and Conduct; Helps, which tho' they might cauſe him to keep on his Way, yet they were not ſufficient to preſerve him from great Wearineſs. King *Richard* had been ſeveral Times ſaid to be alive after his Death; more particularly this Year, by means of the Letters of *Serlo*, who had been one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber. This Man, after his Maſter's Fall, withdrew himſelf into *France*, where being aſſur'd that *Richard* was ſtill alive in *Scotland*, he went into that Country to know the Truth. After he had ſpoken with the Impoſtor, whom he knew to be ſuch, he however embrac'd the Occaſion, and out of Hatred to King *Henry*, he caus'd a Seal to be made like that of King *Richard*'s, and wrote ſeveral Letters to his Friends in *England*, ſign'd with the ſame; inſomuch that he diſtracted the Minds of many, who really concluded *Richard* to be ſtill alive. The old Counteſs of *Oxford*, Mother to the Duke of *Ireland*, did not only publiſh the Certainty of it, but likewiſe caus'd many Stags made of Gold and Silver, the former Badges of *Richard*, to be given to her Dependants, that they might wear them on their Cloaths, as ſoon as *Richard* enter'd *England*. But her indiſcreet Management in this Affair, and her open ſending her Secretary to the Inhabitants of *Eſſex*, was the Cauſe of the Diſcovery; for which ſhe ended her Days in a cloſe Priſon, with the Confiſcation of her Goods, and the Secretary ſuffer'd upon a Gallows. *Serlo* finding his Plots abortive, and being unable to return to *France* for want of Mony, came to *Barwick*, hoping that Sir *William Clifford*, a Friend of King *Richard*'s, would have furniſh'd him. But Sir *William* having incurr'd the King's higheſt Diſpleaſure, by detaining *Barwick* againſt his Will, found means to purchaſe his Pardon by delivering up *Serlo* to the King at *Pontfract*. Shortly after *Serlo* was executed at *London*, who likewiſe confeſs'd, that he was one of the Perſons that murder'd the Duke of *Gloceſter* at *Calais*; and tho' he dy'd very penitent, yet he dy'd unpity'd by all who eſteem'd the Memory of that popular Duke. Into this Smoak did all this Deſign vaniſh; as likewiſe did another not long after, which was promoted in a Parliament held at *Coventry*, call'd the *Lack-Learning* Parliament, either from the Ignorance of the Members, or their Hatred to Learned Men: In which, to ſupply the King's Wants, a Bill was exhibited againſt the Temporalties of the Clergy; but by the Courage of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who declar'd, *That it was the inriching of themſelves, not of the King, that they reſpected in their ſacrilegious Attempts*, and by the particular Care of the King, who vow'd *To leave the Church in no worſe State than he found it*, the Motion ended in nothing but the infamous Memory of the Projectors.

Walſing. &c.

King Henry *meets with new Troubles.*

A counterfeit King Richard.

The Deſign defeated.

The Lack-Learning *Parliament.*

A. D. 1405. Reg. 6/7. The Coals of the former Northern Rebellion were not ſo fully extinguiſh'd, but by removing the Aſhes that cover'd them, new Sparks began to appear; for Envy and ſome Accidents had ſo infected the Eyes of ſome of the Nobility, that they could not bear the Sight of King *Henry*'s Grandeur. Among whom *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl-Marſhal was principal, who drew *Richard Scrope* Arch-Biſhop of *York* into a Conſpiracy, as likewiſe the old Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *York*, with great Numbers of common People to aſſiſt in their Cauſe, which was gloſs'd with the ſpecious Pretence of redreſſing publick Abuſes, ariſing from the King's Miſmanagement. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* hearing of this Attempt, in which the Earl-Marſhal and the Arch-Biſhop were Leaders of a numerous Multitude, gather'd a conſiderable

Ibid.

A new Conſpiracy againſt the King.

derable Force to encounter them; but perceiving himſelf too feeble, he betook himſelf to Fraud and Stratagem, and by pretending to approve of their Quarrel, found means to get them both into his Poſſeſſion, and made a very acceptable Preſent of them to the King at *York*; where both the Arch-Biſhop and Earl-Marſhal were publickly beheaded, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Weſtmorland* had before promis'd them their Lives. The Pope afterwards excommunicated all ſuch as were concern'd in the Arch-Biſhop's Death. Theſe were dangerous Times for the King, who not ſatisfy'd with the Blood of theſe two great Men, vigorouſly purſu'd the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf* with an invincible Army of thirty ſeven thouſand Men; but they unable to reſiſt ſo mighty a Power, took *Barwick* for their Refuge. The King with his uſual Expedition march'd to that Place, but before his Arrival, they in great Fear fled into *Scotland*, where they were entertain'd by the Lord *Flemming*. The Town of *Barwick*, in hopes of Succours from *Scotland*, ſtood out; upon which the King planted a Battering Piece againſt a Tower in the Wall, which as it ſoon threw down the Tower, ſo it deſtroy'd all the Defendants Courages, who immediately yielded upon hard and deſperate Terms; for they were partly hang'd, and partly impriſon'd. *Barwick* being thus recover'd, the King took *Alnwick*, and all other Caſtles belonging to the Earl; and expecting the like good Fortune in *Wales*, he croſs'd over thither, where it prov'd otherwiſe, not by the Manhood of the *Welſh*, but by the ſudden Floods of Waters, which deſtroy'd his Carriages, and above fifty Wains loaden with Treaſure: Therefore he return'd to *Worceſter*. *Owen Glendour*, the chief of the *Welſh*, fearing a Revenge for former Actions, had before confederated with the *French*, who in a hundred and forty Ships arriv'd at *Milford* Haven to his Aſſiſtance, but with the Loſs of moſt of their Horſes in the Paſſage, for want of Water. The Lord *Barkley*, and *Henry de Par* burnt fifteen of their Ships in the Harbour, and ſoon after they laid Siege to the Town of *Carmarthen*, which, upon Permiſſion of marching out with Bag and Baggage, was ſurrender'd.

The King raiſes a great Army.

His Actions.

Walſing. &c. The King being again in Want of Mony, after much Reluctancy and Delay, the Parliament furniſh'd him, overcome more with Wearineſs and Importunity, than any good Inclination. Some of this Mony was employ'd in ſecret Practices with the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf* might be delivered into his Hands, in Exchange for ſome Priſoners of that Nation. Upon notice of which, they two fled into *Wales*; and the *Scots* miſſing their Purpoſe, ſlew the Lord *Flemming* for diſcovering their Intentions to their diſtreſſed Gueſts, as by the Laws of Honour and Hoſpitality he was oblig'd; which fill'd *Scotland* with new Civil Diſcords. To avoid the Dangers of which, and for the Improvement of his Education, *Robert* King of *Scotland* ſent his Son and Heir by Sea into *France*, who being at Sea, with the Biſhop of *Orkney*, ſome Mariners of *Norfolk* ſurpriz'd him, and preſented him to King *Henry*, who detain'd him Priſoner in the Tower of *London*. But afterwards he gave him ſuch a noble Education, as to all Princely Qualifications, that the *Scots* and the young Prince had reaſon to conclude, that King *Henry*'s Care turn'd all to the Advantage of them and their King. In the mean Time the *French* proſecuting their Affairs in *Wales*, ſent thither thirty eight Ships full of Soldiers, of which Number the *Engliſh* took eight, and not long after fifteen Sail loaden with Wax and Wine. This Fortune, tho' good, was far inferior to the great Service which *Henry Pay*, with certain Ships of the Cinque-Ports, and about fifteen others, perform'd againſt a numerous Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, loaden with Iron, Salt, Oil, and *Rochelle* Wines. About the ſame Time a Felon was executed for ſetting up Bills in ſeveral Parts of *London*, containing News of King *Richard*'s being ſtill alive. In the ſame Year a dreadful Peſtilence deſtroy'd Multitudes of People throughout the Kingdom, eſpecially in *London*, where within a ſhort Space there dy'd no leſs than thirty thouſand. But the moſt memorable Death was that of the old renowned Captain Sir *Robert Knolls*;

A. D. 1406. Reg. 7/8.

The King of the Scots Son taken Priſoner.

A. D. 1407. Reg. 8/9.

A dreadful Plague in London.

Knolls; a Man born of mean Parents, but by his Valour and Abilities rais'd to the Height of Glory under King *Edward* III. after which he became highly celebrated for many Works of Charity and Magnificence; among which the famous Stone Bridge at *Rocheſter* in *Kent* was one.

A. D. 1408. Reg. 9/10.

In the mean Space, the Wars of *Wales* were manag'd by young Prince *Henry*, who took the Caſtle of *Aberiſtwith*; but *Owen Glendour* ſhortly after retook it by Policy, and put into it a Garriſon of his own. Thus *Glendour* proſper'd for a ſhort Time; but the unfortunate Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, leaving *Wales*, and raiſing new Forces in the North to aſſert their Rights, were encounter'd by the Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, who after a ſharp Conflict ſlew the Earl in the Field, and ſo wounded the Lord *Bardolf* that he dy'd ſhortly after. This Succeſs did not hinder the King from purſuing his Journey that Way; but arriving at *York*, he there fined many, and put others to Death, anſwerable to the Nature of their Crimes. The Biſhop of *Bangor* and Abbot of *Ailes*, who were taken Priſoners, met with different Fates according to the Diverſity of their Habits; the Abbot being taken in Armour was hang'd, the Biſhop being taken in his own Cloathes was pardon'd. The Heads of the two Peers were cut off, fix'd upon Spears, and erected on *London* Bridge: And this was the miſerable End of Father, Son and Brother, and almoſt the Period of one of the moſt valiant and illuſtrious Families in the Kingdom; all which was owing to a meer Caprice of Honour, which engaged 'em in a Quarrel with a mighty Monarch, from whom they thought their extraordinary Merit ought to have met with no Repulſe: A Preſumption that has and will deceive many. For Princes will not acknowledge their Being from another, nor that their Subjects are their Benefactors; the very Thought of which is not eaſily pardon'd. Here all King *Henry*'s adverſe Fortune had a Period; and in this Calm he likewiſe quieted all Domeſtick Suſpicions and Jealouſies, having in the reſt of his ſhort Reign only ſome ſmall foreign Armies, not ſo much to weary him, as to keep him in Breath and Exerciſe.

Old Piercy ſlain.

Ibid.

An Obſervation upon that Family.

A. D. 1409. Reg. 10/11.

V. The Peace of Chriſtendom having been long violently diſturb'd by a famous Schiſm, rais'd by the Ambition of two oppoſite Popes, of whom one was choſen at *Rome*, the other at *Avignon*, by contrary Factions of the Cardinals; a general Council was ſummon'd to be held at *Piſa* in *Italy*, to which Place King *Henry* ſent his Ambaſſadors, and the Clergy elected *Robert Alun* Chancellor of *Oxford* and Biſhop of *Salisbury*, to ſignifie, *That unleſs both Popes would decline the Pontificate, neither of them for the future ſhould be acknowledg'd as Pope.* The King in his Letter to Pope *Gregory* charg'd him with Perjury, and *That this Papal Emulation had been the Cauſe of the Deaths of more than two hundred and thirty Thouſand Chriſtians ſlain in Wars.* There aſſembled a great Number of Cardinals, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops and other mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander* V. a Man train'd up in *Oxford*, where he took his Degree in Theology; rejecting the other two, who had long and violently contended for the Place. In the mean Time, *Owen Glendour*, after infinite Miſchiefs committed, ended his miſerable Life, in the tenth Year of this Reign; who being abandon'd, and driven to all Extremities, finiſh'd his Days with Hunger and Famine; at whoſe Exit all the *Welſh* Broils were at an End. After this King *Henry* call'd a Parliament to find out Means for more Mony, to the Charge and Management of which he ordain'd Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Beaufort* the King's Half-Brother Lord Chancellor. In this Parliament was reviv'd the former Sacrilegious Attempt of alienating the Temporals of the Clergy, in which it was alledg'd, *That what the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors,* &c. *had ſpent leudly and waſtefully, would be ſufficient to maintain a hundred and fifty Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, ſix thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and a hundred Hoſpitals*

Platina. Walſing. &c.

The Council of Piſa.

Glendour's Death.

A. D. 1410. Reg. 11/12.

Complaints againſt the Eccleſiaſticks.

tals

tals more than were already founded. But the King upon mature Conſideration, deteſting their diſtemper'd Zeal, deny'd their Petitions, and in Perſon commanded them, upon Pain of his Indignation, not to preſume to concern themſelves with Affairs of that Nature. In this Year, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s uncommon Proviſions he had made to reduce the Town of *Calais* to the *French* Dominions, and ſtor'd up at St. *Omers*, were conſum'd to Aſhes by a caſual Fire, which gave great Eaſe to the *Caliſians*.

Æmilius, &c. About theſe Times the great and dangerous Factions between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* in *France* broke out; and the Cauſe was for a Murder committed upon *Lewis*, Brother to the *French* King, and Father to the Duke of *Orleans*, as he came late from the Queen's Lodgings, who was then in Child-Bed. The Duke of *Burgundy* juſtify'd the Fact, alledging that *Lewis* had us'd means with the Pope to depoſe the preſent King, upon Pretence that he was as unfit to govern as the laſt King *Childerick*, againſt whom Pope *Zachary* had pronounc'd Sentence. This prepar'd the Way for that terrible Scourge with which Heav'n thought fit to chaſtiſe the Pride and Sins of the Kingdom of *France*. Each Party endeavour'd to ſtrengthen themſelves by Foreign as well as Domeſtick Friends: The Duke of *Burgundy* had the King and *Dauphine* on his Side; and the other had the Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretaign*, with many of the chief Nobility. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who with the King and Government kept in *Paris*, fearing the Power of his Adverſaries, offer'd to the King of *England* a Daughter of *France* in Marriage with his Son, and many Advantages, if he would join in the Defence of the King, and ſend over competent Forces. To which King *Henry* is ſaid to have anſwer'd, *Our Advice is, that you ſhould by no Means hazard a Battel with one who ſeems to proſecute a juſt Revenge for the Death of his Father; but by all reaſonable Means endeavour to aſſwage the Fury of the exaſperated young Man. If that be unſucceſsful, ſtand upon your Guard, and retire to the beſt Place of Safety, with ſuch Forces as may beſt ſerve for your Defence. After all this Precaution, if he will not be appeas'd, you may ingage him with the ſafer Conſcience, and in ſuch a Caſe, we will not fail to aſſiſt you, according to your Requeſt.* For the preſent he ſent over the Earls of *Arundel* and *Kyme*, and many Men at Arms, with a numerous Body of *Engliſh* Archers, who arriv'd ſafe at *Paris*, where they every Way anſwer'd the ancient Glory of their Nation.

A. D. 1411. Reg. 12/13.

Factions in France.

They ſeek to King Henry.

The Duke of *Orleans*, and thoſe of his Faction, on the other Side endeavour'd to draw the King of *England* from their Enemy, and thereupon ſent over one *Falconet* with others, with ſolemn Letters of Credence, whom they made their *irrevocable Procurator to treat with the moſt excellent King of* England, &c. *for the Reſtitution of the Dukedom of* Gaſcony, *and all its Appendages, which were the Inheritance of the moſt excellent Lord the King of* England, &c. The Ambaſſadors having ſhew'd their Credentials, exhibited the Points of their Negotiation in theſe Articles, which ſhow how far the Spirit of Revenge will tranſport the Minds even of the Greateſt. Firſt, 'They offer their Bodies 'to be employ'd againſt all Men for the Service of the King of *England*, ſaving their 'Allegiance to their own Soveraign, as knowing the King of *England* would 'not otherwiſe deſire them. Secondly, Their Sons, Daughters, Nephews and 'Neices to beſtow in Marriage at the King of *England*'s Pleaſure. Thirdly, 'Their Caſtles, Towns, Treaſure, and all their Goods to be at the Service of 'the ſaid King. Fourthly, Their Friends, the Gentlemen of *France*, the Cler-'gy, and rich Burgers; who were all on their Side, as by Proof ſhould well 'appear. Finally, They offer to him the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* entire, and in 'as full a Manner as ever his Predeceſſors enjoy'd it; ſo as they themſelves will 'hold and acknowledge to hold their Lands in thoſe Parts directly of the ſaid 'King, and deliver all they can into his Poſſeſſion, and do their utmoſt to con-'quer the reſt for him. All this that upon Condition on the other Side, Firſt, 'That

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13/14.

Offers made from the Duke of Orleans.

'That the King of *England* ſhould aſſiſt the ſaid Lords againſt the Duke of 'Burgundy, for the Murder committed upon the late Duke of *Orleans*. Se- 'condly, That he ſhould give this Aſſiſtance, 'till all the Loſſes were repair'd, 'which they and their Friends had ſuſtain'd upon this Occaſion. Thirdly, 'That he ſhould help to ſettle the Quiet of the Realm, *&c.* Theſe Offers being balanc'd with the Articles upon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtain'd Succours, outweigh'd them ſo far, that about the Middle of *Auguſt*, before all thoſe that had been ſent with the Earl of *Arundel* to the contrary Part were return'd into *England*, Forces were order'd for the Duke of *Orleans*, to the Wonder of all Men, who underſtood not the Secret; ſo that *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, with many other great Men, and a competent Army, were ſent over to aſſiſt the Duke of *Orleans*, while the Earl of *Angoleſme* continu'd a Hoſtage in *England* for the Payment of a hundred ninety thouſand Crowns, and Performance of Articles. The *Engliſh* landed in *Normandy*; but whether the Confederates mov'd with the Dangers to which their Nation would be precipitated, or for ſome other Cauſes, the Duke of *Orleans*, contrary to Agreement, declin'd coming at the appointed Time and Place; which gave Occaſion to the *Engliſh* to burn, pillage and take much Riches in many Parts of the Country, to ſatisfie themſelves 'till the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould ſee them paid. Yet at length the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Orleans* came to a Treaty; after which the *Engliſh* march'd into *Gaſcony* to take up their Winter-Quarters, and the Duke of *Orleans* return'd into his own Country. During theſe Tranſactions, the Lord of *Heyle* Marſhal of *France*, with many other Lords, and an Army of eighty Thouſand Men, laid Siege to a certain ſtrong Place in *Gaſcony*; which the valiant Sir *John Blount*, with three hundred Men, not only defended, but alſo drove the Enemy from the Siege, took twelve of the chief Men Priſoners, and a hundred and twenty other Gentlemen.

The King joins with him.

But to no great Effect.

King *Henry* liv'd not to ſee the Courſe and Fortune of theſe Wars; but began now to turn his Thoughts to Matters of a contrary Nature: For having reduc'd his Kingdom to a calm Condition, and having no more Occaſion to be bloody or deteſted, his Actions were grown to that Degree of Temperance, as there remain'd nothing more to be deſir'd in him. Juſtice was adminiſter'd without Diſtinction, he ſhew'd himſelf affable, liberal and pious, ſo that his Subjects now as much lov'd him as they formerly fear'd him; and having ſet his Thoughts chiefly upon God, he reſolv'd to ſpend the Remainder of his Life wholly in his Service. His greateſt ſecular Concern was that for his eldeſt Son *Henry*, now about twenty Four Years of Age, whoſe Behaviour and Carriage had rais'd both the Hopes and Fears of the whole Kingdom. This wondrous Prince had formerly been a Student in *Queen's College* in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that Univerſity; from whence he was remov'd to Court, and committed to the Government of the Earl of *Worceſter*. But coming afterwards to his own Diſpoſal, whether being by Nature couragious, and yet not well temper'd by Time and Experience; or whether incited by dangerous Companions, or embolden'd by his own Greatneſs, he ran into many Courſes unworthy of a Prince, ſo that it was much doubted how he would prove when he came to the Throne. It is reported that he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Revenues, and in the Perſon of a Robber ſet upon them and rifled them. Afterwards, when one of his Aſſociates was arraign'd for Felony before the Lord Chief Juſtice, he went boldly to the King's Bench Bar and offer'd to free the Priſoner by Force; but being withſtood by the Judge, he ſtepp'd up to him, and ſtruck him over the Face. At which the Judge without Heſitation told him, *That this Affront was not to himſelf, but to the King his Father, in whoſe Place he ſat*; wherefore to make him ſenſible of his Crime, he immediately commanded him to Priſon. It was ſurprizing to ſee how calm the Prince was in his own Cauſe, who had been ſo

The Education of Henry *Prince of* Wales.

He affronts a Judge.

ſo violent for his Companion; for he quietly obey'd the Judge's Sentence, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be led to Priſon. This Paſſage was not a little pleaſing to the King, to find he had a Judge of ſuch Courage, and a Son of ſuch Submiſſion; but yet for theſe and other ſuch Actions he remov'd him from being Preſident of the Council, and plac'd in his Room his ſecond Brother *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*. This made the Prince ſo ſenſible of his Father's Diſpleaſure, that he us'd all Means to recover his Opinion, and by Ways as ſtrange as thoſe by which he loſt it: For attiring himſelf in a Habit peculiar and uncommon to the higheſt Degree, he came to the Court at *Weſtminſter*; where the King in the Preſence of three or four Privy-Counſellors demanded of him the Cauſe of his ſtrange Dreſs and Appearance. He anſwer'd, *That being not only his Subject, but his Son, and a Son ſo tenderly lov'd by him, he deſerv'd a thouſand Deaths, if he ſhould act, or but imagine the leaſt Offence againſt his Sacred Majeſty; and therefore he had prepar'd himſelf to be made a Sacrifice:* And therewithal reaching his Dagger to his Father, he added, *That I deſire to live no longer than I may be thought to be what I am, and ever ſhall be, your faithful and obedient Vaſſal.* With this and the like Anſwer the King was ſo mov'd, that he fell upon his Son's Neck, and imbracing him with a Flood of Tears confeſs'd *That his Ears had been too open to receive Reports of him,* and ſolemnly promis'd, *That nothing for the future ſhould cauſe any Diſaffection towards him.* *He is reconcil'd to his Father.*

Walſing. Hall. &c. The King liv'd not long to enjoy the happy Fruits of this Reconciliation; for in *Chriſtmaſs* he began to feel his laſt Sickneſs at *Eltham*; but recovering a little, he repair'd to *London* about *Candlemaſs*, there to hold a Parliament, the End of which he never ſaw. Here he took upon him the *Cruſado*, and began to make Proviſion for his Journey to *Jeruſalem*; but being at his Prayers before St. *Edward*'s Shrine, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon remov'd to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s Houſe; where recovering his Senſes, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange Place, he demanded where he was? Being told that he was in the Abbot's Houſe, in a Chamber call'd *Jeruſalem*, he cry'd out, *Lord have Mercy upon me, for this is the* Jeruſalem *where a Soothſayer told me I muſt die.* Here the vulgar Chronicles tell us a very peculiar Story; That the King, while he lay dangerouſly ſick, order'd his Crown to be ſet on a Pillow at his Bed's Head; and when ſuddenly his Pains ſeiz'd him ſo vehemently that all concluded him dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown. The Father unexpectedly reviving ſoon miſs'd his Crown; and calling for his Son, demanded *What he meant to deprive him of that, to which he had yet no Right?* The Prince boldly reply'd, *Since I and all others believ'd you to be dead, I took it as my own Right, but now return it with Joy.* To which the King with a deep Sigh made Anſwer, *What Right I had to it God only knows. Be it as it will,* reply'd the Prince, *you gain'd it by the Sword, and by the Sword I will maintain it.* The King hearing his Reſolution, enter'd into Diſcourſe concerning ſome Diſcord he fear'd might ariſe between him and his Brother the Duke of *Clarence:* To which the Prince thus declar'd, *If my Brothers will be true Subjects, I will honour them as Brothers; but if otherwiſe, I will do Juſtice upon them as ſoon as the Meaneſt in my Kingdom.* The King rejoycing at this unexpected Anſwer, both prudently and piouſly charg'd him before God *To adminiſter the Law indifferently, to eaſe the Oppreſſed, to beware of Flatterers, not to defer Juſtice, nor yet to be ſparing of Mercy; to puniſh the Oppreſſors of the People, by which he ſhould obtain the Favour of God, and Love of his Subjects, who while they had Wealth would continue obedient, but if made Poor by Oppreſſions, would become rebellious.* With theſe and the like Admonitions he expired upon the Twentieth Day of *March*, in the Forty Seventh Year of his Age, after an active, politick and victorious Reign of thirteen Years, five Months, and twenty one Days. His Body with

A. D. 1413. Reg. 14.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Diſcourſe with his Son.

His Death.

all funeral Pomp was convey'd to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly interr'd, in the Preſence of his Son, and many of the Nobility.

This was the End of *Henry* the Fourth, who had all the Qualifications of a great and mighty Prince, and one who by his Vigour and Management ſurmounted infinite Difficulties; all ariſing from the Want of a juſt Title to the Crown, which drove him to wade through Seas of Blood, and to bring vaſt Miſchiefs upon the *Engliſh* Subjects. As to his Perſon, he was of a moderate Stature, well proportion'd and compacted, of a great Strength and Agility of Body, skilful in Arms, and of a quick Diſpatch; equally ſhewing himſelf both earneſt and adviſ'd in all his Actions. He was very ready in Imagination, forwards in Attempt, couragious in Execution, and generally fortunate in the Event. There was no great Place of Imployment or Charge which he would rather affect for Glory, than refuſe for Peril or Pains; and in Service he uſually prov'd himſelf not only a skilful Commander by giving Directions, but alſo an admirable Soldier in uſing his Weapon, ſometimes venturing his Perſon further than Policy would allow. His Expences were liberal and honourable, yet not exceeding the Meaſure of his Receipts; he was very courteous and familiar towards all Men, by which he procur'd more Love among the Meaner than the Greater. In all the Changes of his State, he was almoſt one and the ſame Man; in Adverſity never dejected, in Proſperity never ſecure; ſtill retaining his Majeſty in one, and his Mildneſs in the other: Nor did the Continuance of his Reign bring him to any proud Behaviour; but in his latter Years he appear'd ſo mild and gentle, that it almoſt wore out all Hatred born him for the Death of King *Richard*. He would not eaſily be drawn into any Cauſe, but was firm and conſtant in a good one; yet was more eaſie to be either corrupted or abus'd by flattering Speeches, than terrify'd by any Threats. His great Error was his mighty Thirſt after human Glory, which made him too little examine the juſt and religious Means of attaining it; for which the Vengeance of Heav'n ſeems to have met his Poſterity in the third Generation.

His Character.

There were ſeveral Acts of Piety and Charity done in this Reign, beſides thoſe by the famous *William* of *Wickam* before-mention'd; in naming of which, we ought not to paſs by the excellent Sir *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London*, who erected a College in that City, with Lodgings and weekly Allowances for divers poor People. He erected that Gate of *London* call'd *Newgate*, which before was a loathſom Priſon; and built more than half of St. *Bartholomew*'s Hoſpital in *Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Gray-Friars* now call'd *Chriſt's Hoſpital*. He alſo built a great Part of the Eaſt End of *Guild-Hall*, and a Chappel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone, for the Cuſtody of the Records of the City; and in his laſt Will he ſhew'd the higheſt Marks of Compaſſion and Chriſtianity. Among the noted Men in this Reign, we muſt not forget the two famous Poets *Geoffry Chaucer* and *John Gower*, the two great Reformers of our *Engliſh* Tongue; of whom the firſt dy'd in the fourth of this Reign, and was bury'd in *Weſtminſter* Abby, and the other in the ninth, and was bury'd in St. *Mary Overys* in *Southwark*.

Sir Richard Whittington's *Acts.*

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Fifth.*

Containing 9 Years, 4 Months, and 11 Days.

Walſing. Livius. Fabian. &c.

I. HENRY the Fourth, ſirnam'd *Bullingbrook*, was immediately ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Henry* of *Monmouth*, in the twenty ſixth Year of his Age, and Prime of his Youth. Tho' ſome of his former Actions had rais'd the Fears of many, yet now the high Eſteem which the Nation had of his Perſon, produc'd ſuch an intire Confidence in him, that both Lords and Commons upon the twenty fourth of *March*, offer'd to ſwear Allegiance to him before he was crown'd, or had taken the cuſtomary Oath to govern according to Law. He generouſly thank'd them for their good Affections, and exhorted them in their ſeveral Stations *to uſe all their Power for the Good of the Publick*; declaring, *That he began his Reign with the Pardon of all that had offended him, and with ſuch a real Deſign of promoting his Peoples Happineſs, that he would be crown'd on no other Condition than to employ his Authority for that End*; praying to God, *That if he foreſaw he would not prove a juſt and good Governor, he would pleaſe to take him immediately out of the World, rather than ſeat him on the Throne for a publick Calamity to his Country*. On the Ninth Day of *April* the Solemnities of his Coronation were perform'd by *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; which proving a Day of extraordinary Storms, rais'd divers ſuperſtitious Obſervations. He nobly began his Reign with a Command of himſelf, and renounc'd with Diſdain the Companions of his former Riots, who had flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes of the higheſt Places of Honour and Preferment: He forbad them under ſevere Penalties to approach his Perſon, or within ten Miles of his Court; and all the Favour they receiv'd was only to be diſmiſs'd with ſome liberal Gifts from his Royal Bounty. He next proceeded to make an Alteration among the Judges, and other Officers of the Crown, removing thoſe who were known or ſuſpected to be guilty of corrupt Practices, and advancing others, whoſe Integrity and Abilities render'd them fit for the higheſt Imployments. And that the People might have free and impartial Juſtice, after the Example of his Father, it was his Cuſtom every Day, for an Hour or more after Dinner to lean on a Cuſhion and receive Petitions from his Subjects; where he patiently heard their Complaints, and redreſs'd them. He alſo by Proclamation endeavour'd to provide againſt Corruption of Manners, and Abuſes in Government; in which he commanded the Clergy to be faithful in their ſacred Charge, and by their Lives as well as Sermons to afford Leſſons of Piety to the People: And likewiſe he enjoin'd the Laity to ſerve God and obey their Soveraign, forbidding upon his higheſt Diſpleaſure all Acts of Adultery, wilful Perjuries, and prophane Swearing. And for a further Teſtimony of his generous and compaſſionate Diſpoſition, he remov'd the Body of King *Richard*, too meanly interr'd at *Langley*, in great State to *Weſtminſter* Abby, and there laid him enſhrin'd by Queen *Anne* his firſt Wife, as he himſelf had deſir'd and appointed, founding a weekly Memorial, and an annual Diſtribution of Mony to the Poor. And ſo nearly did his Death affect this innocent King, that he ſent to his Holineſs at *Rome* to be abſolv'd from the Guilt of his Father's Act; and willingly perform'd what Penance was enjoin'd him. After which, he in Perſon attended the Obſequies of his Father, which were celebrated with great Solemnity at the City of *Canterbury*.

A. D. 1413. Reg. 1.

Henry V. ſucceeds his Father.

He is crown'd King.

His noble Beginnings.

He removes King Richard's *Body to* Weſtminſter *Abby.*

After the Detection of a Conſpiracy made by one *Whitlock* and ſome others, a Parliament met in *May*, in which, the Commons petitioning the King for the redreſſing of Grievances, or for the Eſtabliſhment of good Orders, many wiſe Laws were enacted to make the Nation rich, flouriſhing and proſperous. And thus King *Henry* was eaſie and ſecure in the Beginning of his Reign, only two intervening Diſaſters diminiſh'd the publick Joy and Satisfaction; a great Plague which deſtroy'd Numbers of the People, and a violent Fire in *Norwich*, which laid in Aſhes moſt of that large City. Yet among the Calamities of theſe Times we might reckon the Sufferings of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Lord *Cobham*, ſince it was a ſtrange Example of Injuſtice and Cruelty, that a Nobleman, endear'd to the King by his excellent Qualities, ſhould by the Hatred of the Clergy be implacably purſu'd to Ruin. This Knight, call'd Lord *Cobham*, was in a publick Synod accus'd by the Clergy of Hereſie, in maintaining ſeveral of *Wickliff*'s Opinions, and propagating them in the Dioceſes of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Hereford*; againſt whom alſo ſome ſelect Inquiſitors at *Oxford* preſented his Name, with a great Number of Concluſions, which they had collected as Heretical. The King incens'd by the Arch-Biſhop's Suggeſtions againſt the Reformers call'd *Lollards*, was further made to believe that they had ſet up Bills in divers Places, threatning, That a hundred thouſand Perſons were ready for Arms againſt all that oppos'd their Reformation, and among theſe the Lord *Cobham* his Knight was reputed the Chief. The King heard the Arch-Biſhop's Complaint, and being at *Kennington*, promis'd to confer with the Lord *Cobham* himſelf, which accordingly he did, urging him *to ſubmit to the Cenſure of the Church, and be obedient to the Arch-Biſhop.* But *Cobham* humbly told his Majeſty, *That he ow'd his Subjection only to himſelf, whom God had plac'd as his ſole Vice-gerent to govern his People of* England: *But as to the Pope of* Rome, *he ow'd him no Service, nor would he pay him any; ſince he was convinc'd in his Conſcience, that he was the great Anti-Chriſt, the Son of Perdition, and the open Adverſary of God.* This Anſwer receiv'd, was ſo deliver'd to the Arch-Biſhop, with Power to cite, examine and puniſh, as their own Canons in ſuch Caſes had decreed.

Proceedings againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle.

Walſing. Bale.

The Arch-Biſhop having ſo far obtain'd his Deſign, by the Advice of ſeveral iſſu'd out a Citation to him to appear at his Court at a certain Time, which was delivered to him by one *John Butler*, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, becauſe the Summoner durſt not do it himſelf; and the Arch-Biſhop, that nothing might be wanting, caus'd his Citation to be ſet upon the Gates of the Cathedral Church of *Rocheſter*, which were immediately pull'd down, as others again likewiſe, to the great Diſpleaſure of the Clergy, and the greater, becauſe the Actors could not be known. The Lord *Cobham*, knowing his Enemies Malice and his own Danger, refus'd to appear; whereupon he was excommunicated for Contumacy, and further Proceſſes were iſſu'd out againſt him. In the mean Time he wrote a Form of his Faith, and preſented it himſelf to the King, who being prepoſſeſs'd, refus'd to receive it, but ſuffer'd him to be cited even in his own Preſence; when *Cobham* for his Purgation offer'd a hundred Knights and Eſquires, which would not be accepted; after which, according to his Degree and Law of Arms, he requir'd a ſingle Combat with either Chriſtian or Pagan as to the Truth of his Faith, the King and Council only excepted. This likewiſe was not permitted, ſo that he was oblig'd to appear before the Arch-Biſhop and his Suffragans; where after divers Examinations, he anſwer'd with ſuch Vivacity of Spirit and Courage, that the whole Convocation was amaz'd, and at a loſs how to reply. Notwithſtanding which he was ſolemnly condemn'd for a Heretick, and committed to the Tower of *London*; and in the ſame Synod the Arch-Biſhop enacted that Heretical Decree, "That the Holy Scriptures ſhould not be tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue. And it is remarkable that not long after, the ſame Arch-Biſhop was ſeiz'd with a ſtrange Diſtemper in his Tongue, which ſo exceſſively ſwell'd it, that it quite depriv'd

Ibid. &c.

He is Excommunicated.

and condemn'd for Hereſie.

depriv'd him of his Speech, and ſhortly after put an end to his Life. As to *Cobham* himſelf, he ſoon made an Eſcape from the Tower into *Wales*, which gave an Occaſion to his Enemies to raiſe new Jealouſies; and they confidently aſſur'd the King that he and his Adherents had a Deſign upon his Life, and that in St. *Giles*'s Fields near *Holbourn* twenty thouſand were to meet in Order to deſtroy the Monaſteries of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Albans*, all the Religious Houſes of *London*, and the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s. The King therefore in Perſon, after Midnight enter'd theſe Fields with a great Army, where, as their Enemies relate, he apprehended eighty of that Faction, who declar'd *They came to ſeek the Lord* Cobham. But their Friends alledge, That in thoſe Days of Perſecution, ſuch Aſſemblies had been often made to hear the Goſpel preach'd to them, which otherwiſe they could not enjoy: So that in this Place, then overgrown with Buſhes, and unfit for Armies, thoſe few were aſſembled to hear *John Beverly*, a pious Divine, without any Thoughts of Treaſon, having for their Commanders no greater Men than Sir *Roger Acton*, *Beverly*, and *Morly*, a Knight, a Miniſter, and a Maltman. But we leave theſe Apologies to others; only the Lord *Cobham* could not be found, tho' the King had promis'd a thouſand Marks to any Man that ſhould take him, and alſo great Privileges to any Town or City in *England* where he was diſcover'd: By which it may be gueſs'd, ſays *Walſingham*, that near the whole Kingdom then embrac'd his Opinions; thirty ſeven of that Aſſembly were condemn'd, of whom ſeven were conſum'd with Fire; *Acton*, *Beverly* and *Morly* were likewiſe executed as Traitors.

He flies into Wales.

Walſing. Hall. Duck.

Upon Arch-Biſhop *Arundel*'s Death, *Henry Chicheley*, a great Champion againſt the *Lollards*, was by the King's Conſent and the Monks of *Canterbury* elected their Arch-Biſhop, which the politick Elect neither accepted nor refus'd, but left it to the Will and Pleaſure of the Pope; who at firſt was diſpleas'd that they had proceeded ſo far without his Directions, yet was ſoon pacify'd by *Chicheley*'s Submiſſion, and ſome particular Gratifications. This Man, tho 'not ſo conſpicuous for his Birth as *Arundel*, yet was as ſtrong for the Clergy, and more in favour with his King, as the Sequel prov'd. His firſt Eſſays of both were ſufficiently ſhown in a Parliament held at *Leiceſter*, where the former Deſign againſt the Church-Lands was reviv'd, and a Bill exhibited accordingly; in which it was demonſtrated, That the Temporalties upon which the Religious and other Spiritual Perſons liv'd ſo luxurioufly and waſtefully, amounted to three hundred and twenty two thouſand Marks yearly; and that beſides the ſaid Sum, divers Religious Houſes poſſeſs'd as many Temporalties as would maintain fifteen thouſand Prieſts and Clerks, allowing to each Man ſeven Marks a Year. This Bill, ſays *Hall*, caus'd the fat Abbots to ſweat, the proud Priors to frown, the poor Friars to curſe, the fooliſh Nuns to weep, and all her Merchants to fear that *Babel* would ſink: And here indeed the exceſſive Power began to diminiſh, when by the Authority of this Parliament, a hundred and ten Priories Alian were ſuppreſs'd, and all their Poſſeſſions given to the King and his Heirs for ever. Therefore to avert the impending Storm it was politickly concluded by *Chicheley* and others, That the moſt effectual Courſe was to find the young King ſome other Employment for the Vigour of his Courage, which might otherwiſe prove dangerous to them. Accordingly they judg'd it neceſſary to turn his Thoughts to War and Glory, and to ſolicit his Ambition, by reminding him of the Title he had to the Crown of *France*, deſcended to him by the mighty *Edward* the Third. Therefore in a formal premeditated Speech before the King in Parliament the politick Arch-Biſhop with all his Rhetorick ſet forth his Majeſty's unqueſtionable Title to the Realm of *France* from the moſt Illuſtrious of all his Predeceſſors *Edward* the Third, *who bravely attempted to conquer by Arms, what he could not obtain by a juſt Treaty. That his Majeſty had the ſame Title to demand that Crown, and the ſame Reaſons to denounce War upon a Refuſal.* He added, *That as he was ſenſible that the* French *would oppoſe their imaginary* Salick *Law againſt that Claim, ſo he knew*

A. D. 1414. Reg. 1.

Great Deſigns againſt Eccleſiaſticks.

The Arch-Biſhop's Speech againſt France.

knew that they would contradict themſelves in aſſigning the Original of that Law; and if it were granted that ſuch a Law was in Being, yet France *was not concern'd in it. For it was in vain for them to pretend that it was made by* Pharamond *the Founder of their Monarchy, when no mention was made of it 'till above four hundred Years after his Death: And this was when* Charles *the Great returning from the Conqueſt of* Saxony, *part of his Army paſs'd the* Sala, *and ſetled between that River and the* Elle, *and from the Name of the former were call'd* Salick-Gauls: *Which new Colony deteſting the vicious Manners of the* German *Women, by a Law prohibited that Sex from inheriting Lands in their ſmall Dominions. But what was this to the* French *Nation? How could they prove that by this Law their Crown could not deſcend to any Daughter of their Kings, unleſs they could prove their Country to be ſituated between thoſe two* German *Rivers. And if all were true which they report of their boaſted Law, how could they uſe it as an Argument againſt the Right of the* Engliſh *Kings, when they never made it any Bar in the Succeſſion of their own. For it manifeſtly appear'd, That the Title of the great* Pepin, *the Claim of* Hugh Capet, *the Poſſeſſion of* Lewis *the Saint, and of all the* French *Kings to that Day, were deriv'd from Female Heirs; ſo that the Name of the* Salick-*Law was but a ſhifting Illuſion to debar the* Engliſh *Kings from their Claim to the* French *Crown. But granting that ſuch a Law had always been obſerv'd, yet it was contrary to the Laws of God, and the Cuſtoms of all Nations; ſo that the* French *alone violated the Statutes of Heav'n, and ſlighted the Laws of Mankind, that they might devolve their Crown on whom they pleas'd. But if his Majeſty would extend his righteous Arms into the Bowels of* France, *no true* Engliſhman *but was ready to devote his Life and Fortune to the glorious Service of ſo great a King. And in full Perſuaſion of the Juſtice and Succeſs of the War, the Clergy, beſides their extraordinary Prayers to Heav'n, had given ſuch Sums of Mony to maintain it, as had never been granted to any of his Predeceſſors.*

This Speech, which elevated the Thoughts of the whole Aſſembly, was ſtrenuouſly debated and examin'd by the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, Governor of the Marches of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Exeter* Uncle to King *Henry*. The former thought it moſt ſafe, firſt to check the *Scots*, as the neareſt and moſt certain Enemies; but the latter judg'd it better Policy to begin with *France*, the Root and Support of the other, eſpecially ſince it was now diſtracted by the grand Factions of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. The Arguments of the latter ſoon prevail'd with the King and his Brothers, who being young, and fir'd with the Proſpect of new Glories, became impatient to ſignalize their Courage againſt the old Enemies of their Country: And the ſame gallant Spirit being diffus'd through the Minds of the reſt of the Nobility, they all declar'd for a War againſt *France*; which being thus reſolv'd, the Parliament was prorogu'd to *Weſtminſter*. There the King's Generoſity was ſhown to *Henry Piercy*, Son to the famous and valiant *Hotſpur*, who was now reſtor'd to the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and to all the Lands and Dignities which his Grand-father and Father had forfeited to the Crown. *Walſing. Hall.*

The King and Nobility join with the Motion.

An Embaſſie ſent to France.

The War againſt *France* being determin'd, an honourable Embaſſie was diſpatch'd to that Kingdom, which firſt demanded the Crown of *France* to be reſign'd to King *Henry*; but ſoon after deſcended only to require thoſe Provinces which his Predeceſſors had poſſeſs'd in that Kingdom, together with the *French* King's Daughter, the Princeſs *Catharine*, to be marry'd to King *Henry*, with a Portion of two Millions of Crowns, two of which were to equal an *Engliſh* Noble. Theſe Demands were thought too high and extravagant, and were rejected, and others offer'd by the *French*, but to no Effect. Whereupon a ſecond Embaſſie was ſent over in the Beginning of the following Year, which inſiſting upon the ſame Demands, was at laſt diſhonourably treated. Particularly the *Dauphine* of *France*, as *Cuxton* aſſures us, in Deriſion ſent King *Henry* *Urſins. &c.*

Henry a Tun of Tennis-Balls, intimating that his Youth and Practices had been more agreeable to thoſe, than the rough Exerciſe of Arms. But the brave Hero, fir'd with the Reſentment of this open Affront, declar'd, *That he would return his Preſent in ſuch dreadful Balls, as the Gates and Walls of* Paris *ſhould not be ſtrong enough to rebound.* *The King's Anſwer to the* Dauphine.

Walſing. Harding. II. How dangerous it is for Princes to Jeſt upon each other ſoon appear'd in the great Preparations King *Henry* made to invade *France*; who finding that the *French* Court only amus'd him with little Artifices, vain Offers and Promiſes, reſolv'd to vindicate his Cauſe by an open War. He had then about eight hundred thouſand Crowns in his Treaſury: He furniſh'd out a ſtrong Fleet, and beſides his own Ships, he hir'd of the *Holanders* and *Zealanders* many Tranſport Veſſels. He rais'd Troops, provided Engines of Battery of vaſt Bulk and Force, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Fleet and Army to be at *Southampton* upon the twenty fourth Day of *June* following. The People chearfully contributed the neceſſary Aids of Men and Mony, and the Nobility according to Cuſtom brought their Proportion of Soldiers into the Field; and all Mens Mouths and Hearts were fill'd with the Diſcourſe of Conquering *France*. The *French* dreading theſe Preparations, ſolicited the *Scots* to make Inroads into *England*; but Sir *Robert Umfrevil*, a valiant Knight of the Garter, with only four hundred Men, ingag'd the *Scots* Army conſiſting of near two thouſand, and defeated them: Then with three hundred and ſixty Priſoners and great Spoil he return'd triumphantly to *Rokesborough* Caſtle, of which he was Governor. A. D. 1415. Reg. 2. *Great Preparations againſt* France. *The* Scots *defeated.*

Urſins. Monſtrel. &c. The *French* King finding his Deſigns ineffectual, reſolv'd upon an Embaſſie into *England* to endeavour for an Accommodation. The chief of the Ambaſſadors was the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, who with the reſt was ſolemnly introduc'd to King *Henry* at *Wincheſter*, who in great State was ſitting in his Chamber in Robes of Cloth of Gold, and negligently leaning on a Cuſhion. His three Brothers, the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Gloceſter*, his Uncle the Duke of *York*, with many other Noblemen, ſtood on his right Hand; and ſeveral Biſhops on his Left. The Ambaſſadors paid their Reſpects to him on the Knee, and made an Offer of ſeveral Territories in *France*, together with the *French* King's Daughter the Princeſs *Katharine*, and a Dowry of eight hundred thouſand Crowns in Gold, if King *Henry* would immediately disband his Army, and conclude a Peace. Theſe Propoſals occaſion'd ſeveral Conferences, but the King and his Friends inſiſted upon higher Demands; which being refus'd, War was immediately denounc'd to proſecute the King's juſt Rights to the Crown of *France*. When the Ambaſſadors heard this, they forgot the Reſpect due to crown'd Heads, and in Contempt broke out into an indecent Laughter; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* with the higheſt Indignation told the King, *That he was ſo far from having a Right to the Crown of* France, *that he had none to that of* England, *which belong'd to King* Richard's *Heirs. Therefore what could move him to ſhow that Contempt to the moſt Chriſtian King, the moſt noble, excellent and potent of all Monarchs? Could he imagine that he offer'd his beautiful Daughter, with ſo large a Part of his Dominions, out of Fear of his Arms? No, he condeſcended to theſe Terms out of his great Love to Peace, and Pity of the Calamities which the People of both Nations muſt ſuffer in a laſting War.* After this they demanded a ſafe Conduct out of his Dominions, and that he would ſend his Anſwer by Writing under his Hand and Seal. The juſt and moderate King bore all this Storm of Words with great Temper; and tho' a provoking Indignity was offer'd him, he would not violate the Laws of Nations by injuring the Perſons of Ambaſſadors. He granted them all that they laſt demanded, and ſatisfy'd himſelf with letting them know *That they might go when they pleas'd, and that he would ſoon follow them into* France, *not as into their Country, but his own rightful Inheritance,* *An Embaſſie from* France. *The Ambaſſadors reflect on King* Henry. *His Anſwer to them.*

ritance, which he would recover by the Assistance of Heav'n, and the Power of his Sword.

King *Henry* having dismiss'd the *French* Ambassadors, proceeded in his Journey to *Southampton*, where he design'd to embark his Army; but before his Arrival, by the Advice of his Council, he caus'd Copies to be drawn of the Treaties which had been made between his Father *Henry* IV. and the Court of *France*, concerning the Restitution of *Gascony* to the Crown of *England*; which Treaties were now by the *French* openly violated and neglected. These Copies being first seal'd by a publick Notary, were sent to a General Council then sitting at *Constance*, under the Emperor *Sigismund* and other Princes of *Europe*, that all *Christendom* might know what Injury was done to him by the faithless Dealings of the *French*, and that contrary to his Inclinations he was constrain'd to take up Arms in Vindication of his just Rights. Being arriv'd at *Southampton*, he sent *Antelope* his Pursivant at Arms with another Letter to the *French* King, written in *Latin*, with renew'd Protestations *That it was not Avarice or Ambition that mov'd him to War, but a just Design to recover his Rights; therefore he once more requir'd him to restore those Provinces which had been so often demanded by his Ambassadors. That it was only the Fear of God, and Love of Peace, that made him so moderate in his Demands; for which Reason he was now ready to relinquish fifty thousand of the Crowns offer'd in Marriage with the Princess, if with her he would deliver up what his Predecessors had anciently possess'd in* France. *That his Desire was to enjoy a peaceful Life with that excellent Princess, in whom he should be happy, but he could not do any Thing to the Prejudice of his Rights and Honour.* The *French* King in his Answer declar'd *That the Demands of the King of* England *were unjust, and that it was strangely preposterous for one to make Love to a Princess when cover'd with the Blood of her Father's Subjects. But since he was resolv'd to be his Enemy, and in a Hostile Manner to enter his Dominions, he should find him prepar'd to make such Opposition as should easily repel him.*

His new Demands to the Freuch *King.*

The French *King's Answer.*

A great Conspiracy against King Henry.

King *Henry* being ready to embark on the last Day of *July*, a Discovery was made of a dangerous Conspiracy form'd against him in the Army, which might have put an inglorious End to all his Designs: For the *French* embracing this Opportunity of working upon the dissatisfy'd Spirits of some of the *English* Nobility, manag'd a private Intrigue with *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* Brother to the Duke of *York*, *Henry Scroop* Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Thomas Grey* a Privy-Counsellor, animating them to conspire against the Crown and Life of their Prince. To carry on which Design, a vast Sum, no less than a Million of Gold, was remitted to them; which made the *French* Ambassadors so confident, that when they return'd, they freely declar'd That the King of *England* would either alter his Purpose of invading *France*, or rather lose his Life in the Conspiracy. The Design of these Men was to raise an Army, and carrying *Edmund* Earl of *Marche* with them into *Wales*, to persuade him to assume the Government, as true Heir to the Crown, in Defiance of *Henry* of *Lancaster* as an Usurper. Yet still they were to make use of King *Richard*'s Name, and Sir *Thomas Grey* was to procure One out of *Scotland*, who nearly resembled him, in order to induce young *Piercy* to join them with a competent Force. *Livius. Walsing. Stow.*

This grand Design being discover'd by the Conspirators to the Earl of *Marche*, with the greatest Threats and strictest Obligations, the Earl foreseeing the dismal Consequences to the Nation, generously reveal'd it to the King himself, who was extreamly startled at the Ingratitude of those Men he had so signally favour'd. Having soon secur'd their Persons, he in a publick Assembly of his Nobility and Officers, with the just Resentments due from injur'd Majesty, told them, *That since they had conspir'd to murder him, the Head and Father of the People, it was not to be doubted, but that they also had marked out all those brave Men for Slaughter, to their Country's Ruin, and their own*

own perpetual Infamy: Therefore ſince they had been guilty of ſuch an execrable Crime, they ſhould without Mercy receive the juſt Demerits of their Villany. Whereupon the Criminals were led out to Execution, which was perform'd in the Sight of the whole Army. The Earl of *Cambridge* had wrot a ſubmiſſive and pathetical Letter to the King to obtain his Pardon, but could gain no greater Favour than to be beheaded with Sir *Thomas Grey*, while the Lord *Scroop* was put to the moſt infamous Puniſhment of Hanging, Drawing and Quartering. After the Execution the King again expreſs'd his Reſentments before his Nobility and Officers, and further declar'd, *That if they would be faithful to him in this juſt War, he would not only be a Partner with them in all Hazards, but alſo foremoſt in the Danger.* All were mov'd with his generous Declaration, and expreſs'd their Loyalty in joyful Acclamations and Vows for his Safety and Succeſs, proteſting, *That while they were able to draw a Sword, they would defend him againſt the ſecret Plots, or open Force of his Enemies.* The King rejoic'd to hear the Expreſſions of ſuch a general Affection, and hop'd that all Diſcontents were extinguiſh'd in the Blood of the executed Traitors: But as the Scenes of Futurity are beyond the Proſpect of all Human Wiſdom, he did not ſee that this Conſpiracy was but a Spark of that Flame which afterwards broke forth to conſume his Houſe and Family.

The Conſpirators all ſuffer.

Walſing. Harding. &c.

The King being attended by his two Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, his Uncles the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Dorſet*, with the Earls of *Kent*, *Cornwall* and *Huntington*, and a great Body of Nobility and Gentry, ſet Sail upon *Wedneſday* the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, with a Fleet of fifteen hundred Veſſels, and an Army conſiſting of ſix thouſand Men at Arms, and twenty four thouſand Archers, beſides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Pioneers. On the fifteenth of the ſame Month the King arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Seyne* in *France* within three Miles of *Harfleur*, where he landed his Men; and falling devoutly upon his Knees, deſir'd God's Aſſiſtance to recover his Right, making Proclamation upon Pain of Death, that Churches ſhould be ſpar'd from all Violence, that Church-Men, Women and Children ſhould not be hurt, abus'd or injur'd. Then conferring the Honour of Knighthood upon many of his Followers, he aſſign'd his Standards to Men of greateſt Strength and Courage; which done he aſcended the Hill near adjoining, and from thence took a View of the Town of *Harfleur*, reſolving to make that the firſt Eſſay of his Fortunes in *France*. The Town being ſtrong and commodiouſly ſeated between two Hills, the King took Poſſeſſion of that next the Sea, at the Foot of which he caus'd a deep Ditch to be made, and fill'd it with Water; and raiſing the Rampier to a great Thickneſs, he erected many Sconces of Earth upon it like little Caſtles, ſet thick together, between which were narrow Spaces for the Soldiers to ſally out as Occaſion requir'd. The Intrenchment thus finiſh'd from the Rock to the Sea, and the Horſes, Ammunition and Proviſions all brought on Shore, the King with the greateſt Part of his Army march'd up the Hill; his Brother *Clarence* was ſent with ſome Regiments to lodge upon the other Hill, which by reaſon of the Nature of the Ground and Way prov'd to be a nine Miles March. This being gain'd, the King commanded his Ships to caſt Anchor as near the Town as with Safety they could, by which the Place became beſieg'd both by Sea and Land; then he mounted his Artillery, began his Mines, brought his Works cloſe to the Ditch, prepar'd Faſcines to fill it, and ſoon won the Lower Town.

The King and his Army ſet ſail for France.

He lands in Normandy.

He beſieges the ſtrong Town of Harfleur.

Ibid. Within the Town *Monſieur Gracourt* was Governor, who accompany'd with ſome Noblemen, and a hundred Knights and Eſquires, and a conſiderable Force, ſally'd out of the Caſtle upon that Quarter where the Earls of *Huntington* and *Cornwall* lay, by whom, with Loſs on either Side, they were repuls'd, the Gates fir'd, ſome Breaches made, and Fire-Works ſhot into the Streets, to the great Annoyance of the Beſieged. But nothing diſcourag'd them more than the

Mines made under the Walls; againſt which, tho' they often counter-min'd, and bravely fought Hand to Hand with the Beſiegers, yet they ſoon found that it would be of little Advantage to them, the Walls being likely to fall, and ſuch Breaches made in them, that they perceiv'd King *Henry* was reſolv'd to carry the Town by Storm. Whereupon *Gracourt* the Governor, foreſeeing the imminent Danger, deſir'd a Parley, and promis'd to ſurrender the Town, if not reliev'd by a certain fix'd Day. While the King lay before the Town, he ſent a Letter of Defiance to the *Dauphine* of *France*, in which he challeng'd him to a ſingle Combat, that the Lives of ſo many Men might be ſpar'd, and their Conteſt honourably decided by themſelves; on Condition that if the *Dauphine* fell in the Encounter, the Crown of *France* and its Dependencies ſhould be deliver'd to King *Henry* after the preſent *French* King's Death. In the mean Time the Beſieg'd being reduc'd to great Neceſſities, ſollicited their King for Relief, which was often promis'd, but to ſo little Effect, that at length upon the twenty ſecond Day of *September*, *Gracourt* the Governor reſolv'd to ſubmit; and accordingly with twenty four ſelect Captains and Burgers he came out of the Town to King *Henry*, who then ſate in his Pavilion under a Cloath of State, his brave Nobles about him, and the Earl of *Kime* upon his right Hand, bearing his Casket with an Imperial Crown upon it, beſet with Jewels of ineſtimable Price. The Governor and the reſt proſtrating themſelves at the King's Feet, deliver'd to him the Keys of the Town, according to the Covenants made between them, which was a Ceſſation of Arms for five Days, and then if no Relief came, to ſurrender the Town to him, and to deliver into his Hand thirty of their chief Men to ſtand for Life or Death at his own Pleaſure; the reſt were to depart without Armour, Weapons, or any of their Goods: And thus was this important Town ſurrender'd, after five Weeks Siege.

After five Weeks Siege the Town ſurrenders.

On the following Day one of the King's Brothers made his Entrance in great Pomp, and tender'd to the Inhabitants an Oath of Fidelity to King *Henry*, and ſent ſuch as refus'd into *England*. He gave Liberty to all the Eccleſiaſticks, and to the Ladies to go out in their beſt Habits, ſtrictly forbidding all immodeſt and licentious Behaviour to them; after which they were by the *Engliſh* furniſh'd with Bread and Wine for their Journey to *Roan*. The Garriſon and Officers were made Priſoners of War, and the Town was abandon'd to be plunder'd by the Soldiers, who inrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of a Place grown opulent by Piracy; but in exact Obſervance of the King's Command, they forbore offering the leaſt Violence to the Chaſtity of Women. King *Henry*'s Entrance into the Town was not with Triumphal Ornaments like *Cæſar*'s into *Rome*, but in the moſt humble Manner walking barefoot through the Streets to the Church of St. *Martin*, where he ſolemnly gave Thanks to the Giver of all Victory for the Proſperity of his Arms. The Officers and Gentlemen, and all of any Quality, were receiv'd by him with great Civility, and entertain'd ſuitably to their Rank. Deſigning to fortifie and garriſon the Place, he clear'd it of Women and Children, of aged poor and diſeas'd People, whom he ſuffer'd not only to carry with them what they could, but gave to every one five Sols for a preſent Subſiſtance. He took care likewiſe to people the Place with new Inhabitants in room of thoſe remov'd, and to that end iſſu'd out a Proclamation throughout *England*, that all Perſons who would come over and ſettle in *Harfleur*, ſhould have Houſes ſecur'd to them and their Heirs: Upon which Invitation great Numbers of *Engliſh* Men tranſplanted themſelves and Families thither. At laſt he conſtituted his Uncle *Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet* Governor of the Town, with whom he join'd Sir *John Falſtolf*; and having repair'd the Fortifications, he plac'd a Garriſon in it of about two thouſand ſelect Men. And now the Seaſon being far advanc'd, and the Army extreamly diminiſh'd by Slaughter and Diſtempers, it was reſolv'd to ſend the Remainder into Winter-Quarters at *Calais* and the neighbouring Villages. But for the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, and that there might be no Appearance to reproach

Walſing. Monſtrel. &c.

He makes it an Engliſh Colony.

proach a victorious King, it was likewiſe reſolv'd not to go by Sea, but to march directly thro' the Enemy's Country.

Walſing. Caxton. Le Fevre. Urſins. &c.

The *French* Court, notwithſtanding it ſwarm'd with Factions, while under a weak and diſtemper'd King, the great Men ſought to make themſelves greater, and the common Enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dauphine*, his Brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretaign*, with the whole Power of *France* aſſembled at *Roan*, and in Council concluded that the *Engliſh* ſhould be ingag'd before they got to *Calais*, and reſolv'd immediately to incommode King *Henry* as much as poſſible. This was attempted ſoon after his Removal from *Harfleur*; for beſides their continual Skirmiſhes upon his marching Army, they broke down the Bridges, cut down Trees, ſtopp'd the High-ways, ſtuck ſharp Stakes in the Fords and other Places, laid Ambuſcades, and convey'd all Victuals and Subſiſtance out of the Countries through which the *Engliſh* ſhould paſs. By which Methods they reaſonably concluded, that as a Deer caught in a Toil, King *Henry* and his whole Army would be enſnar'd, who now was arriv'd at *Virron*, with a Deſign to paſs the River *Somme* at *Blanchtaque*: But that being ſo well fortify'd againſt him, he chang'd his Purpoſe, march'd by *Wormes*, and incamp'd at *Bailew*, intending to have paſs'd the River at *Port de Remy*; but that being alſo ſecur'd, he paſs'd along the River *Hargeſt*, while the *French* Army march'd upon the other Bank, under the Conduct of *Charles de Albert* Conſtable of *France*. King *Henry* ſtill endeavouring to paſs the River *Somme*, reſolv'd to try it even at the Mouth, and paſſing by *Amiens*, *Bowes* and *Corbie*, he incamp'd in a Valley adjoining, where he commanded his Archers to provide Stakes ſharpen'd at both Ends, which afterwards prov'd of ſingular Uſe to him. Then hearing by his Spies that the River was fordable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent Guard of them of St. *Quintins*, he paſs'd the Water, but not without the help of Bridges. The Soldiers both weary and faint, many of them ſick, and their Proviſions conſum'd twelve Days before, with invincible Patience now fed upon Nuts, Roots and Berries, and any thing that the Woods afforded them. They ſpent the Days in great Toil and long Marches, the Nights were cold and wet, and no good Lodgings to be found, and the *French* were always hovering about them, without Intermiſſion. According to the *French* Writers, theſe Circumſtances mov'd King *Henry* to offer the Reſtitution of *Harfleur*, and other Advantages, provided he might be allow'd a free Paſſage to *Calais*. But however he gain'd great Relief by the Juſtice and Piety he us'd in thoſe Parts: For tho' he was in the midſt of Enemies, and his Soldiers pinch'd with greateſt Wants, he commanded upon Pain of Death that none of his Army ſhould rob any Church; in which when one of his Men had offended, he firſt caus'd Reſtitution to be made, and then puniſh'd the Offender with Death. The Fame of this Act induc'd the common People, contrary to the ſtrict Commands of the *French* King, frequently to ſupply the fainting *Engliſh* with their own Proviſions. In this manner King *Henry* march'd through infinite Difficulties in ſeveral Places, 'till about the End of *October* he arriv'd in View of the *French* Army near *Agincourt* in the County of St. *Paul*; upon Notice of which, he commanded all his Horſemen to alight, and the whole Army kneeling down, with Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, implor'd the Divine Aſſiſtance to make them victorious.

King Henry marches towards Calais.

The French *with a vaſt Army oppoſes him.*

He is extreamly incommoded.

He arrives near Agincourt.

Le Fevre. Urſins. Walſing. &c.

The *French* Army now lying between King *Henry* and the Town of *Calais*, the General *D' Albert*, in Conjunction with the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* ſent three Heralds to the King of *England* with a Challenge to give him Battel, leaving it to him to aſſign the Time and Place. The King honourably entertain'd the Heralds, and ſent them back with rich Marks of his Liberality; but he employ'd two of his own to ſignifie to the *French* Generals, *That they well knew that of late he had continu'd a conſtant March, and they might have fought him when they pleas'd; therefore if they deſir'd a general Battel, there was no need of appointing Time and Place, ſince they ſhould always*

He is challeng'd by the French.

His Anſwer.

find him in the open Field: That his great Care was not to do any Thing unworthy of himſelf, and as he would not be the firſt Aggreſſor, ſo when once attack'd he would not decline fighting: That he was reſolv'd to continue his March to Calais, *and whoever ſought to ſtop him ſhould find Danger in the Attempt; therefore he advis'd them not to oppoſe his Paſſage, that thoſe Fields might not be ſtain'd with Chriſtian Blood.* On the twentieth Day of *October*, the *French* Generals ſent again to King *Henry*, to ſignifie That they would give him Battel on the *Saturday* following. He gave the Herald two hundred Crowns, and a rich Robe; and now being ſure of Battel, he rod every Day in Armour, and us'd all the moſt ingaging Methods to rouze the Courages of his brave Soldiers, who were all reſolv'd to ſtand their Ground, notwithſtanding the vaſt Diſproportion of the Armies. And *David Gam*, who attended the King with a Party of valiant *Welſhmen*, having been ſent to review the Strength of the Enemy, made this gallant Report to his Royal Maſter, *May it pleaſe you, my Liege, there are enow to be kill'd, enow to be taken Priſoners, and enow to run away.* Indeed the odds as to Numbers were exceeding great; for the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of no more than nine or ten thouſand Men, whereas the *French*, according to their own Writers, amounted to a hundred and forty, and as ſome ſay a hundred and fifty thouſand Men; and alſo with this remarkable Difference, that the *French* were freſh and vigorous, and well ſupply'd with Proviſions, and the *Engliſh* weary'd with long Marches, and half ſtarv'd for want of Neceſſaries. Theſe mighty Advantages made the *French* ſo preſuming and confident of Victory, that they thought of nothing leſs than the Ruin of the whole *Engliſh* Army, and ſo to repair the Diſhonour their Nation had ſuffer'd at *Creſſy* and *Poictiers*. They now reſolv'd, ſince they had incloſ'd them, that none ſhould eſcape the Sword, but the King and his chief Commanders, who ſhould be reſerv'd for the Ornaments of a Triumph. They divided the imaginary Spoil among themſelves, diſpos'd of the Priſoners, and propos'd to lead the Captive King into *Paris*; commanding all the neighbouring Cities and Towns to make publick Rejoicings as for a certain Victory, and in Scorn they ſent one to King *Henry* with this inſolent Demand, *What he would give for his Ranſom?* His Anſwer was, *That he hop'd within a few Hours to reduce the* French *to ſuch a Condition, that they ſhould have the ſole Care of providing Ranſoms.* As the *French* were fluſh'd with the Aſſurance of Victory, it was no wonder that they ſcornfully rejected the Herald whom the prudent King *Henry* had ſent with Offers to reſtore *Harfleur*, and to compenſate all the Damages of the War, with other Conceſſions, if they would open to him a free and undiſturb'd Paſſage into *England*. Yet ſtill ſome of the wiſeſt of the *French* Commanders were againſt coming to a Battel, and particularly the old Duke of *Berry*, who had himſelf been an Eye Witneſs of the *Engliſh* Valour at the famous Battel of *Poictiers*.

A Day agreed on for Battel.

The great Inequality of the Armies.

The Confidence of the French.

King *Henry* finding his fair Offers refus'd, with invincible Bravery reſolv'd to commit his Cauſe to God, and the Valour of his Soldiers; and having the Night before the Battel call'd a Council of his Officers, he declar'd, *That ſince the implacable Enemy would be ſatisfy'd with nothing but their Blood, there were now no Hopes of Safety but in the Protection of Heav'n, and their own Courages: That if they would rely upon thoſe two, they had no Reaſon to fear an Army ſo far exceeding them in Strength and Number: Therefore confeſſing their Sins, and making Peace with the Almighty, they ſhould prepare for the glorious Battel, not doubting but he would be their Deliverer.* This important Night was careleſsly ſpent by the *French* in Feaſtings, Triumphs and all the Inſults of mercileſs Conquerors; but by the *Engliſh* in Watchings, valiant Reſolves, and a manly Regard to their emergent Circumſtances; having their Spirits all the Time enliven'd by the chearful Sounds of warlike Inſtruments. The important Morn approaching, the *French* took the Field, preſſing forwards who ſhould come ſooneſt to a moſt eaſie and certain Victory, having their greateſt Strength in Horſe. Againſt the powerful Force of which, King *Henry*

Nauclerus Monſtrel. Wolſing. &c.

King Henry's *Preparations.*

Henry with great Art plac'd his Archers on each ſide his main Body nicely defended by ſharp Piles or Stakes, ſix or ſeven Foot long, and removeable at Pleaſure. But particularly he order'd two hundred Bow-Men of extraordinary Strength and Agility to lodge themſelves in a low Meadow, where a deep Ditch full of Water might ſecure them from the Horſe, and the Buſhes cover them from Sight. The Flanks of the Army were guarded by Woods on both ſides, in one of which the King ambuſh'd a ſtrong Body of Horſe, with Orders to attack the Enemy in the Rear when the Battel was join'd, which they ſucceſsfully perform'd. The Van was commanded by the Duke of *York*, which Station, as a Place of moſt Danger and Honour, he had deſir'd; and with him were join'd the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby* and *Stanhope*. In the main Battel all in compleat ſhining Armour rod the King himſelf, his Shield quarter'd with the Royal Arms of *England* and *France*; on his Helmet for a Creſt he had a bright Crown of Gold, fram'd after the Imperial Faſhion; his Horſe, of a fierce Courage, had his Furniture and Capariſons richly embroider'd with the victorious Enſigns of the *Engliſh* Monarchy; and before his Majeſty in Gold and ſplendid Colours the Royal Standard was born, and many other Banners in warlike Order wav'd with the Wind. On the other ſide the *French* drew up in three Lines, the firſt led by the Conſtable of *France*, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, and ſeveral other of the Nobility, who all ſtrove to come in for the Honour of the firſt Charge. The ſecond Line was commanded by the Duke of *Berry*, the Earls of *Alenzon*, *Nevers*, and many others. The third was commanded by the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Marle*, *Fauquenberge*, and Monſieur *de Lorny*. The Right Wing was led by *Arthur* Earl of *Richemont*, and the Left by *Lewis de Bourbon*. In ſhort moſt of the *French*, and among them thoſe of the higheſt Quality in the Nation were in this Army, except the King and the *Dauphine*.

His Management of his Forces.

His noble Appearance.

Ibid. The two Armies ſtood thus drawn up in Order 'till between nine and ten in the Morning, when the Heroick King *Henry*, riding along the Front of his Battalions, with the moſt enlivening Looks, Geſtures and Words animated the Courage of his Soldiers. He told them, *That they were now entring into the moſt glorious Field of Honour, which by their Valours might prove more renown'd than thoſe of* Creſſy *and* Poictiers. *That as for his own Part,* England *ſhould never be charg'd with his Ranſom, nor any* Frenchman *triumph over him, but Death or Victory ſhould be his certain Fate, as he expected it would be theirs. He was ſenſible from the noble Fury ſparkling in their Eyes, that future Ages would ſtand amaz'd to find what the Lance, the Ax, the Sword and the Bow could perform in the Hands of ſuch valiant Soldiers. Yet tho' theſe were the brave Inſtruments to reap Honour, he rely'd upon Omnipotence for the Victory; and it was a remarkable Effect of Divine Providence that their Enemies offer'd them Battel on the very Day appointed in* England *for the People to implore a Bleſſing on their Arms; ſo that at the Time that they are fighting, the whole Body of the* Engliſh *Nation are lifting up their Eyes and Hands to Heav'n for their Succeſs and Safety. If they were victorious now, they would not only inrich themſelves with the Wealth of ſo many Nations gather'd together, but a Kingdom to which he had an undoubted Right would be conquer'd, and* England *from that Time would give Laws to* France. The Soldiers inſpir'd with new Valour at the gallant Behaviour of their King, who appear'd to them like a Deity, anſwer'd him with triumphant Acclamations, and cry'd out to be led on immediately to Battel. The Dukes of *York*, *Clarence* and *Gloceſter* advis'd his Majeſty not to ſuffer this their firſt Ardor to cool; but he weighing the mighty Conſequence of the Battel, would not precipitate any Thing, but proceeded with a moſt admirable Conduct, as well as the nobleſt Courage. He was unwilling to quit the Advantage of his Ground, and ſtood expecting to give the *French* the firſt Charge; but when he found them not to move, and that the eager Impatience of his

His brave Speech to his Men.

his Men was no longer to be reſtrain'd, he cry'd aloud, *Since our Enemies have intercepted our Way to* Calais, *let us break through their Army, in the Name of the moſt glorious Trinity, and in the moſt propitious Hour of the whole Year.* Then alighting from his Horſe, with a Reſolution to put himſelf in the ſame Danger with the meaneſt of his Army, he commanded his Standards to move forwards, and the Archers on the Right and Left to advance upon the Enemy.

The glorious Battel of AGINCOURT.

The Ranging of the Battel was committed to Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, an old experienc'd Knight; who with a Truncheon in his Hand led the Way, and gave the Signal by throwing it into the Air, at which the whole Army gave a Shout that ſeem'd to rend the Skies. But when they ſaw the *French* did not come out to meet 'em, they made a little Halt to take Breath, and with a ſecond Shout the Archers in the Van began the Battel, who being lightly clad, us'd their Bows with ſuch Strength and Agility, that their Yard-long Arrows, drawn up to the Head, pierc'd with irreſiſtible Force where-e'er they fell. At the ſame Time the two hundred brave Bow-men in Ambuſh perform'd Wonders, every Arrow of theirs being wing'd with inevitable Deſtruction. A thouſand ſelect *French* Horſe bravely advanc'd againſt the Archers in the Van, and with great Fury endeavour'd to break 'em, but were ſo terribly gall'd by them, that they madly ran on without Order, the hindmoſt Ranks preſſing thoſe before, and the Files being cloſely ſtraiten'd, they became a confus'd Heap of Men rather than orderly Troops; and the Horſes ſinking into the miry Ground, tormented likewiſe with Arrows, were grown furious, and would not be govern'd by their Riders. But the Archers perceiving the *French* advance with that Fierceneſs, retir'd within their ſharp pointed Piles, which cover'd them in the Front and both the Flanks. The Enemy in their Heat and Fury ſpurr'd their Horſes on theſe Piles ſet aſlope, with which being gall'd on their Breaſts, Sides and Shoulders, they flounc'd and plung'd, and either tumbled on the Spikes, or throwing their Riders, cruelly impal'd them. It was a dreadful Spectacle to ſee the Numbers of Men and Horſes thus gor'd, ſome ſtruck through their Bodies, ſome hanging by an Arm or a Thigh, groaning in Torture, and unable to help themſelves or their Companions. The clattering of the Armour of ſuch Numbers tumbling on Heaps, the Clang of ſo many thouſand Arrows falling upon Steel Helmets and Breaſt-Plates, and the Cries of wounded and dying Men, made a hideous Noiſe equal to the Horror of the Sight. The *Engliſh* continu'd to overwhelm the diſorder'd Enemy with a black Tempeſt of Arrows; and the *French* Troops being thus terribly ſhatter'd, fell back with ſuch Precipitation upon their main Body, that they broke all their Order. The Archers ſeeing their Ranks open'd, with great Bravery threw away their Bows, and with Sword and Battel-Ax ruſh'd into a cloſe Fight, or rather to a bloody Execution: For tho' the *Frenchmen* at Arms at firſt fought valiantly, and repuls'd them, yet being diſorder'd and broken, they could not ſuſtain a ſecond Charge, but were intirely routed, and the greateſt Part of 'em kill'd. *Walſing. Monſtrel. Fabian Le Fevre &c.*

The great Valour of King Henry.

In the mean Time the mighty *Henry* at the Head of his main Battel advanc'd to charge the ſecond Line of the *French*, which yet ſtood firm; in which he acted not only the Part of a General, but alſo of a common Soldier, and his Exceſs of Courage made him hazard a Life on which alone depended the Safety of his whole Army. He fought bravely in the Front of all his Men, where his Perſon was expos'd to ſo much Danger, that eighteen *French* Gentlemen having combin'd to kill him, charg'd up ſo cloſe to him, that one of them with a Battel-Ax ſtruck him on the Creſt of his Helmet. But this bold Action was fatal to them, for they were all ſlain upon the Spot; and here the valiant *David Gam*, formerly mention'd, ſignaliz'd himſelf in defending his Prince with the Loſs of much Blood, and at laſt with the Life of himſelf and two of his Relations; of which Service the King was ſo ſenſible, that as they lay languiſhing in the Field, he gave them the Honour of Knighthood, as the only Acknowledgement *Walſing. Le Fevre. Urſins. &c.*

ledgement he could make for their Bravery. Still the Fight continu'd with great Fury, in which the Duke of *Gloceſter* being ſtruck down with Battel-Axes, the King gallantly ſtood over his Brother's Body, defended him, and ſav'd his Life; where he receiv'd ſo great a Blow on his Head, that he fell on one Knee, while two Gentlemen, whoſe Armour was like the King's, were kill'd. The *Engliſh*, ſtill encourag'd by their glorious King, at length broke into the *French* Battalions, and diſorder'd them; for their Horſe which had been gall'd with Arrows were now ungovernable: And the *Engliſh* Horſe plac'd in Ambuſcade within the Wood, ruſh'd forth with a mighty Shout, and furiouſly attack'd their Rere. The valiant Duke of *Alenſon* ſeeing the Battel loſt, and diſdaining to ſurvive the fatal Day, preſs'd into the thickeſt of the Fight, and attack'd King *Henry* in Perſon, crying out that he was the Duke of *Alenſon*, and with a furious Blow of his Sword cleav'd off a great Part of the Crown, which was the Creſt of his Helmet. This ſo rous'd the *Engliſh* Lion, that with redoubled Force, he not only ſtruck *Alenſon* to the Ground, but with his own Hand ſlew two of his Followers. Thoſe who were about his Majeſty's Perſon ſoon ſurrounded the Duke, and with many Wounds diſpatch'd him, while the generous King in vain call'd out to them to ſave ſo gallant a Man: For the faithful *Engliſh* enrag'd with the Sight of their Prince's Danger, could not be perſuaded to ſpare a Life that had put his to the leaſt Hazard.

The French Forces broken.

Monſtrel. Walſing. Livins. Paradin.

The *French* Troops in the Rere were yet in good Order, and if they had not wanted Courage might have renew'd the Fight; but when they ſaw the two firſt Lines of their Army entirely routed, they were diſheartned; and obſerving that the *Engliſh* Horſe wheel'd off to charge them in the Rere, they fled without Reſiſtance. The *Engliſh* Soldiers had now nothing to do but to kill and take Priſoners; and the *French* were ſo diſpirited, as tamely to offer their Throats to be cut, or their Hands to be chain'd. Some flying Troops of the Enemy had rally'd, and made a Stand at ſome Diſtance; which the King obſerving, and conſidering the Numbers of thoſe that fled were more than all his Army, he ſent a Command to them by a Herald to leave the Field, threatning *That if they preſum'd to withſtand his victorious Arms, he would ſhow them no Mercy*; which ſo daunted their Minds, that they immediately obey'd and withdrew; only ſix hundred Men at Arms making a ſhew of Reſiſtance were immediately cut in Pieces by the Fury of the *Engliſh* Soldiers. The victorious King thought he had clear'd the Field of all Enemies, when ſuddenly he was allarm'd with a Noiſe that the *French* had enter'd his Camp and plunder'd it: For ſome Troops of the *French*, who had fled firſt, underſtanding that the King's Camp was weakly guarded, ſoon broke into it, either aiming to retrieve the Diſhonour of their Defeat, or covetous of Booty; and having eaſily kill'd thoſe few that defended it, they robbed the Tents and Carriages, and carry'd off the King's Crown, glorying in the noble Spoil as if they had been victorious. It was now the Cloſe of the Evening, and the King was apprehenſive that the numerous Enemy, tho' broken and diſpers'd, might gather into a Body and ſurround him in the Dark. He knew that the Number of Priſoners exceeded that of his own Men, and that it was impoſſible at the ſame Time to fight and ſecure them from killing his Soldiers; which rational Apprehenſion, and the Noiſe of new Troops arriving forc'd him upon an Action ſo contrary to his merciful and generous Temper, that he could not reſolve upon it without the higheſt Regret: He commanded all the Priſoners to be kill'd, except a few of the greateſt Note; which Orders, tho' in Appearance bloody and barbarous, were render'd neceſſary by the Extremity of his Affairs. He then order'd his Soldiers to prepare for another Battel, who tho' weary'd with Fighting three Hours, and many of them wounded, readily obey'd; and with their former chearful Reſolution, march'd to beat them out of their Camp: But they having haſtily plunder'd it, had ſoon left it, and got out of the Reach of Purſuit. The baſe Surpriſal of the King's Carriages, which was one main Cauſe of the

They fly.

The Priſoners ſlain.

The French Camp taken.

the Slaughter of the *French* Priſoners, was ſo generouſly reſented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he impriſon'd the chief Actors, and deſign'd to have put them to Death, had not his Son mediated for them, to whom they preſented King *Henry*'s Sword, the Guards of which were of Gold, beſet with Jewels of great Value.

Thus by the mighty Valour of King *Henry* and the *Engliſh* a glorious and wonderful Victory was obtain'd; yet this great Prince was juſtly ſenſible of a ſuperior Cauſe, and that Evening at the Head of his Army he ſolemnly prais'd the Soveraign of the Univerſe for his Succeſs, directing the 115th Pſalm to be ſung; and at that Verſe, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy Name be the Glory*, he commanded all his Army to proſtrate themſelves to the Ground as a Token of their Humility. After that in the Preſence of his Nobility and Officers, and five *French* Heralds, who were ſent for Leave to bury their Dead, he declar'd, *That it was not his own, but an Almighty Hand which had gain'd ſo great a Victory; and that the diſmal Sight they had before their Eyes, was order'd by the Divine Juſtice to puniſh the Sins of* France. Then he put the Queſtion in Form both to the *French* and *Engliſh* Heralds, *Whether he or the King of* France *was to be acknowledg'd Victors?* And having the Honour adjudg'd to him, he ask'd the Name of the next Caſtle, to which Anſwer was made *Agincourt*. *Then*, reply'd he, *let this to all Poſterity be call'd* THE BATTEL OF AGINCOURT. After which, the Night growing late, he march'd with his weary'd Soldiers out of the Field to *Maſconcelles*, where they had lodg'd the Night before. In this memorable Battel were kill'd on the *French* Side the General himſelf the Conſtable of *France*, the Admiral of *France*, the Dukes of *Brabant*, *Bar* and *Alenſon*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Blammont*, *Rouſſy* and *Faukemberge*, and many other Noblemen, of which we have a long Catalogue upon Record. In all were kill'd about ten thouſand Men, of whom ſeven or eight thouſand were Noble, and above a hundred of them Princes, who had Banners carry'd before them in the Field. The Account given by *Elmham* is this, That there were kill'd one Arch-Biſhop, three Dukes, ſix Earls, ninety two Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and ſeven thouſand Eſquires and Gentlemen. Of the Priſoners ſixteen hundred were Men of Quality, among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Marſhal *Bouciquault*, and the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendoſme* and *Richemont*. All this was effected with a very inconſiderable Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side: For *Walſingham* only reckons the Duke of *York* Uncle to King *Henry*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, four Knights, one Eſquire, and twenty eight common Soldiers; tho' others account the Number of the ſlain to be about four or five hundred.

Le Feve. Monſtrel. Walſing.

King Henry gives all the Glory to God.

The great Loſs of the French.

The ſmall Loſs of the Engliſh.

Upon the Day after the Battel, the twenty ſixth of *October*, King *Henry* took his March towards *Calais*, and paſſing the bloody Field, he order'd Search for all the *Engliſh*, whom he caus'd to be interr'd according to their Quality; but he took the Bodies of his Uncle the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* along with him, in order for a more honourable Interment in *England*. Then viewing his Army, in a Speech made to his Men, he applauded their Valour, *of which he had ſeen ſuch admirable Effects in the ſtupendious Victory:* Yet he admoniſh'd them *To aſcribe all to the Favour of the Almighty, who had wrought a Miracle, in making a Handful of Men victorious over ſuch a numerous Army, to abate their Vanity and Preſumption.* He further added, *That he could not but adore the Divine Providence for its Care of the Lives of his Subjects, that ſo few had fallen in Battel. Yet he could not behold ſuch Streams of Blood, and Heaps of Carcaſſes, tho' of Enemies, without Horror; but the Sight of his own Fellow-Soldiers affected him with the tend'reſt Compaſſion; therefore he had perform'd the laſt Rites due to ſuch magnanimous Souls in burying their Bodies, that they might not be expos'd to Wolves and Vultures.* In his March to *Calais* this generous Prince ſhew'd the

Monſtrel. Le Feve. Hall.

The King's Generoſity.

moſt

moſt obliging Behaviour to his Noble Priſoners, the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Bourbon* and the reſt; and entertaining them at Dinner, he with the greateſt Modeſty condol'd their Condition, and applauded their Valour, attributing nothing to himſelf, but to the Hand of Heav'n, which had deſign'd to puniſh the crying Sins of *France*; and after Dinner he preſented to every one of them a Robe of rich Damask; further teſtifying the ſame Inclinations to Peace now, as before he began the War. Afterwards, when the Duke of *Orleans* appear'd very melancholy and declin'd Eating, the King with the moſt ingaging Air ſaid, *Courage, good Couſin, I have not conquer'd you, becauſe I am ſuperior in Merit, but becauſe God would puniſh the* French *People for their Sins; and if he is juſtly angry with them, it is not decent for you to be angry with Him, or to repine at his Proceedings.* Shortly after the Duke of *Burgundy*, inrag'd at the Loſs of his two Brothers the Duke of *Brabant* and Count *de Nevers*, ſent a Herald with a Gauntlet of Defiance, threatning him with the utmoſt Revenge. The King calmly return'd the Gauntlet with this wiſe Anſwer, *Go tell your Maſter, that he has no Reaſon to be my Enemy; that I am ſorry for the Death of his Brothers, which is not to be charg'd upon me or my Soldiers; and if he pleaſe to come to* Boulogn, *he ſhall be ſatisfy'd from the Priſoners I have, that the* French *alone are guilty of their Blood, and of them he is to require it.* As this Battel was highly afflicting to all *France*, ſo it affected the *Dauphine* to ſuch a degree, that he dy'd ſhortly after.

His Behaviour to the great Priſoners.

His Anſwer to the Duke of Burgundy.

Walſing. Hall. &c. On the ſixteenth Day of *November* the triumphant King left *Calais*, and embark'd for *England*; and after a violent Storm arriv'd ſafely at *Dover*, where he was receiv'd with loudeſt Acclamations of rejoycing People, that cover'd all the Shore. Arriving near *Canterbury*, the Arch-Biſhop, Abbot and Monks met him in their richeſt Habits; and as he approach'd *London*, the Mayor and Aldermen, and four hundred of the principal Citizens in their Gowns, attended his Coming on *Black-Heath*; and at St. *Thomas* of *Watering* the Clergy of the City waited on him in a ſolemn Proceſſion, with the Relicks of ſeventy Saints. As he paſs'd through the Streets, he ſaw both Sides of the Way hung with the richeſt Tapeſtry, wherein were repreſented the glorious Actions of the *Engliſh* Kings in War; he heard Pſalms and Hymns ſung in Joy for his Victory. Yet ſtill giving all the Glory to God, he declin'd his own Praiſes; and in all this Triumph would not permit his dinted Helmet, and bruis'd Armour to be carry'd before him as the Trophies of his daring Valour, but expreſly forbad it, as too vain an Affectation of Glory. At St. *Paul*'s Cathedral he alighted from his Horſe, and made his Offerings with the utmoſt Devotion; and then proceeded to *Weſtminſter*, where his Palace was prepar'd for his Reception, and for the Lodging of the chief of the *French* Priſoners. In the Morning, the Mayor and Aldermen, with two hundred of the Citizens, attended his Majeſty with a Preſent of a Thouſand Pounds in Gold, in two Golden Baſons worth five hundred Pounds more, which were receiv'd with the moſt obliging Marks of Gratitude. Then that all his Subjects might join with him in Praiſing God for the Succeſs of his Arms, he appointed Days of Thankſgiving to be obſerv'd thro' all his Dominions: And that he might perform the laſt Rites to the Memory of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk*, he ſummon'd a great Number of Biſhops and Abbots to celebrate their Obſequies; the former being bury'd at *Fotheringay* in *Northamptonſhire*, and the latter at *Ewhelme* in *Oxfordſhire*. And this in the main concluded that great and memorable Year for *England*'s Glory 1415.

He lands at Dover.

His Entry into London.

The City's Preſent.

Monſtrel. Lanins. Abbrevi. &c. **III.** As the War between ***England*** and *France* alarm'd all *Europe*, and a Peace was generally deſir'd, that the Chriſtian Princes might unite againſt the common Enemy the *Turk*, ſo to effect this Work *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, a Man of great Wiſdom and Abilities, imploy'd his Mediation. Intending to viſit both theſe Weſtern Monarchs, he came firſt to the *French* Court attended

A. D. 1416. Reg. 4.

The Emperor mediates a Peace between England *and* France.

with eight hundred Horſe, where he earneſtly ſollicited King *Charles* to an Accommodation; and finding in outward Appearance that he was ready to embrace the Motion, he took with him the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims* as Ambaſſador from the *French* King, and travell'd in the ſame State to *Calais*. Here the Governor of the Town, the Earl of *Warwick*, with the Garriſon in Arms entertain'd him at King *Henry*'s Charge, with ſo much Honour and Gallantry, that his Imperial Majeſty was charm'd with the Reception, and afterwards told the King, *That no Chriſtian Prince had a Knight equal to him for Wiſdom, good Breeding and Courage; and that if all Courteſie were loſt, it might be found again in the Earl of* Warwick. After two Days Continuance, thirty of King *Henry*'s Ships arriv'd, in which the Emperor embark'd with a noble Retinue conſiſting of a thouſand Perſons, among whom were the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Milan*, and many Soveraign Princes both of *Germany* and *Italy*.

He comes into England.

On the twenty ninth Day of *April* he landed at *Dover*, where he found the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Conſtable of the Caſtle, with many *Engliſh* Nobility on the Shore; who boldly ſtepp'd into the Water with their drawn Swords, as the Emperor was ready to ſet his Foot on Land, declaring, *That if he came as a Mediator for Peace, they would receive him with the Honours due to the Imperial Dignity; but if as Emperor to claim any Authority in* England, *which was a free Kingdom, they were ready to oppoſe his Landing*. The Emperor aſſuring them, *That his Thoughts were free from any ſuch Deſign, and that he came to eſtabliſh Peace between* England *and* France, the *Engliſh* Nobility receiv'd and conducted him very honourably. At *Canterbury* he was met by the Arch-Biſhop, at *Rocheſter* by the Duke of *Bedford*, at *Dartford* by the Duke of *Clarence*, and at *Black-Heath* by the King himſelf, not only with that Reſpect which his Dignity and Merits challeng'd, but with an Affection due to a Perſon related to him by the Marriage of *Barbara* Daughter of the Earl of *Zilie*, the King's Couſin-German. His Entertainment was magnificent, and his Charges all born by King *Henry*, who the more to honour him inſtall'd him Knight of the Garter at *Windſor*, after the moſt ſolemn and pompous Manner; and the Emperor ſo eſteem'd this Honour, that he always wore the Collar when he ſat in any Aſſembly.

He is magnificently receiv'd by King Henry.

Shortly after the Emperor inſiſted upon the Buſineſs for which he came, and preſs'd for a Peace with *France*, in which he was calmly heard by the *Engliſh* King; but upon new Diſpleaſures for ſome Loſs of Men in the Territories of *Roan*, the Motion at that Time was quaſht, and could not ſucceed, *Leſt the* French *ſhould ſuppoſe him diſcourag'd at a ſmall Loſs*. Yet the Emperor, continuing his Interceſſion for Peace, had probably effected it by his powerful Perſuaſions, had not the *Engliſh* about that Time beſieg'd *Harfleur* both by Sea and Land. For not long before the Earl of *Dorſet*, Governor of that Place, having made an Inroad into the County of *Caux*, was attack'd by the Earl of *Armagnac*, now Conſtable of *France*, and ſo diſtreſs'd that he was forc'd to retire into an Orchard or Wood, with the Loſs of three hundred of his Men. After which, in his March towards *Harfleur*, he was intercepted by the ſame Earl, with ſuch Numbers, and ſuch Advantages by the Sea-ſide, that the Conſtable was ſo ſure of Victory that he ſent a Herald to the Earl of *Dorſet* to ſummon him to ſurrender himſelf and all his Men Priſoners. To which *Dorſet* heroically reply'd, *That it was not the Cuſtom of the* Engliſh *to yield without Fighting, nor was he ſo cowardly as to ſurrender to an Enemy whom God might deliver into his Power*. Upon which *Armagnac* march'd fiercely down the Hill to ſeize his Prey, but was ſo vigorouſly ply'd by the Archers with a perpetual Shower of Arrows, that his Troops were extreamly ſhatter'd before they could come to charge the Enemy. After which a cloſe Fight was long maintain'd at the Sword's Point, 'till the *Engliſh* by their incomparable Valour and Bravery prevail'd againſt the Inequality of Numbers, and defeated the Conſtable with the Loſs of twelve hundred of his Men, and the great Ha-

Engliſh. Beliſſan. Waſſag.

The Bravery of the Earl of Dorſet *in* Normandy.

zard

zard of his own Perſon: Which Victory was the more conſiderable, ſince the Number of the *Engliſh*, according to *Walſingham*, was no more than fifteen hundred, and that of the *French* fifteen thouſand. To repair this Diſgrace, the Conſtable firſt hang'd up many of his Men, and after a Reinforcement he beſieg'd the Town of *Harfleur* by Land, while the Viſcount *Narbon* Vice-Admiral of *France*, with a Fleet of different ſort of Ships, enter'd the Mouth of the *Sein*, and did the ſame by Water.

Harfleur *beſieg'd by the* French.

Monſtrel. Arc. Reg. King *Henry* hearing of this News, immediately recall'd his Ambaſſadors, the Biſhop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, then in Commiſſion for an Accommodation with *France*; and the Emperor well perceiving that the *French* took all Advantages, and that King *Henry* would not bear ſuch Uſage, ſaw it in vain to make any further Endeavours, therefore he reſolv'd to leave them to the ſad Effects of War, and enter into a League with the King of *England*, which was ſoon concluded to this Effect: 'That ſince his Imperial Majeſty, de- 'ſiring to eſtabliſh a general Peace in Chriſtendom both as to Church and State, 'had endeavour'd to compoſe all Differences between *France* and *England*; and 'ſince the *French* King had induſtriouſly declin'd all Offers that might contri- 'bute to the Happineſs of either: Therefore the King of *England*, and the 'Emperor *Sigiſmund* had enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance, mutually to ſupport 'and defend each other againſt all Perſons, the Church and Pope of *Rome* only 'excepted. That neither of them ſhould purſue any Deſigns injurious to the 'other's Advantage; but contribute all they could to the Advancement of each 'other's Honour and Benefit. That, without any Acts of Hoſtility, the Sub- 'jects of both Princes ſhould have free Liberty of Trading in all their Domi- 'nions, paying the uſual Tolls and Cuſtoms. That neither of the two Princes 'ſhould allow Sanctuary to any Rebel or Exile of the other's Subjects; nor 'ſhould ingage in any War, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the other. 'That both the Princes might proſecute the War againſt *France* for the Reco- 'very of their Rights; and that they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other for the 'obtaining of that End. And, if a Peace ſhould be concluded with *France*, 'and the demanded Territories reſtor'd, they ſhould mutually maintain each 'other in the Poſſeſſion of them. This League was concluded and ſign'd *Auguſt* the Fifteenth, and not long after confirm'd in Parliament.

A League between the Emperor and King Henry.

Livius. Chartrier. Walſing. Hall. In the mean Time the *French*, that had felt the heavy Hand of the *Engliſh*, and ſeen that King *Henry* had recall'd his Plenipotentiaries for Peace, reſolv'd to rig out their greateſt Naval Power, both to block up *Harfleur*, and annoy the *Engliſh* Nation. But becauſe the *French* King could not ſuddenly provide ſuch a Number of Ships as the Occaſion requir'd, he hired of the Republick of *Genoa* eight large Carracks, and other Veſſels from *Spain* and *Flanders*, which with his own Ships made up a Fleet of five hundred Sail. Theſe cruſing about the *Engliſh* Seas with many Inſults, King *Henry* deſign'd to have gone in Perſon againſt them, but the Emperor diſſuading him from the Attempt, the Charge of that Enterprize was committed to his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford*, accompany'd with the Earls of *Marche*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury* and *Devonſhire*, who having three or four hundred Ships, and twenty thouſand Men on Board, reſolv'd to fight the *French* Fleet. Shortly after a fierce and long Engagement happen'd, in which the Valour of the Duke of *Bedford* and his brave Adventurers ſo far prevail'd that the *French* Ships were moſt of them batter'd, ſunk and taken; and, according to *Harding*, their Loſs amounted to twenty thouſand Men. Immediately after, the Duke ſupply'd *Harfleur* with Ammunition, Victuals and other Neceſſaries, which the Garriſon extreamly wanted; which ſo diſcourag'd the Conſtable *D' Armagnac*, that he broke up the Siege, and return'd to *Paris*. This extraordinary Service was ſo admir'd by the Emperor, that he openly declar'd, *That* England *was happy in having ſuch a King, but the King more happy in having ſuch Subjects*; and ever after ſhew'd a particular Eſteem for the Duke of *Bedford*.

The French *defeated at Sea.*

Harfleur *reliev'd.*

The Emperor's Affairs being finiſh'd, and all Royal Entertainments grate- *Monſtrel. &c.*
fully acknowledg'd, he prepar'd for his Return towards *Germany*, and King
The King accompanies the Emperor to Calais. *Henry*, to do him more Honour, accompany'd him to the Town of *Calais*; where, after their Arrival, the Duke of *Burgundy* repair'd to pay his Homage to the Emperor; which Duke, ſome Months before, had concluded a Truce with the Earl of *Warwick*, in Behalf of King *Henry*, for the Countries of *Flanders* and *Artois*. *Henry* therefore in hopes of a further Amity with a Man of his Intereſt, ſent his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Marche* to lye as Hoſtages at St. *Omers* for *Burgundy*'s ſafe Paſſage and Conduct, with whom he ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to conduct him to *Calais*. His Reception was very honourable both from the Emperor and the King of *England*; with the former he perform'd his Homage, and with the latter renew'd the Truce for two Years longer; both which was ſo diſpleaſing to the *French*, that the Emperor was condemn'd by 'em for augmenting thoſe Miſeries in *France* which he pretended he came to relieve, by animating *Burgundy* againſt *Orleans*, and encouraging King *Henry*'s Vanity in the Thoughts he had entertain'd of prevailing againſt a weak King. This is certain from the Archives of this Kingdom, that ſecret
The Duke of Burgundy's unfair Dealings. Articles were ſign'd at *Calais* by the Duke of *Burgundy* in Vindication of King *Henry*'s Title, in which he acknowledg'd him to be rightful King of *France*, and accordingly would declare himſelf for him in due Time. Yet in a few Months Time, as tho' he had forgot all, he conſented and ſwore to a League with the King and *Dauphine* of *France* againſt the Power of *England*, and acted accordingly.

The Emperor and King take leave. After the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Departure, the King prepar'd for his Return *Ibid.*
into *England*, and the Emperor made ready to go by Sea to *Dort* in his Way to *Germany*. He deſpair'd of obtaining a Peace between *England* and *France*, and was extreamly diſſatisfy'd that he had waſted ſo much Time in an unſucceſsful Mediation; he deteſted the Inſincerity and mean Shifts of the *French*, and highly applauded the Plain-Dealing of the *Engliſh*. There had been ſo free and open a Correſpondence between him and the King of *England*, that one did not keep any Thing ſecret from the other; and the like mutual Affection and Confidence was ſcarce ever known between two Princes. After the moſt amicable Parting, the Emperor ſet Sail for *Dort*, to which Place he was attended by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Sir *John Tiptoft*, and many other *Engliſh* Knights and Gentlemen, to whom he preſented a thouſand Crowns in Gold; and likewiſe ſent many rare and valuable Preſents to King *Henry*, as Pledges of his Love and Gratitude. From *Dort* his Imperial Majeſty purſuing his Journey, at length repair'd to the famous Council of *Conſtance*, which had now continu'd near three Years, and of which we ought to ſay ſomething, becauſe the *Engliſh* had ſo great a Concern in it.

The Council of Conſtance. The Churches throughout Chriſtendom had been diſturb'd for the Space of twenty nine Years, and now inſufferably afflicted thro' the Schiſmatical Ambitions maintain'd by three Papal Monarchs, mounted into St. *Peter*'s Chair, each of them ſo violently graſping the Seat, that the Joints of it were torn aſunder, and the Triple Crown ſo batter'd by their fulminant Execrations, that it was render'd unfit for any of their Heads. The three Contenders were *Benedict* XIII. elected by the *Spaniards*; *Gregory* XII. ſet up by the *French*, and *John* XXIV. preferr'd by the *Italians*. To prevent the Miſchiefs ariſing from this furious Struggle, the Princes of Chriſtendom appointed a general Council to be held at *Conſtance* in *Germany*, which began in *February* 1414, and continu'd above the Space of three Years; to which were aſſembled the Emperor, the Pope, the Palſgrave of the *Rhine*, four Patriarchs, twenty ſeven Cardinals, forty ſeven Arch-Biſhops, a hundred and ſixty Biſhops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen, with their Attendants, above thirty thouſand. To this Council King *Henry* ſent the Biſhops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Norwich*, *Hereford* and St. *David*'s, with the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*

and

and Prior of *Worceſter*, accompany'd alſo with the Earl of *Warwick*, to make the nobler Appearance; themſelves and Attendants amounting to eight hundred Horſe: So that it was doubtful whether their honourable Preſence more grac'd the Aſſembly, or their Learning and Judgment improv'd the whole Body of the Council. For two of theſe Biſhops were made Cardinals, and of the thirty ſelected to aſſiſt the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, the Biſhops of *London*, *Litchfield*, *Bath* and *Wells* were choſen, and the Biſhop of *London* was firſt nominated for Pope; but he himſelf nominated the Man that ſucceeded, which was *Otho Colonna* by the Name of *Martin* V. whoſe Coronation was with mighty Magnificence ſolemniz'd by the five Nations aſſembled, with this Honour given to the *Engliſh*, That the Prior of St. *John*'s was the Supporter of the Triple Crown. Touching the Decrees of this Council, it is ſufficient to obſerve that *Wickliff*'s Books were condemn'd as Heretical, that *John Hus* and *Hierom* of *Prague*, were both burnt, the Holy Maid *Bridget* canoniz'd for a Saint, and that *England* was made a Nation in Rank before *Spain*.

The Appearance of the Engliſh *there.*

Walſing. &c. Before this Council was diſſolv'd, King *Henry* had call'd a Parliament in *London*, in Order to proſecute his Title to the *French* Crown, where the Lord Chancellor, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinal, in the King's Behalf made an eloquent Oration declaring the earneſt Deſire his Maſter had to make a Peace with the *French*, which their King continually oppos'd, and againſt the Law of Arms deny'd upon Ranſom to deliver the Priſoners taken at *Agincourt*, ſo that the Peace to be expected muſt be purchas'd by the Sword alone. To which the whole Body conſented, and granted the King a Subſidy and a Tenth, which was graciouſly accepted; but it was too ſhort for the mighty Charge of the deſign'd Expedition, therefore the King was oblig'd to pawn his Crown to his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for a large Sum of Mony, as he did certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London* for ten thouſand Marks. Yet in this Parliament, after he had created the valiant Earl of *Dorſet*, Duke of *Exeter*, he order'd him a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* out of the Exchequer, and forty Pounds out of the Cuſtoms at *Exeter*; which liberal Example was ſo well approv'd by the Lords, that they rather thought it too little, and not proportionable to the Merits and Services of that noble Perſon.

A Parliament in England.

Walſing. Livius. &c. IV. The Emperor's Mediation between *England* and *France* being fruſtrated by the Eluſions of the *French*, King *Henry* diſdain'd to relinquiſh his Right ſo often demanded, therefore reaſſuming his Claim, he began this Year with great Preparations for War. And having got all Things in a Readineſs, with a puiſſant Army, he reſolv'd upon a ſecond Expedition into *France*, taking Advantage of the two preſent Factions in that Kingdom, that of *Burgundy*, and that of *Orleans*; in which the King of *France* join'd with the former, and the *Dauphine* with the latter. King *Henry*'s Fleet conſiſted of fifteen hundred Sail, having on Board many Lords and Men at Arms, with twenty five thouſand five hundred and twenty ſeven Soldiers, beſides a thouſand Carpenters, Artificers and Labourers. But before his Departure, he appointed his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* to be Protector of *England*, during his Abſence; which done, upon the twenty eighth Day of *July* he took ſhipping, the Sails of his own Veſſel being of Purple Silk moſt richly embroider'd with Gold. On the firſt of *Auguſt* he landed in *Normandy* with ſuch Terror to the Inhabitants, that they fled from the Shores, and left the Country without Men or Cattle; inſomuch that twenty five thouſand of them retir'd to *Bretaign*, ſo formidable was the Approach of the *Engliſh*. No ſooner had King *Henry* ſet his Foot on Land, but he honour'd forty eight of his brave Followers with Knighthood; and then gave ſtrict Orders, upon Pain of Death, that the Perſons of Eccleſiaſticks, and of Women ſhould be inviolable, and likewiſe all others that ſubmitted themſelves to his Government.

A. D. 1417. Reg. 4/5.

King Henry's *ſecond Expedition into* France.

He lands in Normandy.

King

King *Henry* began with taking of a View of *Harfleur*, after which he laid Siege to *Conqueſt*, one of the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in *Normandy*, which he took on the Sixteenth of *Auguſt*, and gave both it and the whole Demeſns belonging to it to his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*: And to the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Commander of his ſecond Line he gave the Caſtle of *Damvilliers*, which at the ſame Time he won by his Arms; as alſo that of *Lovers* to the Earl-Marſhal; and theſe were the firſt that were inveſted with any Revenue in *France*. Next he march'd againſt *Caen*, one of the Capital Cities of the Province, which Place was ſtrongly fortify'd, well mann'd and victuall'd, ſo that nothing was wanting for a vigorous Defence. Yet the King ſat down before it, and his Batteries not working the deſign'd Effects, he attempted it by Mines, and ruin'd a great Part of the Wall; yet ſtill the Beſieg'd made a manful Defence, and bravely drove the *Engliſh* back from the Breach. Nevertheleſs *Henry*, ſeeing that they could not long ſubſiſt, unwilling to carry it by Storm, which muſt be to the Deſtruction of the Inhabitants, whom he ſought to make his loving Subjects, ſummon'd them by a Herald, and promis'd them Mercy; which they in hopes of Relief utterly deſpis'd. Upon which he proceeded to a Storm, which was ſucceeded by a great Slaughter, 'till the King ſtaid the Soldiers Fury, and caus'd the Citizens to diſarm themſelves, ſetting a ſtrong Guard, as well to keep his Men from pillaging, as the Inhabitants from Hoſtile Attempts: And they that diſobey'd, were either put to Death or Ranſom, which was freely diſtributed among his Captains and Soldiers; by which regular Action King *Henry* here gain'd the Eſtimation of a great Commander, and an upright Prince. The Report of his Clemency and Generoſity to thoſe he had conquer'd, ſpreading through the Country, the Governors of the neighbouring Towns ſent to him the Keys of their Gates. The King, to invite and incourage the People, made Proclamation, that they who voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves ſhould enjoy all Safety and Privileges under the Protection of his Government. King *Henry* proceeding in his Conqueſts, upon the firſt of *December* ſat down before the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Falaiſe*, and tho' it was the Depth of Winter, with invincible Patience he continu'd the Siege 'till the twentieth of *December*, when the Garriſon of the Town, being no longer able to hold out, deſir'd a Parly, and ſurrender'd upon Articles, too many to relate in this Place.

Walſing. Holling. Caxton.

He takes ſeveral Places.

Caen taken by Storm.

Falaiſe ſurrenders.

While this valiant Prince had by a ſwift Conqueſt in four Months recover'd a great Part of thoſe Dominions which anciently belong'd to the *Engliſh* Kings in *France*, the *Scots* thinking his own Kingdom unprovided, and hoping to make Advantage of a diſcontented Party in the Nation, invaded *England* with a great Army, and waſted the Country with Fire and Sword. Theſe ſtill pretending that King *Richard* was alive, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Douglaſs*, brought along with them a counterfeit King, and laid Siege both to *Roxborough* and *Berwick*, where all imaginable Methods were us'd for the taking of thoſe two Places. But before they could ſucceed in their extraordinary Attempts, the Protector *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and the new Duke of *Exeter*, had made ſufficient Proviſion againſt them, and with an Army march'd into the North, where joining with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, their Forces amounted to a hundred thouſand Men, a great Part of them well form'd and regular: So that the Duke of *Exeter* ſaid he could draw out of them forty thouſand equal in Courage and Military Skill to any the King had. A remarkable Inſtance of the Strength of the Nation, which beſides the Forces employ'd in *France*, could on a ſudden raiſe ſuch an Army. To theſe join'd *Henry Benet* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who was ſo decrepid with Age, that he was born in his Chair about the Field; and the Fame of his Arrival, and the Dread of the great *Engliſh* Generals ſo diſcourag'd the *Scots*, that they broke up their Sieges in great Diſorder, and left all their Tents, Ladders and Engines. This was ſucceeded for a conſiderable Time after with great Devaſtations made by the *Engliſh* in many Parts of *Scotland*. The

Walſing. Hardyn. &c.

The Scots *invade* England.

A vaſt Army provided againſt them.

They retire.

Walſing. Bale. The King's Affairs thus eſtabliſh'd in the North, the Clergy were much eas'd by the Securing of the Lord *Cobham*, their great Diſturber in the South; who had lately made new Steps towards the Expoſing of their Errors, and oppoſing their exorbitant Power. But one main Complaint againſt him was, That he had defac'd the Pictures of the Saints in many Maſs Books; ſome of which were ſhown to the People at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, where the Preacher inſinuated that the Offence was done to the Triumphant Saints in Heaven. A Parliament being then aſſembled by the Protector's Authority, for a Supply of Mony againſt *France*, it was there thought a Matter of that Importance, that a great Reward was offer'd for any that could take him. Not long after the Lord *Poweſs* took him in *Wales*, after a noble Reſiſtance and many Wounds; and brought him to *Weſtminſter*, where he appear'd before the Parliament. Having been before out-law'd upon Treaſon in the *King's Bench*, and excommunicated by the Arch-Biſhop for Hereſie, it was adjudg'd upon the Record and Proceſs, that he ſhould be carry'd to the Tower, and thence drawn thro' the City to the new Gallows in St. *Giles*'s Fields, and there to be hang'd about the Middle, and burnt hanging in a Chain. All which was perform'd with the higheſt Execrations of the Prieſts, who adjur'd the People not to pray for a Man who was certainly going to Hell, becauſe he dy'd in obſtinate Rebellion againſt the Pope. Thus dy'd the great Lord *Cobham*; and as this was the firſt Noble Blood that was ſhed in *England* on the Account of Religion by Popiſh Malignity, ſo perhaps never any ſuffer'd a more cruel Martyrdom.

New Proceedings againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle.

He is burnt alive.

Walſing. Hall. Harding. Stow. In the mean Time the unhappy Kingdom of *France* was more and more fill'd with the Noiſe and Miſeries of War, which King *Henry* proſecuted with ſuch unweary'd Vigour, that he beſieg'd and took Towns in the Depth of Winter, nor could all the Rigours of the Seaſon ſtop the Progreſs of his Conqueſts. To make the ſwifter Advances in ſubduing *Normandy* by beſieging many Towns and Caſtles at the ſame Time, he divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies. The valiant Duke of *Clarence* at the Head of one of them beſieg'd *Chambroiſe*, and the Caſtle of *Beche-Lovyn*; the Surrender of the firſt being concluded on *March* the ninth, and that of the latter on the fourth of *May* following. The Duke of *Gloceſter* led another Body of the Army into the County of *Conſtantine*, a large Neck of Land reaching into the Sea, over againſt *Portland* on the *Engliſh* Shore. The Town and Caſtle of *Vire* were agreed to be ſurrender'd *February* the twenty firſt; and the like Agreement was made about St. *Lo*, *March* the twelfth. On the ſixteenth of the ſame Month the Town and Caſtle of *Carenton* capituled; on the ſeventeenth *Pontdown* was deliver'd to him, and eight Days after St. *Saviour le Viconte*. The ſtrong Town of *Cherburgh*, which ſtood in the Sea, made a longer Defence than any of the reſt, but at length was forc'd to capitulate in the latter End of *Auguſt*. While theſe and ſeveral other Places were taken by the *Engliſh*, King *Henry*, after ſome new Offers of Accommodation, reſolv'd to beſiege *Roan*, the great and capital City of *Normandy*; a City ſtrongly fortify'd with extraordinary Walls, Towers, and a vaſt Ditch, and containing a very numerous Garriſon. The Citizens alſo preſuming upon the Strength of the Garriſon, and in their own Numbers, which were near three hundred thouſand, reſolv'd to defend the Place with the greateſt Vigour, and to endure all Extremities, rather than ſurrender, ſince to that one Place the Inhabitants of *Normandy* had brought all their Treaſure, accounting it their laſt Refuge and Retreat, and by a prudent Foreſight had been diligent to fortifie it in the Beginning of the War.

A. D. 1418. Reg. 5. 6.

Great Conqueſts in Normandy.

The Strength and Greatneſs of Roan.

The King, after he had taken *Pont de l'Arche*, eight Miles diſtant from *Roan*, and accounted the Key of the River *Sein*, laid cloſe Siege to this important Place: But underſtanding the obſtinate Reſolution of the Beſieged, he would not laviſh the Lives of his Soldiers in continual Attacks, but determin'd to cut off all Proviſions and Relief, and reduce it by Famine. To this End his Army ſurrounded it by Land, and a Squadron of good Ships which he had from the King

Roan beſieg'd by King Henry.

King of *Portugal*, block'd up the Mouth of the *Sein*. Then to ſecure his Camp from all Aſſaults, he encompaſs'd it with a large Intrenchment pitch'd with ſharp Stakes, and defended by a high Rampart, Bulwarks and Turnpikes. Sir *Robert Bapthorp* was appointed to overſee this Work, which he perform'd with great Skill and Diligence, as he had before the Trenches between the Camp and the Town. The King himſelf lodg'd on the Eaſt of the City, the Duke of *Clarence* on the Weſt, and the Duke of *Exeter* on the North; between whom was quarter'd the Marſhal, join'd with the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lords *Harington* and *Talbot*. Before the Port of St. *Hillary*, the Lords *Roſs*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh* and Sir *William Porter* encamp'd their Forces. The Earls of *Mortaign* and *Salisbury* lodg'd near the Abby of St. *Catharines*; Sir *John Gray* about the Chappel Mount St. *Michael*'s, and Sir *Philip Leech* upon a Hill adjoining. The River *Sein* was block'd up with three Iron Chains, one of them laid two Foot above the Water, another level to it, and the third two Foot below it, to hinder all Relief into the City by Boats; the Charge of which was committed to *Thomas* Baron of *Carew*, who very exactly perform'd it. On the other Side the River were encamp'd the Earls of *Warren* and *Huntington*, the Lords *Nevill* and *Ferrers*, and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*, directly before the great *Port de Pont*; and for a general Communication of one Part of the Army with the other, a Bridge was made over the River *Sein*, ſufficient for Carriages as Occaſion ſhould require.

During this memorable Siege, many martial Exploits happen'd, but no general Aſſaults; and thus it continu'd from the Beginning of *July* 'till *December*, when the Beſieged began to be in great Diſtreſs for want of Proviſions; and to diſburthen themſelves, they thruſt out twenty thouſand Men, Women and Children who were unſerviceable for the Defence of the City, and expos'd them to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. When King *Henry* ſaw this miſerable Multitude ſhut out of the Gates, tho' he reſolv'd to force them back to increaſe the Miſery of Famine, yet being unwilling to attack a Company of Wretches unarm'd and helpleſs, he gave Orders to power upon them a Shower of Arrows, ſhot from Bows ſlightly drawn, to affright rather than wound them. Fear drove the poor ſtarv'd Creatures to ſhelter themſelves in the Ditches of the Town; and while they remain'd there three Days in great Miſery, many of the Women were deliver'd: At laſt, the Cries and Groans of ſo many thouſands prevail'd upon the King's Compaſſion to ſend 'em Food, 'till the Pity of the Garriſon was mov'd to receive many of them again within the Walls. The Famine and Mortality ſoon grew to that Height, that fifty thouſand of both Sexes periſh'd; and in one Burying Place above two and thirty thouſand were thrown into the Ground. Perſons of the better Quality eat their own Horſes, and the poorer People fed on Dogs, Cats, Rats and Mice; ſo obſtinate were they in holding out to the laſt Extremity. Little Infants hung on the Breaſts of their ſtarv'd Mothers as they lay dead in the Streets; and the Rage of Famine forc'd the diſtracted Multitude to a thouſand Violences, and they wounded and kill'd one another to take away the vileſt Nouriſhment of Life. And ſo Tyrannical was the Force of Hunger over the moſt powerful Conſiderations, that young Virgins abandon'd their Modeſty, and proſtituted themſelves for a Piece of Bread. In this deplorable Condition, Relief was often promis'd, but inſtead of Supplies the Biſhop of *Beauvois*, accompany'd with the Cardinal of *Urſius*, ſent from the Pope, were diſpatch'd to King *Henry* to beg a Peace; and the better to effect it they brought the Princeſs *Catharine*'s Picture, which gave King *Henry* great Satisfaction, inſomuch that ſome ſay he fell in Love with her at the Sight of it. But he demanding a Million of Crowns, with the Dukedoms of *Normandy*, *Gaſcony*, *Anjou*, and other Territories for her Portion, nothing material was concluded.

La Ferre. Monſtrel. &c.

The Beſieg'd ſuffer all the Miſeries of Famine.

Fifty thouſand of them periſh.

A Treaty made

but in vain.

At length, the inraged *Roannois*, helpleſs of Succour, and deſpairing of Peace, reſolv'd to make a brave Sally upon the King's Quarters; to perform which

Monſtrel. Hall. &c.

which ten thouſand ſelect Men, with their Commanders, iſſu'd out of the Town. The Vant-Guard, conſiſting of two thouſand, being paſt and engag'd with the Beſiegers, by Misfortune the Draw-bridge broke down with the over-weight of Men, and drown'd, kill'd and hurt many. This ſo ruin'd the Paſſage, that they cou'd not come to the Relief of their Companions ingag'd, but by another Gate at a conſiderable Diſtance; and before they came into their Aſſiſtance, their whole Body was broken for want of Support, and moſt of them kill'd and taken Priſoners. Upon which ſtrange Diſaſter the Soldiers within mutiny'd againſt *De Boutellier* their General, boldly complaining that he had contrived the breaking of the Bridge. In theſe Calamities, after ſeveral Remonſtrances on both Sides, King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, ſent a Meſſage to the Beſieged, *That they muſt take care of themſelves*; which ſurprizing Anſwer ſtruck a fatal Damp upon their Hearts, and rais'd the Rage of the Multitude to that Degree, that they willingly agreed to a Treaty with King *Henry:* Which being propos'd to the King, three magnificent Tents were erected at *Port* St. *Hilarie* for the Reception of the Commiſſioners, which were four Eccleſiaſticks, four Knights and four Burgers of the Town: Thoſe for the King were the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Warwick*. The Demands of the *Roannois* were many and high, but the Anſwers receiv'd were ſhort and peremptory, *That no Conditions wou'd be allow'd, but barely yielding to the King's Mercy*. Which Anſwer being return'd in a publick Aſſembly, Rage and Deſpair prompted them to all Extravagancies that cou'd proceed from Fire, Sword and the Demoliſhment of the whole City. But the generous King pitying a wretched People ſo obſtinately bent on their own Ruin, reſolv'd to ſave them in ſpite of themſelves, and to have that noble City deliver'd to him, untouch'd by Fire. Remitting therefore the Rigour of his firſt Demands, he again ſent for the Commiſſioner by the Arch-Biſhop to treat upon milder Conditions, which was at laſt concluded in twenty three Articles. Of which one was That the Inhabitants ſhou'd pay the Sum of three hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, two of which to make an *Engliſh* Noble. For which the Citizens of *Roan* ſhou'd enjoy all the Liberties and Privileges that had been granted by any of the Kings of *England*, and Dukes of *Normandy* before *Philip de Valois*. And thus *Roan* was ſubdu'd to the Crown of *England*, two hundred and fifteen Years after the Conqueſt of it by *Philip* King of *France*.

The Beſieg'd capitulate.

A. D. 1419. Reg. 6/7.

They Surrender upon hard Articles.

Monſtrel. Hall. &c. The Agreement was concluded on the nineteenth Day of *January*, when the half-famiſh'd Citizens in great Multitudes repair'd to the *Engliſh* Camp to buy Victuals, which ſo abounded with Proviſions, that a fat Sheep was ſold for Six Sols. On the following Day King *Henry* made a Triumphant Entrance into the City, accompany'd with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Biſhops, ſixteen Barons, and a great Number of Knights, Eſquires and Men at Arms. At his Entring the Gates all the Bells of the City were rung, and the Abbots and Prieſts met him in a ſolemn Proceſſion, in which were carry'd forty two Croſſes, with the Relicks of the Saints. They march'd before him to *Nôtre-dame* the great Cathedral, where at the Porch he alighted, being receiv'd with the utmoſt Solemnity by the Biſhops and Canons; then entring the Church, he offer'd up his Thankſgivings at the High Altar, and order'd his Chaplains to ſing a Pſalm of Praiſe. He lodg'd in the Caſtle that Night, and continu'd in it the next Day, receiving Homage from the Citizens. In the Morning he gave Orders that *Alain Blanchart*, an Incendiary excepted in the Articles, ſhou'd be beheaded, but pardon'd the reſt that were left to his Mercy, impoſing only a Fine upon them. Then to ſettle his new Conqueſts, he eſtabliſh'd in this City his Exchequer, Coinage, and Chamber of Accounts of the Revenues of *Normandy*, and built a Tower behind the Caſtle, as an additional Strength to keep the City in Subjection. He fortify'd the Bridge, and began to build a Palace on the *Sein*; and publiſh'd new Orders to regulate the Buſineſs of Trade, reducing the Meaſures to a certain Standard. He kept his Court at *Roan* for ſome

King Henry's *Entry into* Roan.

His Eſtabliſhments in that City.

He keeps his Court at Roan.

ſome ſpace, and wore the Ducal Robes as Duke of *Normandy*. On *February* the fifteenth he order'd Proclamation to be made, that all who wou'd come in and ſwear Allegiance to him ſhou'd be receiv'd into his Favour and Protection: And *March* the twelfth he gave Orders, that an exact Account ſhou'd be taken of the Names of all the Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, within the Bailywicks of *Roan*, *Conſtantin* and *Alenſon*.

King *Henry* had now not only the Dukedom of *Normandy* ſubjected to him, but *Picardy* and the *Iſle of France* lay open to his Arms; inſomuch that tho' the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſtrongly garriſon'd the Frontiers to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Engliſh* Troops, yet they pierc'd as far as *Ponthoiſe*, *Cleremont*, *Beauvais*, *Montdidier*, *Bretevil*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville* and St. *Valeric*; and waſting all Places, enrich'd themſelves with great Booty. This mighty Progreſs firſt brought the Duke of *Bretaign* to an Alliance with King *Henry*, who finding *France* unable to protect him, agreed to a mutual Amity, and that no Acts of Hoſtility ſhou'd be committed by either of their Subjects, without a Declaration of War ſix Months before. In the mean Time the *Dauphine*, who in Oppoſition to the Duke of *Burgundy* had taken upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government in *France*, invited the King of *England* to a Treaty; but when the Ambaſſadors ſhou'd have met to appoint the Place and Manner, the *French* not only fail'd in coming at the fix'd Time, but ſhew'd ſuch Colluſion when they came, that all prov'd ineffectual. However the Duke of *Burgundy* became ſo apprehenſive of the *Dauphine*'s growing Intereſt, that he once more deſir'd a Treaty with King *Henry*, that by the help of ſuch a potent Alley he might ſecure himſelf againſt the Deſigns which that Prince had to ruin him. It was therefore determin'd in the Council of the King of *France*, *That it was expedient for the Safety of the Nation to ſettle an Alliance with the King of* England, *by giving him in Marriage the Princeſs, with ſome Provinces of the Kingdom.* After an Embaſſy and a ſhort Truce, it was concluded that the two Kings ſhould have a ſolemn Interview at *Melun*, where the Queen and Princeſs ſhou'd be preſent. For that purpoſe a ſpacious Field was well entrench'd and ramparted with ſtrong Gates, and two ſtately Pavilions erected in it, the one for the two Kings to converſe and repoſe, and the other for their Agents to conſult in.

LeFevre. Monſtrel. Holling.

The Duke of Burgundy *endeavours for a Treaty with King* Henry.

The Treaty of Melun.

King *Charles*, Queen *Iſabel*, the Princeſs *Catharine*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count St. *Paul*, firſt arriv'd, with a Train and Guard of a thouſand Horſe. On the other ſide King *Henry* with his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloceſter*, attended with a thouſand Horſe, obſerv'd the appointed Time and Place: And now the illuſtrious Company met with the utmoſt Pomp and Ceremony; King *Henry* ſaluted the Queen and Princeſs, and receiv'd *Burgundy* into his Arms; and the two Nations tho' mortal Enemies, demean'd themſelves with ſo much Civility, that no cauſe of Quarrel was offer'd on either ſide. Many Points were debated, and many Offers were made to King *Henry*, particularly, That all the Territories and Towns contain'd in the Treaty of Peace made at *Bretaign* with *Edward* III. and the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, and all other Places now in his Poſſeſſion, ſhou'd be confirm'd to him and his Heirs. Many Days were ſpent without coming to a Concluſion, and many Conferences were held, from which the Princeſs had abſented her ſelf. The Queen had brought her to the firſt Interview, in hopes that the Charms of her Beauty, which were very extraordinary, might prevail more on a young Conqueror than all the ſubtle Arts of Stateſmen in a Treaty. Nor was ſhe wholly miſtaken; for his Heart, tho' arm'd with fierce Bravery and undaunted Courage, was not impenetrable to the ſofter Paſſions; and that Soul which never knew Fear, at the firſt Sight of ſo engaging a Lady was ſenſible of Love. The diſcerning Queen ſoon obſerv'd that her Daughter's Eyes were more powerful than all the Arms of *France*, and reſolv'd to make all poſſible Advantage of this violent Affection; flattering her ſelf that the King wou'd comply

Monſtrel. Mezer. &c.

comply to any Conditions, provided his Marriage with the Princeſs were one of them. She thought therefore to practiſe upon him the uſual Arts of her Sex, and to inflame his Paſſion by the Abſence of his Miſtreſs; but her Deſign had a different Succeſs than ſhe expected, for he ſoon obſerving the Artifice, the Senſe of the Affront made him inflexible to any Condeſcenſion, ſo that he inſiſted more firmly on his firſt Propoſitions. And knowing that the chief Affairs of *France* were committed to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Thought that it was he who obſtructed the Concluſion of the Peace and Marriage, fir'd him with the greateſt Indignation againſt him. When therefore the Duke remonſtrated the Exceſs of his Demands, the King in a great Paſſion ſaid, *I'll not only have your Princeſs, but your King himſelf in my Power; and I will have what I demanded in Marriage with her, or force him from his Throne, and you out of his Kingdom.* To whom the Duke more calmly reply'd, *Before you can dethrone my King, and expel me the Kingdom, you may find cauſe to repent the Enterprize; and I doubt not, but we ſhall make you weary of the War.*

King Henry *incens'd.*

Holling. MS. This Convention at *Melun* ended *June* the thirtieth, at which Time it was agreed to meet again on the third of *July* following; and King *Henry* came, but the *French* diſappointed him. And in reality it was manifeſt by all their Proceedings, that they never deſign'd to conclude a Peace, but only aim'd to amuſe the *Engliſh* with vain Offers and Promiſes. They had promis'd that King *Henry* ſhou'd poſſeſs all his Conqueſts, and hold them without Dependance; and that all ſhou'd be confirm'd to him, which had been granted in the grand Treaty between *Edward* III. of *England*, and *John* King of *France*: But when the Articles came to be drawn into Form, and ingroſs'd, the *French* perplex'd all Things by ſtarting new Difficulties and Queſtions. The Duke of *Burgundy*, whoſe Heart was truly *French*, all the Time of the Convention had frequent Meetings with the *Dauphine* near *Paris*, and it was now ſtrenuouſly endeavour'd to reconcile the grand Parties of *Burgundy* and *Armagnac*; and accordingly Proclamation was made at *Paris*, that none ſhou'd raiſe any Conteſt on the account of ſuch Names of Diſtinction. King *Henry* therefore, perceiving the Artifices of the *French*, reſolv'd to break off the Treaty; and according to the firſt Agreement, he gave publick Notice of its Diſſolution; complaining of the unfair Proceedings of his Enemies, who had continually deceiv'd him; and only deſign'd under Colour of a Treaty to work Delays and hinder his Conqueſts. Shortly after he underſtood that the *Dauphine* and the Duke were reconcil'd, and enter'd into a firm Alliance, which much rais'd the Indignation of the Hero; and tho' in Apperance all the Forces of *France* were united againſt him, this was ſo far from diſcouraging him, that it rous'd his martial Ardor to oppoſe the growing Danger. And having taken care to regulate and reform the Corruption of Manner and Diſcipline in the Churches of *England* and *Normandy*, he reſolv'd to proceed with the utmoſt Vigour and Vigilance.

The Treaty breaks up.

The Duke of Burgundy *proves falſe to* King Henry.

Monſtrel. De Urſins. Holling. *Ponthois* was the next fortify'd Town which lay in the Courſe of King *Henry*'s Conqueſts, the Poſſeſſion of which wou'd open his Way to *Paris*. To attempt which on the laſt Day of *July* he ſent three Thouſand Foot, which before Day Light, and undiſcover'd by the Centinels, ſet their ſcaling Ladders to the Walls, mounted up, and crying out St. *George*! ſome enter'd the Town, to the great Amazement of *Monſier de L'Iſle Adam*, Marſhal of *France* and Governor of the Place, who immediately fled out at another Gate next *Paris*, and was immediately follow'd by above ten thouſand of the Inhabitants. So that the *Engliſh* eaſily became Maſters of the Town, which was ſo conſiderable for its Riches, and ſuch an advantagious Poſt, that the King in a Letter ſaid, *he accounted it the moſt important Place he had taken ſince the War.* Yet his great Soul was ſo little elevated by this Succeſs, that he ſent this Meſſage to the King of *France*, *That tho' he had taken ſo conſiderable a Place, which open'd a Way to the Conqueſt of his Capital City, yet he now offer'd him Peace upon the ſame Terms he had propos'd at the Treaty of* Melun. All *Paris*

King Henry *makes new Conqueſts.*

was in a great Conſternation upon the Loſs of this Place, and the Terror was ſo general thro' all the adjacent Country, call'd the Iſle of *France*, that the Villages were univerſally deſerted. The King of *France* with his Queen and Daughter, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and many Noblemen, retired to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, leaving *Paris* under the Government of the Count St. *Paul* and *De Lactre* Chancellor of *France*, while the Duke of *Clarence* march'd to the Walls of that vaſt City, and lay before it two Days, his Troops ravaging all the adjacent Country. After which the Caſtle of *Giſors*, which held out three Weeks, was taken by Compoſition; the Earl of *Huntington* ſack'd *Preaux*, burnt *Bretveil*, *Clermont* and the Caſtle of *Vendveil*; and King *Henry* himſelf beſieg'd the Caſtles of *Galliart* and *Rochguien*, two of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Normandy*, which ſurrender'd upon Articles. Then returning to *Mante*, the King divided his Army into three Bodies, with one of which he order'd the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had taken *Ivry*, to ſtorm the Caſtle of St. *Germain en Lay*, which was ſoon ſurrender'd to him; the other he ſent to attack the Caſtle of *Montjoy*, which the *Engliſh* by fierce Aſſaults forc'd to yield. At the Head of the Third, the King himſelf march'd to beſiege *Meaulan*, in the Iſle of *France*, ſituated on the *Sein*, not far diſtant from *Paris*, a Place naturally ſtrong, and ſurrounded by that great River. Yet by the new invented floating Towers, the Reſolutions of King *Henry*, and the invincible Patience of his Soldiers, the Town capitulated *November* the thirtieth. In the mean Time the Earls *Marſhal* and *Huntington*, Sir *John Green*, *Cornwall*, and Sir *Phillip Leach* were order'd into the Country of *Main*, where they bravely encounter'd a ſtrong Body of *French* ſent by the *Dauphine*, and defeated them with the Slaughter of five thouſand upon the Spot, and the Captivity of ſix hundred Priſoners, with the Marſhal *de Rous*, other Noblemen, and many Standards.

The French *King flies from* Paris.

Further Advantages gain'd by the Engliſh.

Thus the Glory of the *Engliſh* Arms, and the Miſeries of the Kingdom of *France* daily encreas'd, which now had her Bowels torn in Pieces by Foreign Power and Domeſtick Factions. For tho' the latter ſeem'd to have been allay'd, yet ſtill there was a ſecret and irreconcilable Hatred between the *Dauphine* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the former was ſo much prevail'd upon by the Councils of thoſe about him, that he believ'd the Miſeries of *France* cou'd not be ended but by the Duke's Death. In order to effect this treacherous Deſign, the *Dauphine* being at *Montereau* a Town in *Brie*, ſent for the Duke from *Troyes* under Pretence of concerting Meaſures with him about their further Alliance, and employing their united Powers againſt the common Enemy the *Engliſh*. The Duke at firſt made ſeveral Excuſes, having innumerable Suſpicions revolving in his Mind; but hurry'd on by his own Fate and former Guilt, he repair'd to *Montereau* with ſome Noblemen, five hundred Horſe, and two hundred Archers; at the Entrance of which Place the *Dauphine* had fix'd three ſeveral Barricadoes, and himſelf ſtood in Arms beyond the third to receive the Duke, with only ten Followers. The Duke approaching his Preſence, kneel'd down upon one Knee, and ſaluted him with all the Reſpect due to his Quality; but the other neglecting all Ceremonies, immediately charg'd him with Breach of Fidelity, and Nonperformance of many Promiſes, and after a few Words proceeded ſo far as to call him Traitor, and to give him the Lie. The Duke putting his Hand behind him to adjuſt his Sword that had been alter'd by his kneeling, *Robert de Loire* deſignedly cry'd out *What are you drawing upon your Prince?* At which, an old Servant of the murder'd Duke of *Orleans*, ſtruck him on the Face with a Battel-Ax, and cut off his Chin; and others with many Wounds put an end to his Life, before he cou'd draw his Sword in his own Defence. Thus fell the great Duke of *Burgundy*, who as he had twelve Years before caus'd the Duke of *Orleans* to be aſſaſſinated in the Streets of *Paris*, ſo by the Requital of the Divine Juſtice, his own Life was abandon'd to vile Treachery. And it is highly remarkable, that as he was exorbitant in his Luſts, both as to Ambition and Women, ſo one of his Miſtreſſes,

Æmilius Monſtrel.

The Dauphine *Murders the Duke of* Burgundy.

Madam

Madam *Giac*, was the principal Perſon that betray'd him to his Ruin. However this manifeſt Murder was juſtly reſented by a great Part of the Kingdom of *France*; but ſo far by Queen *Iſabel*, Mother to the *Dauphine*, that ſhe did not only excite *Philip*, now the new Duke of *Burgundy*, to revenge his Father's Death, but alſo tormented her weak Husband's Spirits in urging him to diſinherit the *Dauphine*, and give his Daughter *Catharine* in Marriage to King *Henry*, now in the Bowels of *France*. *Revenge threaten'd.*

Mezeray. Monſtrel. &c. As theſe expreſs'd ſuch paſſionate Reſentments of the Duke's Death, ſo his Son *Philip* with as much Heat and more Efficacy purſu'd the Vengeance of his Father's Blood, and ſwore *He would never lay down his Arms, nor make Peace nor Truce, 'till he had extirpated all his Murderers.* In order to effect his Purpoſe, he ſent the Biſhop of *Arras* with other Ambaſſadors to King *Henry* at *Roan* to mediate a Peace; and again ſent the ſame Biſhop with ſuch Propoſals to the King; that he thought fit to ſend the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Gaſcony* to *Arras*, who were very acceptable to the young Duke: So that between *Roan* and *Arras* Emiſſaries continually paſs'd 'till a Truce was concluded; which, notwithſtanding all the Offers and Obſtructions of the *Dauphine*, was proclaim'd to continue from about the Feaſt of *Epiphany* 'till Mid-*March* enſuing between King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. Affairs thus far ſucceeding with King *Henry*, King *Henry* wrote to the new Pope, ſolliciting his Holineſs's Conſent to admit him his moſt Chriſtian Son of *France*, and to give his Benediction, for the Confirmation of the Marriage and Amity, deſign'd between theſe two famous Princes. King *Henry*'s Right to the Crown of *France* was alledg'd, and the Miſeries of that Kingdom diſplay'd; but the *Dauphine*'s Intereſt was ſo great with the Pope, that he refus'd to confirm any thing to the Prejudice of his Title. *A Treaty propos'd to King* Henry.

However the Negotiation ſtill went forwards, and the Place agreed on for Confirmation of Articles was *Troyes* in *Champaign*, where King *Charles* and his Queen then reſided; and to which Place the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Kyme*, and the Lord *Roſs* and others, attended with five hundred Horſe, were ſent Ambaſſadors from King *Henry*. Theſe arriving at *Troyes*, were honourably receiv'd, and amicably reſolv'd on a final Peace; and there the Princeſs *Catharine* was attended as the *Engliſh* Queen, and particular Perſons left to guard her by King *Henry*'s Command. His Ambaſſadors being return'd, and his Affections inflam'd, he himſelf attended by his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Huntington* and *Salisbury*, and many of the Nobility, with a Guard of ſixteen hundred Men, departed from *Roan* to *Ponthois*, to St. *Denis*, and ſo into *Champaign*, where he was met near *Troyes* by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and many other *French* Noblemen; and with the moſt magnificent Attendance conducted into the Town. A. D. 1420. Reg. 7/8.

King *Henry* immediately after his Arrival, made a Viſit to the *French* King, the Queen, and the Princeſs *Catharine*; to the latter of whom he made his Addreſſes, and preſented her with a Ring of ineſtimable Value. There were afterwards many Aſſemblies of the King's Council fully to conclude the Peace and the Alliance; and King *Henry* having alter'd what he miſs-lik'd in the Treaty, which before had been drawn up in Writing, it was at laſt intirely compleated on the twenty firſt Day of *May*, 1420. The Articles of this Treaty were large and numerous, and very much to the Advantage and Honour of King *Henry*. By theſe it was agreed, 'That the ſaid King *Henry* ſhould marry the 'Princeſs *Catharine*, and allow her the uſual Dowry of the Queens of *En-* 'gland, forty thouſand Crowns *per Annum*: That after the Death of King 'Charles, who was to hold his preſent Poſſeſſions during Life, the Crown of 'France, with all the Rights and Dominions appertaining to it, ſhould devolve 'upon King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever. But becauſe King *Charles* was in- 'diſpos'd and uncapable to reign, the whole Power and Exerciſe of the Go- 'vern- *The Treaty concluded with a Peace.* *The Subſtance of it.*

'vernment of *France* ſhould immediately be transfer'd to King *Henry* as Re-
'gent of that Kingdom, to govern in Conjunction with the Council of the
'Eſtates of the Realm, according to the known Laws and Uſages of it. To
'make which the more eaſie to King *Henry*, all the Nobility both Spiritual and
'Temporal, and all Corporations and Communities ſhould be oblig'd to take
'particular Oaths of Fidelity to King *Henry*, both as to his preſent Admini-
'ſtration, and future Inheritance. Then to preſerve an intire Peace and Con-
'cord between *England* and *France*, whenever King *Henry*, or any of his Heirs
'ſhould come to wear the Crown of *France*, the two Kingdoms ſhould ever be
'united under one King, *viz.* under King *Henry* during his Life, and after
'under his Heirs in a continu'd Succeſſion, and not at the ſame Time be govern'd
'by two Kings; and yet the Rights, Liberties and Laws of each Kingdom ſhould
'be kept diſtinct and inviolable, without ſubjecting one to the other: The bet-
'ter to eſtabliſh which, all Hatred, Animoſities, Diviſions and Wars, ſhould
'ceaſe between the two Nations, and the People be mutually united in Affecti-
'ons, Counſels, and Defence againſt all Enemies. But becauſe the *Dauphine*
The Dauphine excluded. 'and his Adherents ſtill oppos'd the common Peace of both Kingdoms, King
'*Henry* ſhould make uſe of all the Power of his Arms to reduce all Territories,
'Cities, Towns, Caſtles and Perſons joining with him; and never enter into
'any Treaty of Peace with him, without the Conſent of King *Charles*, the
'Duke of *Burgundy*, and the three Eſtates of *England* and *France*.

Theſe, and ſeveral other ſubſervient Articles being confirm'd, the Princeſs *Catharine*, who had alſo the Title of Dutcheſs of *Bar*, was affianc'd to King *Henry* in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Troyes*. The King came attended with forty *Engliſh* Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* with her Train of Ladies; and the Queen of *France* and the Princeſs were attended by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forty of his Council. King *Henry* and the Queen of *France* met in the middle of the Church, and went together up to the high Altar, where the Articles of Peace being openly read, were ſeal'd with the two Seals of both the Kings, and a ſolemn Oath taken to obſerve them; and the King and Princeſs joining their Hands, were contracted. Then the Duke of *Burgundy* took an Oath to obey King *Henry* as Regent of *France* during the preſent King's Life; and that after his Deceaſe he would become his Liege Subject. On the other Side King *Henry* promis'd, that he would deliver to the Duke all the Murderers of his Father who ſhould fall into his Power. In concluſion of all, the Peace was proclaim'd firſt in the *French* Tongue, and then in the *Engliſh*; and the Articles of it publiſh'd at *Paris*, and all the principal Citys of *France*. King *Henry* alſo in a Letter to his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, gave him an Account of the Concluſion of this great Treaty, ordering him to proclaim the Peace throughout *England*, and inſtructing him about altering his Title in his Seals and Proclamations during the *French* King's Life, which was now to run thus: Henry *by the Grace of God King of* England, *Heir and Regent of the Realm of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland. On the thirtieth of *May*, the Nuptials were Solemniz'd between King *Henry* and the Princeſs *Catharine*, with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, and grac'd with the Preſence of the Duke of *Burgundy* the Prince of *Orange*, the Count *de Luxemburgh*, and the principal Nobility of *Burgundy* and *France*.

Walſing. Monſtrel. De Urſis.

King Henry made Regent of France.

He Marries Catharine Daughter to the French King.

King *Henry* being now proclaim'd Regent of *France*, all the Nobility that were at *Troyes*, readily ſwore Fidelity to him: For the Fame of his Heroic Actions in War, when his Perſon was unknown to them, had acquir'd him an univerſal Eſteem, and they knew not which moſt to admire, his Courage, Conduct or Succeſs; but now his noble Preſence, happily join'd with Majeſty and Affability, procur'd a greater Veneration. They knew him to be prudent in Counſels, experienc'd in War, undaunted in Danger, and proſperous in all Attempts; and therefore perſuaded themſelves that their Country would be happy under the Influences of his Government. Their good Opinion of him

Pol. Virg. Hall.

The French Nobility ſwear Fidelity to him.

was

was confirm'd, when they heard him in a full Aſſembly thus expreſs the Moderation and Temper of his Soul. *My noble Lords, I do aſſure you, it is and ſhall be my perpetual Concern, how by all my Councils and Actions I may make both theſe Nations, now by the Favour of Heav'n ſo fortunately united, a great and flouriſhing Kingdom; and as it is at preſent the moſt glorious in* Europe, *ſo all Animoſities and Factions extinguiſh'd, it may continue happy as well as great to all future Succeſſions. To accompliſh this noble Deſign, it is neceſſary that we all endeavour to ſuppreſs the Flames of thoſe Civil Diſſentions, which are alone kept alive by that Perſon whom you have juſtly depriv'd of the Honour of being* Dauphine *of* France. *That our Country therefore may flouriſh in Peace and undiſturb'd Greatneſs, we muſt uſe our utmoſt Power to reduce him to that Obedience he owes to his Father and his Soveraign, and to oblige him to ſubmit to that Government which has been eſtabliſh'd by an Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom; which if not effected,* France *will not only be expos'd to preſent Calamities, but the Fears of greater, from the Government of one who has already ſhown ſuch Marks of Tyranny.* After which he proceeded to declare his high Eſteem for the *French* Nation, and urg'd them all to an Union of Hearts and Affections, as well as Nations, with ſuch an obliging Gracefulneſs and Greatneſs, that they all departed with the utmoſt Reliance and Satisfaction.

His Speech to them.

Pol. Virg. &c.

V. The mighty King *Henry* had now in a great meaſure arriv'd at the Top of his Aims and Deſigns, obtaining not only an admirable Queen, but alſo the Soveraignty over a new Kingdom; yet ſtill the *Dauphine* and his Followers vigorouſly oppos'd him, and reſolv'd never to deſiſt 'till they had brought him to their own Terms. Their firſt Counſel was how to preſerve themſelves in ſo imminent a Danger; they were ſenſible that to ſit ſtill would but increaſe the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, and to riſe without ſufficient Strength would plunge themſelves into further Misfortunes. In this Diſtraction that Voice was beſt heard that ſpoke moſt for the Safety of the *Dauphine*, whoſe Breath alone gave Life to the after-Hopes of *France*, and for the fortifying thoſe Places which might be of moſt Offence to the Enemy. This then was agreed in a Council of War, That the *Dauphine* ſhould at no Time hazard his Perſon in the Field, and that Levies of Soldiers ſhould be made, to be garriſon'd in convenient Places, and leave the reſt to Time and Opportunity; in which Reſolution every Man took to his Charge, and all to oppoſe the Actions of King *Henry*. As theſe conſulted for the State of the *French*, ſo at the ſame Time in *Paris* a Parliament of the three Eſtates was aſſembled, in which ſuch as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death were ſentenc'd, the Diſinhering of the *Dauphine* confirm'd, and Forces prepar'd againſt thoſe Towns that held for him.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 7/8.

The Dauphine *and his Adherents oppoſe King* Henry.

Monſtrel. Le Feure. Livius. &c.

In the mean Time the two Kings with their Queens, and the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy* march'd againſt *Sens*, a Town in *Burgundy*; which after twelve Days Siege ſurrender'd upon Compoſition of Life, thoſe only excepted that were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death. *Montereau* was the next Place, which was enter'd by Force, where the Body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, undecently bury'd by the *Dauphinois*, was taken up, and by his Son *Philip* ſent in great Pomp to *Dijon*, the Capital of his Dukedom, and there honourably interr'd. The Town being taken, the Caſtle held out, under the Government of the Lord *De Guitry*, to whom were ſent ſome *French* Priſoners under a Guard to perſuade him to ſurrender, which they did with Tears and on their Knees; but his obſtinate Perſiſting, and his affronting the Herald ſent to ſummon him to ſurrender, occaſion'd the Hanging up of thoſe Priſoners, as Rebels to the *French* King, their natural Soveraign. The Beſieged held out eight Days longer, and then ſurrender'd the Caſtle on Condition of having Life, Liberty and Goods ſecur'd; but all Perſons concern'd in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder

King Henry *takes ſeveral Towns from the* Dauphine.

The Siege of Melun.

der were excepted. Next the King undertook the Siege of *Melun*, a Town of great Strength on the *Sein*, and made more ſtrong by the Valour of its Governors, who were the Lord *De Barbaſan* and *Pierre de Bourbon*, the former an admirable Commander, and the latter a Prince of the Blood, whoſe Garriſon conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Dauphinois*. Theſe made ſo ſtout a Defence, that the Beſiegers could not make their Approaches without great Difficulty and Danger; but the Cannon making a Breach, the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* enter'd a ſtrong Outwork, and built a Bridge of Boats over the River *Sein*, ſo that from either Quarter they had Communication with each other without Impediments. Both King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* fortify'd their Camps after an extraordinary Manner, and in this Poſture the Siege continu'd eighteen Weeks, in which Time the Soldiers of the Garriſon made ſome, tho' not frequent, Sallies. King *Henry*, impatient of Delays, preſs'd forward the Siege to the utmoſt, and made a large Mine underneath the Walls, which being perceiv'd, the Beſieg'd countermin'd againſt him; where the King with great Reſolution entring firſt into the Mine, and *Barbaſan* likewiſe his within the Town, met each other with their drawn Swords, and nobly perform'd the Parts of private Combatants: 'Till at length they reſolv'd to diſcover themſelves, and firſt *Barbaſan* made known his Name, then King *Henry* did his; whereupon the *French* Lord ſuddenly retiring, caus'd the Barricadoes to be clos'd, and King *Henry* return'd ſafe to his Camp.

During this Siege, King *Henry* often went to *Corbeil*, where the Court then was, which now conſiſted of *French* and *Engliſh*, the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, and other Ladies of the higheſt Quality being the chief Ornaments of it. Here he perſuaded the King of *France* to repair with him to the Camp, that his Preſence before the Walls might influence his Rebellious Subjects to return to their Duty. But when they were ſummon'd to yield to their natural Soveraign, they reſolutely anſwer'd, ***That they would joyfully open their Gates to their Monarch, but they would never obey an*** Engliſh ***King, the ancient and mortal Enemy of*** France. Tho' neither the Preſence nor Authority of the *French* King could avail, yet he ſtill continu'd in the Camp, to which the beautiful Queen of *England* likewiſe came with a ſhining Train of Ladies, for whoſe Entertainment a fair Houſe was built at ſuch a Diſtance as ſecur'd them from all Danger. To entertain them with martial Muſick, eight or ten Trumpets were ſounded every Morning and Evening before the Tent of the King of *England*, who had the State and Magnificence of a Court amidſt all the Noiſe and Diſorders of War; and yet with uninterrupted Diligence imploy'd himſelf in all the Buſineſs of the Siege. As there was a ſtrong Party of *Scots* in the Garriſon, the young King of *Scotland*, now in the Army with King *Henry*, ſent to require them upon their Allegiance, that they ſhould not employ their Arms againſt Troops where he was in Perſon, but come and fight under the Standard of their King. To whom they return'd this Anſwer, ***That they would not own or obey him as their King, who was in the Power of another***; for which Affront, twenty of them were afterwards executed. About the ſame Time mandatory Letters were ſent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all Places that held for him in thoſe Parts into King *Henry*'s Poſſeſſion, and to take the Oath of Obedience to him as to the only Heir, Succeſſor, Regent and Governor of *France*; the Execution of which was committed to the Care of ſeveral of the *French* Nobility.

Monſtrel. Le Feure. Holling.

The French King appears before the Place,

and the King of Scots,

but in vain.

The Diſtreſs of *Melun* now became exceeding great, as well upon the Beſiegers as Defendants; the one afflicted and extreamly weaken'd with Mortality, and the other violently oppreſs'd with Famine, and other Calamities incident to long Sieges. After eighteen Weeks Siege, the *Engliſh* were ſupply'd with Soldiers out of *Picardy*, the Sight of which at firſt put the Town in Hopes of Relief from the *Dauphine*; but the Garriſon finding themſelves unhappily diſappointed, in Deſpair capitulated, and were forc'd to ſurrender upon hard Arti-

Monſtrel. Paradin. Holling.

Melun *ſurrenders.*

cles,

cles, one of which was That they ſhould be all made Priſoners of War, and that all the *Engliſh* and *Scots* ſhould in a ſpecial Manner be left to the abſolute Diſpoſal of the King of *England*; and that all Acceſſaries to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder ſhould ſuffer Death. The Articles being concluded, an *Engliſh* Garriſon was put into *Melun:* The Men at Arms who adher'd to the *Dauphine*'s Party, of whom the principal were *Pierre de Borbon* and the Lord *de Barbaſon*, with five or ſix hundred Perſons of Quality of both Sexes, and the greateſt Part of the chief Citizens, were convey'd under a ſtrong Guard to *Paris*, and there committed Priſoners to the *Chaſtelet*, the *Baſtile*, and other Places. Two Monks, who were convicted of ingaging in *Burgundy*'s Murder, were beheaded in the City, with a Gentleman of King *Henry*'s Houſhold, whoſe Name was *Bertrand de Chaumont*. This latter had renounc'd the Intereſt of *France*, and devoted himſelf to the Service of the King of *England*, and was highly in his Favour, as a Man of approv'd Valour. But clear Evidence being brought againſt him, That during the Treaty for ſurrendring the Town, for a Sum of Mony he had favour'd the Eſcape of one *Aimerion de Lau*, a ſuſpected Accomplice in the Duke's Murder; the King, tho' with Regret to loſe ſo gallant a Man, and tho' the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy* interceded for his Life, would not pardon him, but gave Order for his Execution, declaring *He would have no Traitors in his Army:* Yet to ſhow his Value for his Abilities, he was hear'd ſorrowfully to ſay, *He would have given fifty thouſand Nobles that* Chaumont *had not been guilty of ſuch a Crime.* The valiant *Barbaſan* was accus'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* as an Accomplice in his Father's Murder; but he in an open Trial defended himſelf, proteſting, *That tho' he was a Servant to the* Dauphine, *he was ſo far from conſenting to the Fact, that he knew nothing of it 'till it was effected.* Tho' the Evidence againſt him was not clear, yet there was ſo ſtrong a Suſpicion as not to admit of his being ſet at Liberty; ſo that he was continu'd a Priſoner nine Years. Some Writers inform us that he ſav'd his Life by pleading *it would be a Diſhonour for King* Henry *to put a Perſon to Death, who was his Brother in Arms, and had ſignaliz'd himſelf in a ſingle Combate with him;* which by the Heralds was allow'd to be the ſame Thing as if he had fought with him in appointed Liſts.

A ſtrict Act of Juſtice.

Monſtrel. La Fevre. Hall.

Melun thus taken, and the Government given to the Earl of *Huntington*, the two Kings with the Duke of *Burgundy* made a publick Entry into *Paris*, being met by the Citizens, who in great Solemnity came out to congratulate their Arrival. The Streets were ſpread, and the Houſes hung with rich Cloath, while the People in all Parts expreſs'd their extraordinary Joy in the higheſt Acclamations. The two Kings rod together under a rich Canopy, *Henry* on the left Hand, next to whom follow'd the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Bedford*, and on the other Side of the Way the Duke of *Burgundy* in deep Mourning; the Princes and Nobility in each Nation follow'd in Order, the Clergy with Proceſſions, and their venerable Relicks, going before them to *Notredame* Cathedral. Rich Preſents, Flags, Streamers and Conduits running with Wine, were all us'd by the Citizens to expreſs how grateful the Peace was to them, and how much they exulted in the Honour of having two Kings reſident amongſt them. King *Henry*'s Palace was prepar'd in the *Louvre*, and was moſt rich and magnificent, and King *Charles*'s Court in the *Hoſtel St. Pol*, and much inferior in all Reſpects; for, as one Author obſerves, young *Henry* commanded all, and his Brothers exercis'd ſupream Authority, while old *Charles* ſtood as a Cypher, and the *French* Nobility had nothing to do. As King *Henry* had the Diſpoſal of all Places of Honour and Truſt, ſo the *French* Nobility and Gentry addreſſed themſelves to him, and endeavour'd to raiſe their Fortunes by obtaining an Intereſt in his Favour. He made a great Alteration of the Officers, diſplacing many who had been put in by the old Duke of *Burgundy* or his Son, and conferring their Employments on others whom he accounted more firm to his Intereſts. As Regent of *France* he alſo redreſs'd Grievances, reform'd Abuſes, and

The Entry of the Kings of England *and* France *into* Paris.

King Henry's Grandeur and Power.

corrected all Miſcarriages in the Government; and he caus'd a new Coin to be ſtamp'd, to expreſs the Union of the two Kingdoms, in the Reverſe of which the Arms of *England* and *France* were quarter'd together.

A Parliament meet at Paris.

The better to eſtabliſh all Things during King *Henry*'s Stay in *Paris*, a grand Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at that City; in which was the final Agreement between the two Kings openly acknowledg'd by King *Charles*, as made by his Aſſent, and with the Advice of all the Council of *France*; whereupon it was there alſo ratify'd by the general States of the Kingdom, and ſolemnly ſworn to by all the Nobility and Magiſtrates, Spiritual and Temporal, who alſo ſet their Seals to the Inſtruments of the Agreement, which were ſent into *England* to be kept in the King's Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*. But in this Parliament the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* was in a more ſpecial and particular manner examin'd, and the Actors, with all their Accomplices were ſolemnly ſentenc'd; and Methods were us'd to oblige them likewiſe to build Churches, and perform ſeveral publick Acts of Charity, in order to expiate the execrable Fact. And the Aſſembly proceeded ſo far as to ſummon the *Dauphine* himſelf before the Grand Marble Table, with all the uſual Formalities. Upon his Non-Appearance, he was publickly attainted and convicted of Murder, was declared unworthy of all Succeſſion, namely of that to the Crown of *France*, and was baniſh'd the Kingdom for ever. From this Sentence, as given by incompetent Judges, and contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, the *Dauphine* appeal'd to God and his Sword, and immediately transferr'd the Parliament and Univerſity to the City of *Poictiers*, at which Place the moſt illuſtrious Members of thoſe two Bodies did not fail to appear. Thus almoſt every thing was double in the Kingdom of *France*; there were two Kings, two Regents, two Parliaments, two Conſtables, two Chancellors, two Admirals, and ſo of moſt of the great Officers, not to mention the Multitude of Marſhals of *France*, whereof each Party made as many as they thought fit.

Hollingſ. Monſtrel. Mezeray.

which recognize King Henry.

and condemn and diſinherit the Dauphine.

King *Henry* having eſtabliſh'd the grand Affairs of *France*, as well as theſe unſetled Times would permit, he reſolv'd for a while to return into *England*, and there perform the Solemnities of his beloved Queen's Coronation; in order to which he firſt appointed for his Lieutenant of *France* his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, a brave Prince inferior to none but himſelf, and alſo left the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred Men at Arms to continue in the City of *Paris*; and ſo attended with great Magnificence he repair'd to *Amiens*, and then to *Calais*. But before he took Shipping, he adjuſted ſeveral Affairs in *Normandy* and other Parts, treated with the Duke of *Bretaign*, and generouſly diſcharged the Count *De Richemont*, who had been Priſoner ever ſince the Battel at *Agincourt*. But for the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was diſcharg'd afterwards, he agreed for a Ranſom of no leſs than a hundred thouſand Crowns, beſides other Advantages. From *Calais*, with a glorious Train the King croſs'd the Seas to *Dover*, and made a triumphant Entry at *London*, the People receiving him as an Angel from Heav'n, with Torrents of Joy and Exultation to ſee their King return crown'd with new Victories, and with the Acceſſion of another Kingdom to his own. But as he piouſly aſcrib'd the Glory of all his Conqueſts to a Superior Power, ſo he gave all the Praiſe to Heav'n, and commanded the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to appoint a publick Day of Thankſgiving.

Hollingſ. Pol. Virg. &c.

King Henry *and his Queen come into* England.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 8/9.

VI. The mighty King *Henry* was now in the Height of his Grandeur, and at his Return into *England* he found the Nation flouriſhing and proſperous under the Government of *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, who had ſucceeded the Duke of *Bedford* in the Regency with equal Wiſdom and Succeſs. The Arms of the King had not only been ſucceſsful in *France*, but alſo in *Ireland*, ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown; ſo that he found no Diſaſter to cloud his Joy in the Poſſeſſion of the moſt excellent Princeſs of that Age, or to diſturb the Pomp which was preparing for her Coronation. The Day appointed for

Fabian. Hollingſ. Parker.

for this great Solemnity was the twenty fourth of *February*; where after the Ceremonies of the Coronation in *Weſtminſter* Abby, the Queen with her noble Retinue came into the Hall, where many Tables were ſpread, and a ſplendid Entertainment provided for the Nobles, Biſhops, Ladies, Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. On the Right Hand, and End of the Queen's Table, were ſeated the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Cardinal Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; on the Left the King of *Scotland* in his Robes, with the Dutcheſs of *York* and Counteſs of *Huntington*. The Earl of *Marche* holding the Royal Scepter in his Hand, kneel'd on the Right Hand of the Queen, and the Earl-Marſhal in like manner on the Left; the Counteſs of *Kent* ſat at her Right Foot, and the Counteſs Marſhal at her Left; while the Duke of *Gloceſter*, as Overſeer, ſtood before her Majeſty bare-headed. The reſt of the ſplendid Train had their ſeveral and diſtinct Tables in the Hall; and the whole Feaſt, tho' in the Time of *Lent* and furniſh'd all with Fiſh, was great and pompous to the utmoſt Degree. After the Solemnities of the Coronation, the King, with the Queen and ſome of the Nobility, took a Journey to *York*, where they were joyfully and magnificently receiv'd, and the Citizens made them many rich Preſents. The Queen continu'd at *York*, but the King went in Pilgrimage to *Bridlington*, where having paid his Devotions, he afterwards viſited a great Part of his Kingdom; and in all Places where he came his Ears were open to the Complaints of the injur'd and oppreſs'd: He redreſs'd their Wrongs, puniſh'd the Corrupters of Juſtice, and reform'd the Abuſes in Government. Particularly a great Abuſe in the Church, ariſing from the Pope's Diſpoſal of the vacant Biſhopricks and Benefices, was this Year remov'd; and with that Vigour and Reſolution, that it gave ſuch a Blow to the uſurping Power of *Rome* in this Kingdom, as greatly weaken'd, and at laſt intirely deſtroy'd it.

Queen Catharine's *Coronation.*

King Henry *regulates Abuſes.*

Walſing. Fabian. Pol. Virg. In *May* the King met his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and repreſented to them the State of the publick Affairs, the Conqueſts he had made in *France*, and the Supplies neceſſary to continue the War; that the *Dauphine* and his Party, who maintain'd ſome Provinces and Cities againſt him, being ſubdu'd, that Kingdom might be annex'd to the *Engliſh* Crown. The Commons chearfully gave a Fifteenth, tho' a Petition was preſented, fill'd with the ſad Complaints of the Poverty of the People, and intolerable Burden of the War, fomented by ſome Perſons more affecting their private Intereſt than the Proſperity of their Country, who regretted to part with any Mony to advance the Greatneſs and Honour of the Government. At the ſame Time there was a Convocation of the Clergy at St. *Paul's*, who offer'd a Tenth to the King, and the rich Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in Advance of the Mony lent him twenty thouſand Pound. At the ſame Time the King wiſely took care to ſecure his Kingdom from any Invaſion of the *Welſh* or *Scots* during his Abſence. He compos'd the Tumults in *Wales*, and reduc'd that People to their Duty; and to make the *Scots* his Friends, he gave Liberty to their King to return to his Country and Throne ten Years after his being firſt taken by *Henry* IV. and detain'd in the *Engliſh* Court. But he did not return 'till a few Years after in the next Reign. He alſo eſtabliſh'd a Peace with him, ſtrengthen'd with an Alliance, by giving him in Marriage the Lady *Ann* his Niece, and Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*. It was agreed that her Dowry ſhould pay part of his Ranſom; that for the Payment of the reſt, he ſhould give Hoſtages, and likewiſe ingage himſelf never to make War on *England*. Having taken all neceſſary Precautions, King *Henry* with a choice Army of four thouſand Men at Arms, and twenty four thouſand Archers, return'd into *France* to proſecute thoſe Wars.

He calls a Parliament.

He ſets the King of the Scots *at Liberty.*

Buchan. Walſing. &c. The King now found his Preſence highly neceſſary, for before he took Shipping, he was ſurpriz'd with the News of the unfortunate Miſcarriage of his admirable Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, of which this was the Occaſion. The Earl of *Buchan*, and the Earl of *Douglas*, and other Commanders, with ſeven thouſand *Scots* had paſs'd over into *France* to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dauphine*;

phine; and joining with his Party in *Anjou*, design'd to surprize the Duke of *Clarence* before he was provided: In which Enterprize, four straggling *Scots*, taken and brought Prisoners to him as he sat at Dinner, discover'd the Design and Strength of the Enemy, whose Approach was very near. Upon hearing of this News the Duke, all in a Flame, too suddenly took Horse, crying *They are all Ours!* leaving his Troops to follow him with what Expedition they could. His unexpected Appearance caus'd some of the *Scots* to take into the Church of *Baugy* for their Safety, where while they were defending themselves, the rest of their Forces took the Alarm, and the Earl of *Buchan* secur'd the main Bridge, to whose Assistance came *Hugh Kennedy* with a hundred Horse. The Duke of *Clarence* seeing no possibility to force his Passage with his slender Troop of Horse, dismounted with his Men, and made a noble Charge upon the Earl of *Buchan*; and the *English*, fir'd with Disdain to meet with their old Enemies, fought with the greatest Fierceness imaginable. But none was more brave and daring than the Duke himself, who being distinguish'd by his rich Armour, and a golden Coronet sparkling with Jewels, but more remarkable for his Valour, was singled out by *John Swinton* a *Scotch* Cavalier, who with his Lance wounded him on the Face. The Duke notwithstanding rush'd undauntedly into the Thickest of the Enemy's Troops, where the Earl of *Buchan* on Horseback struck him down with a Truncheon, which put an End to his Life. The *English*, dishearten'd at the Fall of so great a General, and being furiously attack'd by the whole Army, were soon routed with the Loss of fifteen hundred Men, after they had slain above a thousand of the Enemy. The Deaths of the Lords *Ross* and *Gray*, and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*, and the Captivity of the Earls of *Huntington*, *Somerset* and *Perche*, the Lord *Fitz Walter* and Sir *William Bower*, caus'd a general Concern in the *English* Army; yet the Duke of *Clarence* had the greatest share in their Sorrow, who as he was generally belov'd for his Wisdom, Valour and other excellent Qualities, so his Death was universally lamented, not only by the *English*, but by the Enemy. His Body remain'd a few Hours in their Hands, who were carrying it to the *Dauphine*; but they did not long keep either that or the Field of Battel: For tho' the Body of the Army, which under the Earl of *Salisbury* had follow'd the Duke, could neither keep Peace with his swift March, nor advance Time enough to prevent his Fate and the Loss of so many gallant Soldiers, yet they came up soon enough to force the *French* to a disorderly Retreat, and to recover the dead Body of the Duke, which was convey'd into *England*, where it was interr'd with great Solemnity. The Earl of *Buchan* for his Valour was by the *Dauphine* made Constable of *France*.

A famous Ingagement with the Duke of Clarence *in* France.

The Duke slain in Battel.

His Body sent into England.

King *Henry* both griev'd and inrag'd at the Loss of a Brother he so justly lov'd and admir'd, hasten'd his Expedition into *France*; and leaving his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* his Lieutenant, and his beloved Queen honourably attended, upon the tenth Day of *June* he landed at *Calais* with all his Forces, making now his last Entrance into *France*. On the Day after his Arrival he dispatch'd the Earl of *Dorset* and the Lord *Clifford* with twelve hundred Horse and Foot into *Paris*, to relieve the Duke of *Exeter*, who was straiten'd of Provisions by the *Dauphinois*, that harrass'd the adjacent Country, and had taken *Boneval*, *Galandon*, and some other Forts, and after that march'd to *Chartiers*, and invested it with seven thousand Men at Arms, four thousand Cross-Bows, and six thousand Archers. King *Henry*, after a short Continuance in *Calais*, march'd to *Monstrelet*, and there quartering his Army, he found the Duke of *Burgundy* somewhat impair'd in his Health. Three Days being spent in Conference, the King march'd into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeville* upon *Somme*, to facilitate his Passage there to be made, of which they had some Doubt, by reason of the Dissatisfaction of many of the Inhabitants. *Henry* in his March took the Fort call'd *La Ferte*, commanded by the Bastard of *Belluy*, which surrender'd upon Summons; but being committed to the Custody of *Borslers*

Monstrel. &c.

King Henry *makes his last Expedition into* France.

Borſlers of *Picurdy*, was again betray'd into the Hands of the *Dauphine*. From hence the King paſs'd the River at *Abbeville*, where he was ſpendidly entertain'd, and richly preſented; from whence he march'd to *Beauvois*, *Giſors* and *Bois-de-Vincennes*, where King *Charles* and his Queen reſided, and receiv'd him with great Honour, and laſtly to the City of *Paris*, where he was receiv'd in Joy and Triumph. *He enters* Paris

Monſtrel. Mezeray. Walſing. &c. But this Heroe, more regarding Laurels and Conqueſts than the delicate Pleaſures of a Court, after he had concerted Meaſures, and levy'd *French* Forces to add to the *Engliſh*, march'd towards *Meaux*, reſolving in Revenge of his Brother's Death to fight the *Dauphine*, who had now laid before *Chartiers* the Space of three Weeks. But he hearing of King *Henry*'s Approach at the Head of a formidable Power, broke up the Siege and retir'd; upon which the King march'd directly to *Dreaux*, and ſat down before that Place. The Inhabitants and Garriſon, apprehenſive of their Danger, beat a Parly, and agreed to ſurrender the Town, if the *Dauphine* did not relieve them by a certain Day; which being expir'd, the Town was deliver'd, and eight hundred of the *Dauphine*'s Party permitted to retire upon their Oaths not to bear Arms againſt King *Henry* for the Space of one Year. While *Henry* lay before this Place, *Mezeray* tells us, That an honeſt Hermit unknown to him, came and repreſented to him the great Evils he brought upon Chriſtendom by his unjuſt Ambition and Uſurpation of the Kingdom of *France*, againſt known Right and the Will of Heav'n; wherefore in the Name of God he threaten'd him with a ſevere and ſudden Puniſhment, if he did not deſiſt. The King took this Exhortation either for a viſionary Fancy, or a Suggeſtion of the *Dauphine*'s, therefore proſecuted his Deſigns with greater Vigour; and purſuing the flying *Dauphine*, he took *Baugency* and *Vendoſme* upon the River *Loire*, with other Forts, but could not encounter that Prince who ſo induſtriouſly avoided Battel. And tho' he had the greater Army, and had engag'd himſelf by his Heralds to meet the King of *England* in the Field, confirming it alſo with an Oath, he contenting himſelf with waſting the Country, drew off to *Bourges*, as a Place of ſafe Retreat, both for the Strength of the Place, and the Fidelity of the People: And for his conſtant Reſidence there, he was by way of Jeer call'd *The King of* Bourges. King *Henry* finding it was in vain to attack him in that advantagious Poſt, firſt ravag'd the Country, and then reſolv'd to beſiege *Meaux*, the Capital City of the Country of *Brie*, a Place of great Strength and Conſequence. Having provided Engines, and all other Neceſſaries, he ſent his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, with four thouſand Men, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Suburbs, to prevent the Garriſon from firing them; and then following himſelf with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, on *October* the ſixth he inveſted the Place, incloſ'd his Camp with an Intrenchment, and rais'd his Batteries againſt the Walls and Gates. The Governor of the City was the Baſtard *De Varus*, who had with him many other Officers, and a thouſand ſelect Soldiers, beſides the Inhabitants, who were alſo reſolute to defend the Place to the laſt Extremity. And indeed they bravely held out for the Space of ſeven Months, while great Numbers of the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* dy'd either by Sickneſs, Sallies, or the Shot from the Walls. *He takes ſeveral Towns from the* Dauphine. *The Siege of* Meaux.

Walſing. Monſtrel. &c. During this tedious Winter Siege, the King had the Satisfaction of hearing that his Queen was deliver'd of a young Prince at *Windſor* on St. *Nicholas* Day, to whom he gave the Name of *Henry ſur les Fous*. It is commonly related, that when he heard his Son was born in *Windſor* Caſtle, he rais'd a bad Omen from the Place, as foreboding ſome unhappy Fate; and, as *Hall* ſays, ſpoke theſe prophetical Words to the Lord *Fitz-Hugh* his Chamberlain: *I* Henry *born at* Monmouth *ſhall a ſmall Time reign, and gain much*; *and* Henry *born at* Windſor *ſhall reign long, and loſe all; but God's Will be done.* Among thoſe to whom the Care of this Royal Infant was committed, *Jaqueline de Bawieri* Dutcheſs of *Brabant* had the principal Imployment. At the ſame Time

A. D. 1422. Reg. 9/10. Henry VI. *born*

His Father's Words upon his Birth.

Time the Duke of *Richemont*, whom King *Henry* had releas'd without Ranſom, came at the Head of a numerous Body of Horſe to the Camp before *Meaux*, to ſerve him in the Siege, which was ſtill proſecuted vigorouſly; tho' upon Notice that ſome of the *Dauphine*'s Troops had ſurpriz'd *Auranches*, and kill'd and taken two or three hundred of the Garriſon, the King order'd a ſtrong Detachment to march to the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Salisbury* Governor of *Normandy*, who with thoſe Recruits ſoon recover'd the Town. About that Time *Jaques de Harecourt*, in Service of the *Dauphine*, with ſeven hundred Soldiers harraſs'd the Parts about *Vimen*, againſt whom ſome *Engliſh* Garriſons aſſembling, ſlew three hundred of his Men, himſelf hardly eſcaping by the Fleetneſs of his Horſe. Likewiſe *Oliver de Mauny* invaded *Conſtantine*, notwithſtanding he had ſolemnly ſworn at the Surrender of *Falaiſe* never to bear Arms againſt King *Henry*; but in the midſt of his Carreer he was defeated and taken Priſoner by the Earl of *Saffolk*. This perfidious Man being brought before King *Henry*, a true Obſerver of all Faith, he openly ſpoke thus to him,

His Words to De Mauny. *You are an ancient Knight, and ought to have obſerv'd your Faith and Honour, which you have baſely broken, and by the Law of Arms deſerve immediate Death: But we give you your ignominious Life, and ſhall only ſend you into* England, *there to learn the Language, and truer Maxims of Honour.*

King *Henry*'s Forces being diminiſh'd by theſe Commotions in *Normandy*, and his Thoughts much employ'd that way, the valiant *De Offemont*, whom the Garriſon of *Meaux* earneſtly deſir'd ſhould be their Governor, found an Opportunity to approach the Walls with forty ſelect Soldiers, in Order to enter the Town; but ready to be receiv'd by Ladders over the Walls in the Night, Centinels diſcover'd the Men, and he himſelf not being able to recover the Ladders, fell into the Ditch, where not being able to free himſelf from his heavy Armour, he was wounded, and then taken Priſoner, with moſt of his Followers. King *Henry* eſteem'd the Taking of ſo brave and valiant a Commander as a Prize of great Importance, and puſh'd forwards the Siege with freſh Vigour and Reſolution. At length the Defendants, hopeleſs of Relief, and finding themſelves unable to hold out, carry'd all their Goods from the Town into the Caſtle; but the Beſiegers diſcovering their Actions, and fearing to loſe their Booty, made a ſudden and furious Attack, and by Force made way into the Town with Sword in Hand. Then *Henry* planting his Cannons, began to batter the Caſtle, and ſhortly reduc'd it to that Extremity, that beſides want of Bread, moſt of their Hand-Weapons were broken, and the Men dangerouſly wounded; yet they did not deſiſt from provoking the *Engliſh* with opprobrious Words and vile Indignities, which caus'd harder Conditions to be laid upon them, than in any other Town taken the whole War. By which the whole Garriſon and the Inhabitants were to be Priſoners at the King's Pleaſure, only having their Lives ſav'd; but the Governor *De Varus*, and ſome other Men of Note and Quality, were to be deliver'd up to immediate Execution. The City thus ſurrender'd, King *Henry* immediately ſent eight hundred ſelect Men Priſoners to *Paris*, *Roan* and *England*. The Governor was beheaded, and his Body hung on a Tree before the Town, call'd by his own Name, becauſe he had formerly hang'd on it many *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, and his Head was fix'd on a Pole upon the Top of the ſame Tree. This was follow'd by the Execution of ſeveral others of Quality in *Paris*, who had given more than common Provocations during the Time of the Siege; and all the Riches of the City was diſtributed by King *Henry* to his Commanders and moſt deſerving Men. Orders being taken for the repairing the Breaches, and the City well garriſon'd, *Creſpy*, the Caſtle of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and ſeveral other Places ſubmitted to the King's victorious Arms; while others were ſet on Fire to hinder him of the Fruits of his Conqueſts. When the Governors of Places in the Marches of *Beauvais*, heard how King *Henry*, by a Courage and Conduct which nothing could reſiſt, had taken Towns and Forts which they thought impregna-

Monſtrel. Le Fevre.

Meaux *ſurrender'd.*

Many other Places yield to King Henry.

ble,

ble, they had ſuch an Apprehenſion of his Might, that they ſent Deputies to treat about ſurrendring at an aſſign'd Time, if the *Dauphine* did not give them due Aſſiſtance.

Monſtrel. Cuxton. &c. Queen *Catharine* in *England* daily hearing of the King's Succeſs, greatly deſir'd the Sight of his Perſon, and for that End prepar'd for a Voyage to *France*, under the Conduct of Duke *John* the King's Brother, then Regent of *England*, who for the Time of his Abſence deputed his Brother *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and took Shipping at *Southampton*. The Winds being proſperous, on the twenty firſt of *May* ſhe landed at *Harfleur*, and with encreaſing Trains of Nobility by eaſie Journies came to *Roan*, and from thence to *Bois-de-Vicennes*, where her Royal Husband, with her Father and Mother, came in great Pomp to meet her with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy. From thence they all enter'd the City of *Paris*; and at the Celebration of the Feſtival of *Pentecoſt*, a magnificent Feaſt was prepar'd in the great Hall of the *Louvre*, where at one Table the King and Queen of *England* ſat with their Imperial Crowns and Robes, and at the other many of the *French* and *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry. The *French* Court at the *Hoſtel St. Pol* was at the ſame Time very thin, and King *Charles* ſaw himſelf neglected and abandon'd by thoſe who were born his Subjects, who now ador'd their young riſing Soveraign. The former had the Title of King of *France*, while the latter govern'd all; at which, tho' many of the *French* were uneaſie, yet the *Engliſh* King was manifeſtly too great to be oppos'd. Here he made a bold Effort of his Power, in cauſing the Tax rais'd on the Marks of Silver for Minting his new Mony, to be collected at *Paris*, as it had been in other Places; and tho' the People murmur'd and talk'd out their Diſcontents, yet they were ſo aw'd, that they durſt not break out into any Tumult. But their Reſentments were abated, or rather turn'd into Affection, when they felt the kind Influences of King *Henry*'s juſt and moderate Government, and obſerv'd his exact Adminiſtration of Juſtice in redreſſing Wrongs, and puniſhing the Actors without Partiality or Favour. By this juſt Conduct he eſpecially gain'd the Love of the Common People, who regarded him not as their Conqueror, but as their Father and Protector.

Queen Catharine *arrives in* France.

The Grandeur of King Henry *at* Paris.

Monſtrel. La Fevre. Tho' the Provinces of *Champaign*, *Picardy*, *Brie*, *Normandy*, and *Iſle of France*, were in King *Henry*'s Poſſeſſion, yet all were not reduc'd to a quiet Obedience; for a great and ſtrong Part ſtill held out for the *Dauphine*, who with twenty thouſand effective Men beſieg'd *La Charitie* upon the *Loire*, and took it; from whence he march'd to *Cone* upon the ſame River, where the Beſieged treated about a Surrender, and gave Hoſtages to deliver it up on the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, if they were not reliev'd before that Time by the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Prince and the Duke by Conſent agreed to put the Cauſe to the Deciſion of a Battel, to be fought on the ſaid ſixteenth of *Auguſt*; and this was mutually declar'd by their Heralds. The Duke not only ſent Orders to levy new Forces to augment his Army, but likewiſe begg'd King *Henry*'s particular Aſſiſtance; to which the King gave Anſwer, *That he himſelf would come at the Head of his whole Army, to join with him in the Battel.* But as this mighty Conqueror prepar'd for his March, Heav'n thought fit to put a Period to all his encreaſing Glories, and ſtruck him with a Diſtemper that prov'd fatal to him; and all he could do was to command the Duke of *Bedford* and Earl of *Warwick* to give all neceſſary Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Tho' he was much weaken'd by his Diſeaſe, he was yet animated by a Courage natural to him; ſo that taking his laſt Leave of King *Charles* and the two Queens at *Senlis*, he repair'd to *Melun*, with a Deſign to go from that City, and put himſelf at the Head of the Army. But his Diſtemper increaſing, his Body was too feeble to anſwer the invincible Greatneſs of his Soul: And therefore tho' he went in a Litter, to be carry'd among his Troops, yet finding himſelf extreamly ill, he was oblig'd to return and ſtay at *Bois-de-Vincennes*, while the Duke of *Bedford* by his Order march'd with the whole Army to join the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Vezelay*.

King Henry *deſigns to fight the* Dauphine.

His laſt Sickneſs.

The

The Duke of *Burgundy* gratefully acknowledg'd the King of *England*'s Kindneſs; and joining all the Forces, he took his March to *Cone*, which was beſieg'd by the *Dauphine*, and encamp'd near the Town, preparing for that important Battel which was to be fought the next Day. The *French* Prince finding his Enemies to exceed him in Number and Strength, notwithſtanding he had made a publick Defiance by his Heralds, immediately broke up the Siege, and retreated to *Bourges* in *Berry*. The Duke having thus rais'd the Siege, and forc'd his Enemies to a moſt diſhonourable Retreat without Fighting, return'd to *Troyes* with his Army. In their March the Duke of *Bedford* receiv'd the mournful News, that his Brother King *Henry*'s Life was in Danger; upon which he left the Army, and attended with a few choice Friends, rod full Speed to *le Vincennes*. The brave King ſenſible that he was dying, gave Orders that the Duke of *Bedford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Lewis Robeſſart*, and ſeven or eight more, who had the greateſt Place in his Affection and Confidence, ſhould ſtand around his Bed. To whom he ſpoke to this Effect. *I am juſt now approaching the Period of my Life, which tho' ſhort, has been glorious and conducing to the Good and Honour of my People; and tho' it has been ſpent in Wars and Bloodſhed, yet ſince milder Methods have been ineffectual, and nothing leſs could vindicate my Right, the Miſeries produc'd are not to be imputed to me, but to my Enemies, as the Effect of their Injuſtice. As Death never appear'd formidable in ſo many Battels and Sieges, ſo I can now without Horror behold its gradual Approaches in a Diſeaſe; and ſince it is the Will of Heav'n to put an End to my Days, I chearfully reſign my ſelf to its Pleaſure: Nor ſhould I leave the World with the leaſt Reluctancy, if two Things did not nearly touch me. One is, that I muſt go out of it when my Subjects are involv'd in the Confuſions of a War, before I ſee the Enemy, who oppoſes the Peace and Glory of both Nations, intirely ſubdu'd by my Arms; and the Other is, that I ſee my ſelf call'd from the Throne at a Time, when my Son is only an Infant, and incapable of filling it.* Therefore to obviate all future Inconveniencies, he with the moſt pathethick and endearing Expreſſions urg'd them all ſtrictly to obſerve his Advice and Inſtructions. The Subſtance of which was, *That they would take the moſt exact Care in the Education of his Son, and inviolably preſerve their Loyalty to him; and that they would comfort his beloved Wife, now the moſt diſconſolate Princeſs living: That they would keep ſtrict Faith with the Duke of* Burgundy, *and never make Peace with the* Dauphine, *on any other Condition than that of having all the Dukedom of* Normandy *entirely ſecur'd to the* Engliſh *Crown: That they would preſerve a ſtrict Union among themſelves, and not diſcharge the Duke of* Orleans, *the Count* d'Eu, *and ſome other noble Priſoners, 'till his Son was of Years to govern: That his Brother the Duke of* Bedford, *with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of* Burgundy, *ſhould manage the Kingdom of* France; *and that his Uncle the Duke of* Exeter, *with his Brother the Duke of* Gloceſter, *ſhould govern that of* England.

Monſtrel. Le Fevre. Lewis. &c.

His Speech upon his Death-Bed.

His Inſtructions.

The ſorrowful Nobles obſerv'd in profound Silence, and with aſſured Promiſes gave their Approbation to theſe laſt Counſels ſo ſenſibly urg'd by their expiring Monarch; who having thus eſtabliſh'd his ſecular Affairs, had his Thoughts wholly imploy'd about the Condition of his Soul now departing into another World. Ordering his Phyſicians to come to him, he demanded of them how long he had to live; but they declining a direct Anſwer, and flattering him with the Hopes of Life, the King with Diſſatisfaction charg'd them upon their Allegiance to declare their Opinion in poſitive Terms. After ſome little Conſultation among themſelves, one of them kneeling down in the Name of the reſt ſaid, *Sir, think upon your Soul, for as we judge, without a Miracle, you cannot live longer than two Hours.* Upon which with the higheſt Devotion he proceeded to Confeſſion, commanding his Prieſts to ſing the ſeven peni-

Monſtrel. Caxton.

His Devotion,

penitential Pſalms; and when in the fifty firſt Pſalm they came to thoſe Words, *Build up the Walls of* Jeruſalem, he bad them ſtop, and with a loud Voice declar'd upon the Word of a dying Man, *That after the Settlement of the Kingdom of* France, *he really intended, with the Will of Heav'n, to have made War againſt the Infidels, for the Conqueſt of* Jeruſalem. Having finiſh'd their Devotion, this great King expir'd at the Hour which the Phyſician had foretold, on the thirty firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in the Prime of his Years the thirty fourth of his Age, after a ſhort, but moſt glorious, magnificent and triumphant Reign of nine Years, four Months, and eleven Days. *and Death.*

Holling. Monſtrel. By the Gratitude of this Age his Funeral Obſequies were proportion'd to his Worth and Grandeur. His Body, embalm'd and enclos'd in Lead, was laid on a Chariot of State, richly adorn'd with Cloath of Gold; and on a Bed in the ſame Chariot was laid a lively Figure of his Perſon, with Imperial Robes, a Crown of Gold, a Scepter and Globe, like a triumphant Monarch; and over all was a glorious ſilk Canopy. The Chariot was drawn by ſix Horſes in rich Harneſs: The firſt bore the Arms of St. *George*, the ſecond the Arms of *Normandy*, the third thoſe of King *Arthur*, the fourth thoſe of St. *Edward*, the fifth the Arms of *France*, and the ſixth thoſe of *England* and *France*. *James* King of the *Scots* follow'd it as principal Mourner; and after him the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Marche*, *Stafford* and *Mortaigne*, the Lords *Fitz-Hugh*, *Hungerford*, *Bourchier*, *Fanhope* and *Cromwell*, Sir *Robert Robeſſart*, and Sir *John Cornwall*. The Banners of the Saints were born by the Lords *Lovel*, *Audely*, *Morley* and *Zouch*; the Baron *Dudley* bore the great Standard, and the Earl of *Longueville* the Banner. The Hachments were carry'd by twelve Commanders, and around the Chariot rod five hundred Men at Arms all in black Armour, their Horſes barb'd black, and their Lances held with the Points downward. Three hundred cloath'd in White, bearing lighted Torches, alſo ſurrounded the Chariot, with Lords bearing Banners, Bannerols and Penons; thoſe of the King's Houſhold cloath'd in Black follow'd it, and after them the Royal Family in deep Mourning; while the ſorrowful Queen with a noble Retinue follow'd at a League's Diſtance. In this ſolemn Manner the Body was convey'd from *Bois de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and ſo to *Roan*, to *Abbeville*, to *Calais*, to *Dover*, from thence through the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where it was interr'd with ſuch pompous Ceremonies, ſuch Mournings of the Nobility, Prayers of the Eccleſiaſticks, and Lamentations of the Commons, as were never known before in the Kingdom of *England*. He was bury'd in the Abby Church, and his Queen caus'd his Image in Silver gilt, of the full Proportion, to be laid on his Tomb. *His pompous Obſequies.*

Theſe were the laſt Honours done to this mighty Monarch, the Wonder of all Chriſtendom, who was ſo highly reverenc'd and lov'd by all his People, that his Funerals were attended with an univerſal Sorrow. They ſaw all their Hopes of ſubduing *France* loſt in the Death of a Prince, who only knew how to conquer it, and that with an Army never exceeding thirty thouſand; ſo that ſome believe his Enemies took away his Life by Poiſon, which they could not deſtroy in open War. He had all the Accompliſhments of Body and Mind which are requir'd to the finiſhing a great Man. His Stature was tall and majeſtick, his Body tho' lean and ſlender, had all its Limbs well proportion'd, and ſtrongly fram'd; his Neck long, his Hair black, and a manly Beauty ſhin'd in his Face, as well as ſparkled in his Eyes. His Strength and Agility was admirable in all the Exerciſes he perform'd; which was continually preſerv'd by his being temperate, chaſte, enur'd to all the Hardſhips of War, patient of Heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirſt, and moderate in Sleep. He was a nice Obſerver of Juſtice, pious in his Religion, conſtant in his Devotions, a great Patron of the Church and Clergy, and abounding in Works of Charity; wiſe in his Counſels, magnanimous in his Deſigns, and reſolute in purſuing them; great and ſomewhat reſerv'd in his Temper, given to ſpeak little, but all he ſaid was *His Character.*

like himſelf. As to his Valour and Bravery his whole Reign was a continu'd and wonderful Inſtance of it; in the Exerciſe of which, his ſtricteſt Orders were ſo nicely obey'd, that he reviv'd the martial Diſcipline of the old *Romans*, by which they conquer'd the World: And never was the *Engliſh* Valour ſo glorioufly diſplay'd, as in this Reign. For his great Acts he has been compar'd to no leſs than three of the nine Worthies of the World; to *David* the Prophet, for Piety; to *Cæſar* the Invincible, for Glory; and to *Alexander* the Great, for Magnanimity: And with this Advantage, that he was not unchaſte like *David*, vain-glorious like *Cæſar*, nor intemperate like *Alexander*; who while they conquer'd others, became Slaves to their own Paſſions. As he exceeded them in theſe Qualifications, ſo he was not inferior to them in his Fortunes, being neither ſo dejected as *David*, ſo much envy'd as *Cæſar*, nor ſo dreaded as *Alexander*; it being his good Fortune never to be diſtreſs'd, diſtruſted or deſpis'd. But the unexpected Loſs of this Prince in the Flower of his Youth, and in the Midſt, or rather Riſing of his proſperous Fortune, will ſerve for a pregnant Inſtance and Example to ſhow what ſlender Hold mortal Man has of Worldly Greatneſs and Glory, being continually ſubject either to the ſudden Loſs of it, or as ſuddenly to be taken from it: And indeed there ſeems to be ſomething of the more immediate Hand of Providence in it, which now began to chaſtiſe the Progeny of King *Henry* the Fourth.

His publick Works. His Works of Piety were ſhewn in erecting the Monaſteries of *Bethlem* and *Bridget*, near his Manor of *Richmond*, as alſo his bounteous Gifts to the Works and Furniture of *Weſtminſter* Church, beſides the Fraternity of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate*; and many other greater Things he had projected at *Oxford* and other Places. To leave a Teſtimony of his Affection to Arms, he firſt inſtituted *Gartar* principal King at Arms; beſides other honourable Augmentations to the Order of St. *George*. In this Reign flouriſh'd, beſides the moſt renowned Soldiers, many Men of Note for Arts and Learning, as *William Linwood* the great Canoniſt of that Age, *Stephen Patrington*, *Robert Maſcal*, *Alain de Lyn*, *Thomas Otterborn*, *John Sherburn*, *John Leland*, and many others.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Sixth.*

Containing 38 *Years*, 6 *Months*, *and* 4 *Days.*

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

I. AFTER God had depriv'd the *Engliſh* of the greateſt King in the World, he thought fit that an Infant ſhould ſucceed him, now but nine Months old, who upon the thirtieth Day of *Auguſt* was by the Sound of Trumpets proclaim'd King of *England* and *France*, by the Name of *Henry* the Sixth. But as the Wiſdom of ſome ſupplies the Defects of Age in others, ſo his Father had by his laſt Will appointed, and now the Lords by their Conſent confirm'd the grand Care of the Publick to his two brave and powerful Uncles, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*: The former, joining with the Duke of *Burgundy*, had the Regency of *France*, and the latter the Government of *England*; and the Care and Tuition of the Royal Infant was committed to the two Brothers, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Chancellor of *England*. This Appointment prov'd really advantagious to the *Engliſh* Nation; for they all carry'd themſelves ſo upright and carefully in their ſeveral Stations, that it well appear'd the Truſt repos'd in them by the dying King, had made a noble Impreſſion

Pol. Virg. Lucius. Æmilius.

Henry *an Infant proclaim'd King.*

The Protector and Guardian appointed.

preſſion of Love and Loyalty towards his Son. And indeed the Beginning of this Reign, like the fair Morn of a moſt tempeſtuous Day, promis'd nothing leſs than a Continuance of paſt Felicities. For the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs was great and flouriſhing; *England* without Tumult, the natural fierce Humours of her People conſuming or encreaſing themſelves in *France*; and *France* her ſelf, for the nobler Parts, together with the grand City of *Paris*, was at their Devotion. There wanted nothing but the mighty *Henry* himſelf to compleat the Work begun; for beſides the valiant Duke of *Bedford*, there were the two Terrors of *France*, *Thomas* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*, and Armies of veteran Soldiers, where almoſt each Man was equal to a Commander. Yet Providence in Time thought fit to change the whole Courſe of Affairs; and the firſt Diſadvantage which happen'd to the *Engliſh* Cauſe was the Death of *Charles* King of *France*, who ſurviv'd King *Henry* no more than fifty three Days. This may be truly call'd the firſt Diſadvantage, becauſe the Imbecilities of that Prince were a great Strength to the *Engliſh*; and on the other Side the Infancy of young *Henry* was an Advantage to *Charles* the *Dauphine*, who by thoſe of his own Party was now proclaim'd King of *France*, as the *Engliſh* in Deriſion us'd to ſtile him King of *Berry*, becauſe he had not much more left than that Province.

Charles *King of* France *dies.*

Pol. Virg. Speed. &c. In *England* a Parliament was aſſembled the better to eſtabliſh the Crown upon the Infant, and to provide for the publick Uſes and Neceſſities of the State; among which Mony was liberally granted, particularly five Nobles upon every Sack of Wool. It was a new and uncommon Sight to the *Engliſh* Nation, to ſee an Infant ſitting in his Mother's Lap, and exerciſing Soveraign Power in open Parliament; for Queen *Catharine*, to illuminate that publick Aſſembly with the Preſence of her Royal Babe, remov'd from *Windſor* to *London*, and with him in her Arms was carry'd through the City in a pompous and ſplendid manner to *Weſtminſter*; where being ſeated upon his Throne, by the ordinary Mouth of that high Court, he ſaluted the Auguſt Body, and propos'd Matters of the higheſt Conſequence to their moſt mature Conſideration. As the Affairs of this young Monarch were wiſely eſtabliſh'd in *England*, ſo they were no leſs vigorouſly proſecuted in *France* by the worthy Regent the Duke of *Bedford*; who heartily joining with the Duke of *Burgundy*, fortify'd the Frontiers of their Poſſeſſions, aſſembled their Deputies and Repreſentatives, and us'd all Methods to retain the Hearts of their own Party. In a publick Aſſembly at *Paris* the Duke of *Bedford* in a ſolemn Speech exhorted the Nobility of *France*, *Not to violate their ſworn Allegiance, nor endeavour by themſelves or others to defraud their Soveraign Lord King* Henry *of his rightful Inheritance; nor to countenance any faithleſs Men who would revive the expiring Animoſities between the* French *and* Engliſh *Names and Nations. That they would remember, how by the Bounty of Providence, the two Kingdoms of* France *and* England *were in perpetual League united into one glorious Monarchy, and lately eſtabliſh'd beyond the Extent of all Human Force. That tho' they had been great Sufferers by the War, yet they would be no leſs Gainers, if they honour'd, lov'd and obey'd their lawful Soveraign King* Henry, *and according to their bounden Duty proſecuted his Enemies to the utmoſt Extremity.* This Speech found plauſible Admiſſion; and young *Henry* was in *Paris* ſolemnly proclaim'd King of *England* and *France*, and ſuch Noblemen as were preſent did their Homages, and took their Oaths of Fealty. The like Obligations and Oaths of Allegiance were in the ſame manner put upon all *Frenchmen* in the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*.

A Parliament in England.

The Duke of Bedford's *Care in* France.

Young Henry *proclaim'd there.*

A. D. 1423. Reg. 1/2.

Æmilius Mezeray. Pol. Virg. The *Dauphine*, who now ſtil'd himſelf King of *France* by the Name of *Charles* the Seventh, being then about twenty ſeven Years of Age, full of Courage and new Hopes, gathered together what Forces he could. He had the Duke of *Alenſon*, with ſeveral Princes of the Blood and Peers of *France* on his Side, all whom he purchas'd at a dear Rate; for he was conſtrain'd to engage

The Dauphine's *Endeavours againſt him.*

gage his Caſtles and the beſt Part of his Demeaſnes in pawn for them. But the greateſt Strength of his Army conſiſted of ſome thouſands of the *Scottiſh* Nation, who as true Enemies to the *Engliſh*, ſerv'd under his Banner. The firſt Attempt made by *Charles* his Forces prov'd unfortunate; for marching to relieve *Cravant*, which the *Engliſh* had beſieg'd, they were put to flight with the Loſs of two thouſand of their Men. *Charles* and his Adherents were ſo far from ſinking under the Apprehenſions of ſo ill an Omen, that they reſolv'd to encounter adverſe Fortune with Encreaſe of Courage. Purſuing this Reſolution, they in a ſhort Time after repair'd the late Loſs by an Overthrow which they gave to a Party of *Engliſh*, from whom, with the Slaughter of fifteen hundred, they recover'd a great Booty, eſpecially of Cattle, which they had gotten in the Counties of *Nugion* and *Main*. Proceeding in this Courſe *Charles* took *Meulan* upon the *Sein*, and put the *Engliſh* Garriſon to the Sword: But the Poſſeſſion was ſhort, and the Revenge ſpeedy; for the Earl of *Salisbury*, whom *Polydore* compares to the old *Romans* for Valour and Bravery, taking with him *John* of *Luxemberg*, General of the *Burgundian* Horſe, ſoon recover'd the Place, and kill'd all the *French* that were found in it.

An Alliance between the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy *and* Bretaign.

The better to eſtabliſh the *Engliſh* Affairs, at the City of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, the three great Dukes of *Bedford*, *Burgundy* and *Bretaign*, with the Earl of *Richemont*, met in great State; where they renew'd the former League, adding, 'That each ſhould be the other's Friend, and that all of them ſhould unite their 'Forces in the Defence of King *Henry*'s Right. But for the better Confirmation of this profitable Alliance, the Duke of *Bedford*, then a Batchelor, marry'd the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the Earl of *Richemont* marry'd another of the Duke's Siſters nam'd *Margaret*. While the Regent was abſent from *Paris* upon theſe juſt Occaſions, the *Pareſians*, who not long before had ſent Ambaſſadors into *England* to acknowledge King *Henry*, now enter'd into a Deſign to deliver up the City to *Charles* the new King. The Regent had timely Notice of this dangerous Conſpiracy, and with his Preſence reduc'd them to their Duty, with the Execution of ſeveral of the chief Actors. Not long after there ſeaſonably arriv'd out of *England* ten thouſand freſh Soldiers, over whom for Commanders he appointed the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Willoughby* and others; while he himſelf for the general Service led eight hundred Horſe-men, and eight thouſand Foot. With theſe Field Forces the main of the *Engliſh* Eſtate in *France* was ſupported and held together, tho' not without Difficulties and various Adventures; in which the Regent took from *Charles* ſeveral ſtrong Towns and Forts, as *Crotoy*, *Compeigne*, *Baſas*, and many others.

Mezeray. Pol. Virg. &c.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2/3.

The Duke of Bedford *is ſucceſsful.*

The Regent's chief Deſign was to draw *Charles* to a general Battel, hoping by that to finiſh his Work; to that End he march'd into *Normandy*, while the other muſter'd his Soldiers in *Tourain*. To promote this Deſign, the Regent laid Siege to *Yvry*; whereupon the Duke of *Alenſon* was detach'd at the Head of ſixteen thouſand Men, with Inſtructions to fight, if Occaſion ſerv'd, but *Charles* himſelf was not permitted to hazard his Perſon. Not far from the Town of *Vernevil*, which the *Engliſh* had taken before *Alenſon* and his *Charolines* could relieve it, the two Armies drew up in Battalia. The Fight began with Arrows and Darts, which being not quick enough to diſpatch the Work, the eager Combatants proceeded to Hand-Blows, where for ſome Hours they maintain'd a conſtant and doubtful Conflict with prodigious Fury. The *Engliſh* enur'd to the *French* Wars, having born the firſt and fierceſt Attacks of their Enemies, by an uniform Courage intirely broke them and put them to flight; and the Regent himſelf with his Battel-Ax did Wonders, and won immortal Honour in the bloody Conteſt. In this Battel, which was fought on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, were ſlain on the *French* Side five Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and above ſeven thouſand Soldiers, beſides two thouſand ſeven hundred

Pol. Virg. Æmilius Bottius. &c.

He defeats the French *at* Vernevil.

hundred *Scots* lately arriv'd; and the *Engliſh* took the Duke of *Alenſon* himſelf Priſoner, with two hundred other Men of Note, beſides inferior Soldiers; all which coſt them the Lives of two thouſand one hundred common Soldiers, and the two Lords *Dudley* and *Charleton*. After which, the Regent return'd to *Paris*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* with ten thouſand Men took the ſtrong City of *Mans*, the Town of St. *Suſan*, the Fort of St. *Bernard*, and other Places; from whence, marching into *Anjou*, he there perform'd ſuch Heroick Acts, that his very Name grew terrible to all *France*. The News of theſe Tranſactions arriving in *England* caus'd great Rejoicings among the People, both for the Victory in the open Field, and the gaining of ſo many conſiderable Places; for which general Proceſſions and publick Thankſgivings were appointed. *Rejoicings in* England.

Holling. &c. In *England*, during theſe proſperous Proceedings, *James* the Firſt King of *Scotland*, whoſe Ranſom had been ſetled in the late Reign, was now fully ſet at Liberty: But before his Departure out of the Kingdom he did Homage to young King *Henry* in *Windſor* Caſtle in the Preſence of many of the Nobility and Gentry in theſe Words, *I* James Stuart, *King of the* Scots, *will be true and faithful to you Lord* Henry, *King of* England *and* France, *the Superior Lord of* Scotland, *and to you I make my Fidelity for the ſaid Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you, and will do you Service for the ſame, ſo help me God, and theſe Holy Evangeliſts*. But notwithſtanding this ſolemn Oath, and the many munificent Preſents that were made to him, he did not long continue in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, but afterwards became as firm to the *French* as any of his Predeceſſors. After *Eaſter*, in the Third Year of this Reign, by the Advice of the Peers, the young King call'd a Parliament; and going to the Houſe himſelf, he was convey'd through the City upon a noble Courſer, in extraordinary Triumph, the People thronging the Streets to behold the Child, whom they judg'd to have the lively Features and Countenance of his glorious Father, and likely to ſucceed him in all mighty Qualifications and Abilities, as well as Kingdoms and Dominions. During this Seaſon, *Edmund Mortimer* the laſt Earl of *Marche* of that Name, and neareſt Heir to the Crown of *England*, deceas'd without Iſſue, and his great Patrimony deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son and Heir to the ſame Earl of *Cambridge* that was beheaded in the Beginning of the laſt Reign. In the Time of this Parliament alſo Sir *John Mortimer*, Couſin to the deceas'd Earl, either out of Deſert or Malice, was impeach'd for High-Treaſon, and publickly executed; from whoſe Death there aroſe no ſmall Murmurings among the common People.

James *King of* Scotland *at full Liberty.*

His Homage.

A Parliament.

The Earl of Marche *dies.*

His Couſin beheaded.

Ibid. In the mean Time the Amity and Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*, which the *Engliſh* had found ſo advantagious in their Conqueſts, having otherwiſe receiv'd ſome ſlight Flaws, was now in danger of being utterly broken upon this Occaſion. *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Protector of *England*, following Advices unworthy of his Perſon and Station, contracted himſelf with the Lady *Jaqueline* of *Bavaria*, Inheritrix of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and of many other fair Dominions in the *Netherlands*, notwithſtanding that the Duke of *Brabant* her Husband was then living, and that the Suit of Divorce commenc'd by *Jaqueline* was ſtill depending between them. The Duke of *Burgundy* in this Affair join'd with *Brabant*; which ſoon rais'd the Indignation of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who not being us'd to meet with Oppoſition, went over in Perſon with an Army to take Poſſeſſion of *Hainault* in Right of his ſuppos'd Wife; but finding himſelf diſappointed by the Succours which *Burgundy* ſent to the Duke of *Brabant*, he proceeded to challenge the former in Combate, and to call him Traitor. This was accepted, but by the Duke of *Bedford*'s Mediation the Challenge fell, and the Matter was accommodated; ſo that that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, without performing any Thing for which he came, left his Lady at her Town of *Mons*, and return'd into *England*. Here *Mezeray* is of Opinion that if this unſeaſonable Conteſt had not happen'd, the reſt of *France* at this Time

A Breach between the Dukes of Gloceſter *and* Burgundy.

They are reconcil'd.

Time had undoubtedly been ſubdu'd. Not long after the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Return, the firſt Marriage which had been made and conſummated between the Duke of *Brabant* and the ſaid Lady *Jaqueline*, was pronounc'd lawful and valid by Pope *Martin* the Fifth. Whereupon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, having ſuſtain'd many Loſſes both of Friends and Treaſure, in Puniſhment of his Crime of taking another Man's Wife, ſhortly after marry'd *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*; by which he is ſaid to have made her Compenſation for that unlawful Familiarity that had formerly paſs'd between them.

A. D. 1425. Reg. 3 4.

A Diſpute between the Duke of Gloceſter *and Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

II. By this Time the Court of *England* began to diſcover the uſual Effects of an Infant's ſitting upon the Throne, by the dangerous Emulation of the two principal Men in the Nation, the Duke of *Gloceſter* and his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the one Protector of the Kingdom, and the other a Tutor to the King. Whether it was that the former hated the Riches and pompous Living of the latter, or that the latter envy'd the great Authority of the former; it is certain that the *Engliſh* Court, the City of *London*, and the whole Kingdom was diſturb'd by this unhappy Contention: Alterations not to be wonder'd at; for as Thunder foreruns a Storm, ſo King *Henry*'s Misfortunes were not to fall out without a Precedency of many Diſorders, which tho' ſeparately conſider'd were of no great Moment, yet being join'd were ſuch as at length caus'd his Ruin. The News of theſe Domeſtick Diſturbances oblig'd the great Duke of *Bedford* to return from *France*, tho' the State of that Realm ſufficiently requir'd his Preſence. For the Duke of *Bretaign*, notwithſtanding his late Renovation of the League with the Regent, growing jealous of the *Engliſh* Greatneſs, ſuddenly turn'd to *Charles*'s Party; and with him the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother. This gave freſh Life to the declining Prince, who made *Richemont* Conſtable of his Part of *France*, in the Room of the Earl of *Douglaſs* ſlain in the Battel of *Vernevil*; and he to ſhow his Gratitude gather'd about twenty thouſand Men, and ſuddenly inveſted St. *Jean*, a Town in *Normandy*, upon the Frontiers of *Bretaign*, which the Duke of *Somerſet*, Governor of *Normandy* had lately fortify'd and repleniſh'd with Soldiers. This unexpected Approach of the *French* at firſt much perplex'd the *Engliſh*; but upon better Conſideration, they valiantly ſally'd upon them, both on the Front and the Rear, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them, that with the Loſs of their Artillery, and many of their Men, they abandon'd the Siege. To redeem which Diſhonour *Richemont* turn'd his Fury againſt the Country of *Anjou*, pillaging and depopulating many Places. The Regent having reſolv'd to return into *England*, left behind him the valiant *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* for his Lieutenant, who was lately arriv'd in *France* with ſix thouſand freſh Soldiers. Having enter'd the City of *London*, the Duke was magnificently receiv'd by the Citizens, and preſented with two Silver Baſons gilt, and a thouſand Marks in Mony, as an Inſtance of their Eſteem and Gratitude. *Holling. Pol. Virg. &c.*

To reconcile which the Duke of Bedford *returns into* England.

The happy Preſence of the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was highly uſeful to the State of *England*. For the Wiſdom and Authority of ſo great a Prince, eldeſt Uncle to the King, and one whom many Actions had render'd famous, ſoon allay'd the Diſtemper which he found at his Arrival. It was a Work worthy of his Labour, and he found it a Work not eaſie no be effected by a Labour and Power leſs than his own. The Differences were debated firſt at St. *Albans*, then at *Northampton*, and laſtly in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, which continu'd there 'till towards the End of *June*. The Duke of *Bedford* himſelf, to avoid all Marks of Partiality to his Brother of *Gloceſter*, here would not intermeddle otherwiſe than in general Words to incourage Amity, but had the whole Cauſe referr'd to the moſt conſiderable Men in the Nation, both for Birth and Wiſdom. By the prudent Endeavours of theſe all their Differences, Grievances and Accuſations were equally thruſt into one Bag, to be ſeal'd up by Oblivion for ever; and without Mention of Compenſations on either Side, the *Ibid.*

Reconciliation made.

the Duke ſwore by his Princehood, and the Biſhop by his Prieſthood, truly to obſerve the Award, and were for that time fully reconcil'd. This pious and neceſſary Work of private Reconciliation was ſucceeded by ſeveral Acts of Feſtivity and Honour. For in the ſame Town of *Leiceſter*, the young King, not then five Years of Age, was at the high Feaſt of *Whitſuntide* ſolemnly knighted by his Uncle the Regent of *France*. Immediately after the King honour'd *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Heir to the late Earl of *Marche*, with the ſame Order of Knighthood, and about forty more with him. This Earl of *Cambridge* was at this Parliament, by a fatal Error, not only reſtor'd to his Blood, tainted by his Father, but likewiſe created Duke of *York*; and he was the Perſon that afterwards caus'd the Extirpation of the Male Lines, both of his own and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. And it was more than probable that he would never have made ſuch a bold Attempt, had he not been promoted to this Honour, and to other Dignities and Places of Truſt, that gave him Opportunity to effect his Purpoſes. But Providence governs Affairs here below by Means contrary to ſecular Reaſon; for while Men weakly imagine that good Turns will extinguiſh the Memory of paſt Offences, Examples manifeſt how often they have been ſuperſeded by Intereſt, Humour and Ambition.

The Earl of Cambridge. *Heir to the Crown, made Duke of* York.

Pol Virg. Mezeray. Now the triple Cord began to be untwiſted, and one of the great Supporters of the King's Infancy, the Duke of *Exeter* departed this Life; a Man of no ſmall Wiſdom and Abilities, who having no Sons, made the King his Heir, tho' beſides the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Brother, and the Counteſs of *Weſtmorland* his Siſter, he had many Nephews. To ſupply his Room, *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was conſtituted Guardian and Tutor to the young King. But he did not immediately return into *England*, for being Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, he continu'd there for ſome Time, and perform'd many noble Actions. He enter'd into the Country of *Main* and took the Town of *Chaſteau de Loire*, and after that the Caſtles of *Maiet* and *Lude*, in all which he put Garriſons and *Engliſh* Governors. Here he was inform'd that the *French* were gather'd together in the Country of *Beaux*, upon which he haſten'd to have given them Battel, but they underſtanding his Deſign, fled at the Terror of his Name and Nation. The Earl in his Return won the Caſtle of *Montdubleau*, where leaving the valiant Lord *Willoughby*, he return'd to *Paris*. It would be endleſs to take Notice of all the Sieges, Skirmiſhes, and Enterprizes in theſe Wars both foreign and domeſtick. There was not a City or Borough in *France* without Garriſons; Forts and Caſtles were built in all convenient Places, upon Hills, Rivers, narrow Ways and open Fields; every Lord had his Soldiers, or rather his Bands of Robbers, who maintain'd themſelves by feeding upon the poor miſerable Country People. During theſe Calamities, Means were us'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* for the Freedom of the Duke of *Alenſon*, taken at the Battel of *Vernevil*; and now for the Sum of two hundred thouſand Crowns he was ſet at Liberty; but nothing could induce him to acknowledge King *Henry*'s Title in *France*.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 4/5.

The Duke of Exeter *dies.* *The Earl of* Warwick *ſucceeds.*

His Actions in France.

Holling. Pol. Virg. &c. The great Duke of *Bedford* having at length worthily eſtabliſh'd the Peace of *England*, took Shipping with his Lady, and landed at *Calais*; where the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who went over with him, receiv'd the Habit, Cap and Dignity of a Cardinal; which Promotion the late King, with a penetrating Eye ſeeing his boundleſs Ambition, had more than once defeated. But now the King being young, and the Regent his Friend, he obtain'd his Purpoſe to his great Profit, and the Impoveriſhment of the Spiritualities of *England:* For by a Legantine Bull, which he purchas'd from *Rome*, he gather'd ſo much Treaſure, that he gain'd the Name of the rich Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. With the Regent there went over a great Number of ſelect freſh Soldiers, under the Command of that renowned Lord *Talbot*, whoſe Victories, ſays *Polydore*, were ſo numerous, that his Name was not only formidable to the *French*, but famous throughout the World, even to this preſent Time. To give a Taſt of his Temper

A. D. 1427. Reg. 5/6.

The Duke of Bedford *goes into* France.

The Lord Talbot's *Valour.*

per and Fierceneſs, upon one Side of his broad Sword he had this Motto, *Sum Talboti*, and on the other this boiſterous Sentence, *Pro vincere Inimicos meos*. Not long after his Arrival, at *Montarges*, near *Orleans*, a Party of *Engliſh* receiv'd an Overthrow with the Loſs of about fifteen hundred Men; and in *Bretaign* the *French* ſuſtain'd great Damages from a Commander under the Duke of *Somerſet*. After which the Inhabitants of *Mans* in *Maine* had let in the *French* by Night, who barbarouſly maſſacred moſt of the *Engliſh* in the Place. *William* Earl of *Suffolk*, Governor of the Town, retiring with ſome Men into the Caſtle, ſent to the Lord *Talbot* for Succour. He immediately came, and his Men unexpectedly crying out St. *George a Talbot!* the *French* were ſuddenly reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, and moſt of the Soldiers put to the Sword. All the reſt were ſpar'd, only thirty Citizens and thirty five Prieſts and Religious were beheaded as Traitors, and the City remain'd in its former Condition; and it was hard to judge which of three Things were moſt commendable in *Talbot*, his Wiſdom, his Celerity, or his Valour.

He relieves the Earl of Suffolk.

A. D. 1428. Reg. 6/7. Above a Year after the Earl of *Warwick* had been declar'd Governor to the King, he left *France* and return'd into *England*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* ſucceeded him in his Charge, who went over with five thouſand Soldiers. Conſulting with the Regent, he bethought himſelf of ſome Action that might anſwer the Greatneſs of his own Name, and the publick Occaſions; and the Siege of *Orleans* was by him propos'd in Council. The Credit of the Earl was a ſufficient Reaſon to convince them how practicable it was; and was accordingly furniſh'd with all competent Proviſions. The Inhabitants of *Orleans*, dreading the approaching Storm, with great Diligence provided for their Defence; and the Suburbs, as large as ſome Cities, were levell'd to the Ground, that the Enemy might not annoy them from thence; and they wanted not Men, Victuals, Ammunition and a conſtant Reſolution to fight. The Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a formidable Force under expert Commanders, in a ſhort Time preſented themſelves before this large and beautiful City. No Enemies appearing abroad, the Earl approach'd near to the Walls; and finding Attacks fruitleſs, he intrench'd about the City, and to ſecure his Camp, he caſt up Ramparts and other Works of Defence. He ſeiz'd upon the Fort which ſtood at the Bridge Foot beyond the River *Loire*, and ſurrounded the Beſieged on every ſide, ſo that *Charles* of *France* could ſend no ſufficient Relief to them. When Human Helps fail, God often interpoſes his Hand, which is generally moſt conſpicuous in the Deliverance of Nations. The City was now reduc'd to the laſt Diſtreſs, the Siege having laſted ſixty Days, not without great Bloodſhed on both Sides. The valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, impatient of ſuch Delay, propos'd to give a general Aſſault; and the better to conſider of the Manner of it, he ſtood to take a View at a Window, barr'd with Iron, which over-look'd the City towards the Eaſt. Here Providence began to ſhew it ſelf againſt the *Engliſh* Affairs; for a Cannon Bullet levell'd by a Boy againſt the Window, ſtruck the Iron Grates, ſo that the Splinters ſo wounded the Earl, and one Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, that they both dy'd within a few Days. Here our Authors tell us That ſoon after this Man's Death the Fortune of War chang'd; and now both mortal and immortal Powers began to look favourably on the declining State of *France*. This to the *Engliſh* was ſaid to be the Beginning of Misfortunes, for after this by ſeveral backward Steps they loſt all their Poſſeſſions in that Kingdom; and tho' they ſometimes gain'd after that, yet they uſually loſt three Times as much. For which Reaſon *Polydore*, after many Encomiums upon the Earl, calls him the Man in whom the Safety of the *Engliſh* State conſiſted.

Æmilius. Pol. Virg. Fabian. &c.

The Siege of Orleans *by the Earl of* Saliſbury. *&c.*

The Earl of Salisbury *ſlain.*

The Engliſh *Affairs decline in* France.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7/8. However the Siege of *Orleans* did not end with his Life; for *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Talbot* and the reſt maintain'd the ſame all Winter. The Wants of the Camp were reliev'd by a Convoy from *Paris*, under the Command of Sir *John Falſtolfe*, and fifteen hundred Soldiers, who ſafely arriv'd, notwith-

Monſtrel. &c.

notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of ten thouſand *French* to intercept them: At length the City offer'd to ſurrender, but not to the *Engliſh*; the Beſieg'd were content that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould have the Honour: A ſubtle Artifice to break the Alliance between the *Engliſh* and him. The Regent and his Council being ſent to, they concluded it unreaſonable, ſince the *Engliſh* had been at all the Labour and Charge. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſecretly reſented this Refuſal, which ever after pall'd his Reliſh to the *Engliſh* Friendſhip: Yet the Regent's Anſwer was juſt and honeſt, *That the War was made in King* Henry's *Name, therefore* Orleans *ought to be his.*

Serres. Pol. Virg. Mezeray. &c.

In theſe Difficulties were the *French* Affairs involv'd: But while *Charles* of *France* grew more ſenſible of the miſerable Straits of his beloved City, and ignorant how to remedy ſo near a Misfortune; at *Chenon* a young Virgin of eighteen Years of Age preſented her ſelf to him, call'd *Joan* of *Lorrain*, Daughter to *James* of *Arck*, dwelling in *Damremy* upon the *Meauſe*, an ordinary Shepherdeſs, who bad him *not to faint*, conſtantly affirming *That God had ſent her to deliver the Realm of* France *from the* Engliſh *Yoke, and reſtore him to all his Dominions.* She was not immediately credited; but when the Wiſeſt of Eccleſiaſticks and military Men had put many Queſtions to her, and ſhe ſtill continu'd to her firſt Words, uttering nothing but what was modeſt, chaſt and holy, Honour and Belief was at length given to her Sayings. Upon which *Joan* arm'd her ſelf like a Man, and requir'd to have that Sword which hung in St. *Catharine*'s Church of *Fierebois* in *Tourain*; which Demand encreas'd their Admiration of her, ſince ſuch a Sword was found among the old Donaries or Votive Tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely accouter'd ſhe rod immediately to *Blois*, where Forces and freſh Proviſions lay for the Relief of *Orleans*; with which ſhe and the Admiral and Marſhal of *France* ſafely enter'd. This highly incourag'd the declining *French*; and *Joan* the Maid of God, as ſhe was now call'd, wrot this peculiar Letter to the Earl of *Suffolk* then lying before the Town. *King of* England, *do Juſtice to the King of Heav'n, in his Blood Royal; deliver up to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Cities you have forc'd. She is come from Heav'n to reſtore the Blood Royal, and is ready to make a Peace, if you be ready to do Juſtice: Yield therefore, and reſtore what you have taken, King of* England. *I am the Chief of this War, therefore I encounter your Men in* France, *and will purſue them; if they will obey, I will take them to Mercy. The Virgin comes from Heav'n to drive you out of* France: *If you will not obey, ſhe will raiſe ſuch a Flame as has not been known theſe thouſand Years in* France. *And be aſſur'd that the King of Heav'n will ſend to her, and her good Men of Arms, more Forces than you have. Go in God's Name into your Country: Be not obſtinate, for you ſhall not hold* France *of the King of Heav'n; but* Charles *ſhall enjoy it, the King and lawful Heir, to whom God has given it, he ſhall enter* Paris *with a noble Train. You Earl of* Suffolk, *Lord* Talbot, *Lord* Scales, *Lieutenants to the Duke of* Bedford; *and you Duke of* Bedford, *terming your ſelf Regent of* France, *ſpare innocent Blood, and leave* Orleans *at Liberty. If you do not Juſtice to them you have wrong'd, the* French *will perform the greateſt Exploit that ever was known in Chriſtendom. Underſtand theſe News from God and the Virgin.*

Joan *of* Arck *appears in publick.*

She arms her ſelf in the Defence of Orleans.

Her Letter to the Earl of Suffolk.

Serres. Stow. &c.

This Letter was entertain'd by the *Engliſh* with Laughter, and *Joan* reputed no better than an Enthuſiaſt or Enchantreſs; tho' to ſome it was thought more honourable to the *Engliſh* that they were not to be repell'd by Human Force, but by ſomething extraordinary, if not Divine. *Du Serres* gives this Character of the Virgin, That ſhe was of a modeſt Aſpect, ſweet, civil and reſolute; her Diſcourſe moderate, rational and reſerv'd; her Actions demonſtrating great Chaſtity, without Vanity, Affectation or Levity. Whatever her Qualifications were, by her Encouragements and Conduct the *Engliſh* ſoon loſt their Hopes of *Orleans*, after they had ſuffer'd the Duke of *Alenſon* to enter

Her Character.

She relieves Orleans. with new Forces, and with great Loſs were conſtrain'd to break up the Siege. In all Actions ſhe was one and foremoſt, and ſhe made ſeveral fierce Sallies upon the *Engliſh*; in one of which being ſhot through the Arm with an Arrow, ſhe couragiouſly cry'd out, *This is a Favour from Heav'n, let us go on; they cannot eſcape the Hand of God:* The *Engliſh* loſt in this Siege the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poynings*, and great Numbers of inferior Perſons, ſlain by the Sallies of this martial Virgin. The Lord *Talbot* march'd off in good Order with above nine thouſand Men, whom *Joan* would not ſuffer the *French* to purſue. In Memory of this extraordinary Deliverance the *A Monument erected to her Memory.* City of *Orleans* erected a Monument, where *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* and *Joan* the martial Maid were repreſented, kneeling in Armour, elevating their Eyes and Hands to Heav'n, in Token of their Thanks and Acknowledgment.

Now there was an interchangeable Taking and Recovering of Towns, and Places of Importance on both Sides. The Caſtle of *Galiard* was ſurrender'd to the *French* upon Compoſition, where in a grated Chamber they found the vali- *Barbaſon's Fidelity.* ant Lord *Barbaſon*, who having ſworn to be a true Priſoner, could not be induc'd to come out of that Place, 'till Captain *Kingſton*, to whom he had given that Oath, was upon ſafe Conduct recall'd to acquit him, which was accordingly done: A rare Example of Conſtancy in him, conſidering how little Regard the reſt of the Nation at that Time had to Oaths. The Lord *Talbot* took *Laval*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* threw himſelf into *Jergeaux*. To which laſt Place the Duke of *Alenſon* with *Joan* and other great Commanders march'd, and forc'd it by Storm. Sir *Alexander Pool* Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk* was ſlain, with many others in the Encounter, and the Earl himſelf was taken Priſoner. After the Duke of *Alenſon* had added ſome other Places to his Conqueſts, his Numbers were augmented by the Conjunction of the Conſtable of *France*, the Earl of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others; ſo that now their whole Army conſiſted of about twenty three thouſand effective Men. With theſe they ſuddenly attack'd the valiant Lord *Talbot*, who had not above a fifth Part of their Number, at a Village call'd *Patay*, whom they charg'd ſo unexpectedly, that his Archers had no Time to fortifie their Stations after their uſual Manner, by Paliſadoes or Empalement of Stakes, ſo that they were driven *The* Engliſh *worſted at* Patay. to uncommon Difficulties. After three Hours brave Reſiſtance, the *Engliſh* were put to the worſt; and the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampſtone*, and even the Lord *Talbot* himſelf, after a great Wound in the Back, were taken Priſoners. The Footmen forc'd to truſt to their Swords, under the Shelter of ſuch Horſemen as remain'd, retreated in good Order, and got to a Place of Safety, after they had loſt about twelve hundred Men, and the *French* about half that Number. This Blow ſhook the very Foundation of the *Engliſh* Greatneſs in *France*, and awak'd Multitudes, even of thoſe who had before ſworn Fealty to King *Henry*; and now having a Colour of Divine Warrant for violating their Oaths, they readily join'd with the Victors for Recovering of the common Liberty. There ſucceeded an immediate Revolt of ſeveral Towns; and it was not long before *Charles* himſelf iſſu'd out in Arms, and recover'd the City of *Rheims* in *Champaign*; where, according to the Charles *crowned at* Rheims. Maid's Direction, he was ſolemnly crown'd King of *France*. Hitherto ſhe might plauſibly be thought prophetical and fortunate; and it ſeem'd that the chief Part of her Imployment was accompliſh'd, yet ſhe flouriſh'd for ſome Space longer.

The Duke of *Bedford* to prop the declining State of the *Engliſh*, upon the Ibid. unfortunate News of the Relief of *Orleans*, and Captivity of *Talbot*, gather'd his whole Forces together, which amounted to about ten thouſand *Engliſh*, be- *The Regent prepares againſt him.* ſides certain Auxiliaries of *Normans*. With theſe he march'd out of *Paris*, and bravely oppos'd himſelf againſt the Current of *Charles*'s new Proſpects, who now deſign'd to have attempted that Capital City; being incourag'd by ſome of the

the Citizens who held ſtrict and ſecret Correſpondence with him. But this Prince, knowing the Regent's Valour and Reſolution, ſuſpended the Execution of his Deſign, as yet having no Hopes to effect it; and being by *Joan* diſſuaded from Fighting, the Regent return'd to *Paris*. Shortly after *Compeign* and *Beauvois* voluntarily ſubmitted to the new crown'd King. The Regent having ſetled the State and Garriſons of the chief City, paſs'd into *Normandy*, to provide for a ſafe Retreat there, if the *Engliſh* ſhould be conſtrain'd to quit their other Holds and Dominions; of which he began to be apprehenſive, becauſe he had Information of many ſecret Endeavours to win the *Burgundians* from King *Henry*'s Side. While the Regent was abſent upon this Occaſion, *Charles* gain'd the Town of St. *Denis*, not far from *Paris*, but held it not long in Poſſeſſion. From whence he ſent the Duke of *Alenſon* with the Maid of *France*, to try their Friends and Fortunes at *Paris*. Here they found none of their expected Succeſs; for the *Engliſh* gave them ſo rough an Entertainment, that *Joan* her ſelf was wounded, and the reſt with great Slaughter repell'd. The Regent hearing of theſe Attempts, entruſted the Coaſt Towns of *Normandy* to the Care of the Duke of *York*, and *Roan* the Capital City to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and haſten'd to *Paris*, where he highly commended the Soldiers and Citizens for not imitating the Diſloyalty of their Neighbours.

Pol. Virg. Holling. &c. New Supplies arriving out of *England*, the next Enterprize was to reduce *Compeign* to Obedience; to effect which *John* of *Luxemburg* with the *Burgundians* and ſome *Engliſh* Soldiers inveſted it. Here all the Glory of *Joan* the Maid of *France* came to a Period; for coming to relieve the Place, ſhe ſucceſsfully enter'd; but afterwards ſallying out, her Troops were beaten, and her ſelf, as ſome ſay betray'd, taken Priſoner by the ſaid *Burgundian* Knight, who for the Value of her Ranſom, which was ten thouſand Pounds *Tournoys*, and three hundred Crowns annual Rent, deliver'd her into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. Notwithſtanding the Siege was rais'd; after which they ſent *Joan* to the City of *Roan*, where about nine or ten Months after ſhe was burnt alive. The *Roman Clælia* was ſav'd by *Porſenna*; and it is not to be doubted but that the Magnanimity of the *Engliſh* would have ſpar'd her, had they not found it neceſſary to deface the Opinion which the *French* to the higheſt Superſtition had entertain'd of her. The *Engliſh* Writers ſhow, how the Courſe of her Life being legally examin'd by the Biſhop of *Beauvois*, in whoſe Dioceſs ſhe was taken, and ſhe being for Sorcery, Bloodſhed, and unnatural Uſe of Maſculine Habiliments, condemn'd to die, was notwithſtanding, upon her ſolemn abjuring all her lewd Practices, pardon'd her Life, 'till again convicted of a perjurious Relapſe, tho' acknowledging her ſelf a Strumpet, and feigning her ſelf with Child, ſhe deſervedly met with that Puniſhment which ſhe thought to have deferr'd. Many of the *French* Writers ſhow the higheſt Value for her Memory; and *Mezeray* ſays, that being on the Pile for Execution ſhe foretold the *Engliſh*, *That the Hand of God was ready to ſtrike them, and that his Juſtice would not only drive them out of* France, *but purſue them into* England, *and make them ſuffer the ſame Miſeries and Calamities they had inflicted on the* French. However this is certain, that ſhe was one of extraordinary Valour and Spirit, and the main Reſtorer of the Kingdom of *France*, and if ſhe did not drive the *Engliſh* from thence, as ſhe her ſelf boaſted, ſhe was the chief, or at leaſt one of the chief Human Cauſes why the *Engliſh* loſt *France*.

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8/9.

Joan *taken Priſoner,*

and burnt alive.

Her Character.

Pol. Virg. Æmilius Holling. &c. The *Engliſh* Affairs ſtill more and more declin'd; but to remedy theſe Misfortunes, it was by the wiſeſt thought neceſſary for young King *Henry* to come over and be crown'd in *Paris*. He had the laſt Year with great Solemnity receiv'd the Crown of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, being then about nine Years of Age, and ready to receive all Impreſſions either of Good or Bad. This Year reſolving for *France*, before his Departure, *Richard* Duke of *York* was by a particular Patent made High-Conſtable of *England* during Life; which gave him a more ſenſible Taſte of Greatneſs, and ſecretly whetted his ambitious Appetite.

A. D. 1431. Reg. 9/10.

petite. The Affairs of *England* being ſetled, and new Supplies of Mony granted by Parliament, the young King with a Noble Retinue took Shipping at *Dover*, and landed at *Calais*; from whence, after ſome Continuance, he remov'd to *Roan*, where he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Joy and Triumph. In the Month of *November* he departed from *Roan* in Order to make a publick Entry into the City of *Paris*; all which was magnificently perform'd in the Company of the two great Cardinals of *Wincheſter* and *York*, and the chief Princes of the Blood, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Prelates, the Flower of the *Engliſh*, *French*, *Bargundians* and *Normans*, with a ſelect Body of three thouſand Men for the Guard of his Perſon. It would be tedious to mention with what Honour and Pomp he was receiv'd into this glorious City, and what Pageants, Ornaments and Entertainments were prepar'd to render the Thing more ſolemn and triumphant. On the ſeventh Day of *December* he was publickly crown'd King of *France* in the grand Cathedral at *Paris* by his great Uncle the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*; and in his Return to the Palace he had one Crown on his Head, and another born before him, as likewiſe one Scepter in his Hand, and a ſecond carry'd before him; implying that he was King of two ſeveral Kingdoms. The Duke of *Bedford* entertain'd the great Aſſembly with a ſet Speech, in which he declar'd *King* Henry *his Nephew's undoubted Title to the Crown on his Head, and recommended the ſame to their Fidelities, adding large Promiſes both of Honour and Advantages.* Such of the *French* Nobility as were then preſent did their Homage; the People had obliging and gracious Words given them, and Quantities of Mony, Corn and Wine by way of Donative liberally beſtow'd amongſt them; and Proclamations made that all *Frenchmen* who came in by a fix'd Day, ſhould be protected.

King Henry *goes into* France.

He is crown'd King at Paris.

This great and ſplendid Feaſt did not paſs without ſome Diſpleaſure among the *Engliſh* Nobility; for the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, who at this Time would ſuffer no Equal, commanded the Duke of *Bedford* to lay aſide the Name of Regent, during the King's Preſence, alledging, that while he was there in Perſon, the Power of a Subſtitute was at an end. The Duke of *Bedford* took ſuch a ſecret Diſpleaſure at this haughty Proceeding, that he never after favour'd the Cardinal, but oppos'd him in all his Actions; and this was the Root, as ſome think, of that Diviſion among the *Engliſh* Nobility, where their Glory in the Realm of *France* began firſt to decline. After five Days Continuance in *Paris* from the Coronation, which were ſpent in publick Tournaments and the moſt ſplendid Entertainment, the King was adviſ'd to leave the Air of *Paris* and remove to *Roan*, where he kept his *Chriſtmaſs*. Still *Charles* of *France* eſteem'd himſelf no leſs a King, but daily purſu'd his Affairs; and his Men took the City of *Chartres* by Stratagem, and put the Biſhop of the Place and others to the Sword. Nor were the *Engliſh* unemploy'd; for the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Suffolk*, ſoon made up the Loſs with much Advantage; which was increas'd by the Deliverance of the valiant Lord *Talbot*, who by vertue of an Exchange was now ſet free. It was obſervable among Foreigners, and not without Admiration, that the ſmall and diſtant Country of *England*, under the Government of an Infant, ſhould ſo long, and ſo ſucceſsfully contend with ſuch a potent and populous Kingdom as *France*. But at that Time ſuch was the Valour and Martial Vigour of the *Engliſh* Nation, that they ſcarce knew any Medium between Death and Victory; always preferring an honourable End before a lingring Servitude. This mov'd Pope *Eugenius*, and all the Chriſtian Princes, ſo often to make Overtures of Accommodation between theſe two contending Kingdoms, but 'till this Year could effect nothing, but a very imperfect Truce for ſix Years. Which being agreed upon, King *Henry* took his laſt Farewel of *France*, and landing at *Dover*, upon the twenty firſt Day of *February* he was triumphantly receiv'd at *London*.

Halling, &c.

A Truce with France.

III. Young

Stow. Holling. Serres.

III. Young King *Henry* being ſafely return'd from his Foreign Kingdom of *France*, his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter* gave a very faithful Account of his Government in *England*; of which, the Suppreſſion of an Inſurrection at *Abbington* in *Oxfordſhire* was not the leaſt Service. A Weaver, the Bailiff of the Town, was the corrupt Head to which all the Contagion gather'd; who changing his Name, call'd himſelf Jack Sharp *of* Wigmore's *Land in* Wales. One of his main Deſigns was to have maſſacred Prieſts, whoſe Heads he ſaid he would make as cheap as Sheeps Heads; for which he deſervedly loſt his own, and had his four Quarters hung upon Stakes. However his Pretenſions were, the mentioning of *Wigmore*'s Lands, the ancient Inheritance of Earl *Mortimer*, and now in Poſſeſſion of the fatal Duke of *York* who from thence challeng'd the Crown of *England*, did inſinuate and ſignifie ſomething further. It is to be wonder'd the Council of State under King *Henry*, hearing that Title ſo often glanc'd at, provided no better againſt the Miſchief; but the Eyes and Hearts of the wiſeſt are blind, when God reſerves a ſecret Scourge, or deſigns to hide that Fire which ſhall afterwards conſume a Nation. Unquiet Humours were now abroad as well as at home; for the Soldiers of *Calais*, diſſatisfy'd with their Wages, began to be very mutinous and troubleſome. But the Regent going there in Perſon, ſoon put an end to the Tumult by beheading four of the Ringleaders, and caſhiering and baniſhing a hundred and ten of the reſt, as had been formerly done to ſix-ſcore others. Theſe were inconſiderable Affairs; but the Loſs of *France* began to be more conſpicuous, and it is worthy to obſerve the Steps that Providence ſeems to have us'd in depriving *England* of that Kingdom. In the Regent's Journey, King *Henry*'s Intereſt was apparently depreſs'd; for being a Widower, and arriving at *Turwin*, without the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Privacy, he marry'd the Lady *Jaquet*, about Seventeen Years of Age, Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburg* Earl of St. *Paul*, no Friend to the Duke. The Match was injurious to the *Engliſh* Affairs; for *Anne*, the Regent's former Wife, Siſter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, a ſtrong Ligament of Amity between them, weaken'd the ſame by her Death; and this ſecond Marriage, unpleaſing to the Duke, did ſtill more and more diminiſh it.

A. D. 1432. Reg. 10/11.

A Diſturbance in England.

Steps towards the Loſs of France.

Tillet. Æmilius Pol. Virg.

Still the Accidents of War between the *Engliſh* and *French* were numerous and various, ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other, getting and loſing, as Opportunities ſerv'd; which Uncertainties produc'd the ordinary Effects of inteſtine Convulſions, great Outrages, an unreſtrain'd Licentiouſneſs, and a Scarcity of Neceſſaries for Human Life. It would be both tedious and endleſs to recount the particular leſſer Actions, and almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe all the Sieges, Surprizes, Skirmiſhes, and the like, being ſo confus'dly related by Authors. Yet the Fortune of *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou* and *Barre*, is not to be omitted, becauſe King *Henry* afterwards unhappily marry'd into his Family. His Wife was *Iſabel*, Daughter and Heireſs to *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, upon whoſe Death *Reyner* expected to ſucceed him in all his Dominions; but the Earl of *Vallemont*, Brother to Duke *Charles*, preſuming he had a nearer Title, drove the Matter to be decided by War. *Charles* King of *France* was a ſteady Supporter of *Reyner*'s Claim, in Conſideration of the like Services done to him in Times of the greateſt Difficulty; and the Regent and Duke of *Burgundy* eſpous'd the Cauſe of the Earl. The Aſſiſtance of the latter prevail'd ſo far, that *Reyner*'s Troops were beaten from the Siege of *Vallemont*, with the Loſs of three thouſand Men, and himſelf with two hundred others remain'd Priſoners to the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of whoſe Subjects commanded in chief in that Enterprize. The King of *France* might ſeem to have ſuſtain'd a mighty Loſs by the Captivity of the Duke; but the *Engliſh* gain'd no Advantage by it; for his Perſuaſions, and private Services on the behalf of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Heart in due Time to receive Impreſſions of Reconciliation. The *French* who liv'd under the Regency, or were in

A. D. 1433. Reg. 11/12.

Various Fortunes in that Country.

in danger of the *Engliſh* Power, made Choice of the Duke of *Burgundy* to protect them, from which they could not be fairly debarr'd, becauſe as yet he appear'd to be King *Henry*'s Friend. Indeed this Scene and unfix'd State of Affairs was full of Horror and Confuſion, which *Polydore* deſcribes after this manner. While the *Engliſh* and the *Freneh* contend for Dominion, Soveraignty and Life it ſelf, Mens Goods were violently taken by the Licentiouſneſs of War, Churches robb'd, People in all Places murder'd, wounded or tortur'd; Matrons abus'd, Virgins torn from their Parent's Arms to be raviſh'd, Towns daily taken, daily plunder'd, daily defac'd, the Riches of the Inhabitants us'd at the Conqueror's Pleaſure; Houſes and Villages on all Sides flaming with Fire; no Kinds of Cruelty unpractis'd upon the miſerable *French*; omitting innumerable other Calamities, which all at once oppreſs'd them. Add to this, that the whole Republick, being deſtitute of the Benefit of Laws, which for the moſt part are ſilent in Times of War and Mutiny, floated up and down without any Anchorage of Right or Juſtice. Nor was *England* her ſelf free from theſe Calamities, who every Day heard the News of her valiant Childrens Funerals ſlain in perpetual Skirmiſhes and Encounters, and found her general Wealth continually ebbing and decreaſing; ſo that the Evils ſeem'd almoſt equal, and the whole Weſtern World eccho'd the Groans and Cries of either Nations Quarrels, as being the common Foundation of Diſcourſe and Compaſſion throughout Chriſtendom.

The Miſeries of France.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12/13.

The Methods at this Time us'd by the *Engliſh* did only faintly keep alive the general State of the Regency in *France*, without putting a Period to the War, either by finiſhing the Conqueſt, or eſtabliſhing what was gain'd. Some Perſons urg'd to have large Supplies of Men and Mony to be levy'd, that King *Charles* might have no Reſt in any Place; of which Opinion was the Regent himſelf, with the two Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet*. This Counſel was not follow'd, but others in Appearance more frugal, which ſtill fed the Evils, but redreſs'd none; which ſhew'd that preſent Sparings often draw after them infinite Waſtes, and that no Husbandry is ſo pernicious as unſeaſonable Parſimony. In the mean Time, the Earl of *Arundel* and Lord *Talbot* rang'd about with victorious Forces, terrifying *Anjou*, *Main*, and other Parts, with their ſeveral Succeſſes. In *Normandy*, nevertheleſs the common People gather'd together in great and dreadful Multitudes; of whom were ſixty thouſand rebelliouſly combining in *Vex* in *Normandy*, and twenty thouſand in *Caux*. Their Deſign and Pretenſions were to drive out all the *Engliſh* Officers, and to have favour'd King *Charles*'s Intereſt; but what are a Multitude without Advice or Conduct? To ſtop their Inſolency, and the Progreſs they made towards *Caen*, the Earl of *Arundel* with *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, with thirteen hundred light Horſe, and ſix thouſand Archers, march'd againſt them, by the Direction of the Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet*, who had the chief Lieutenancies in *Normandy*. The Earl laid in Ambuſcade with two Parts of his Men, while the Lord *Willoughby* drew the Rebels into it with a third. The Conſequence was that a thouſand of them were cut in pieces, before the Soldier's Hands could be ſtopp'd to ſpare the reſt, who baſely threw down their Arms, and begg'd for Mercy. The Multitudes were permitted to return home, but the Ringleaders loſt their Lives by Execution; and all the World could gather from this popular Inſurrection was, That the *Normans* would gladly be freed from the *Engliſh* Government. Not long after, the Earl of *Arundel*, after ſeveral noble Actions perform'd during the Wars in *France*, receiv'd his Deaths Wound in a Skirmiſh at *Gerberoy* in *Beauvoiſin*, where *La Hire*, a famous *French* Commander, won the Day.

Pol. Virg. Holling. Serres.

Normandy *in Rebellion.*

A. D. 1435. Reg. 13/14.

The Regency ſtill continu'd, and the Miſeries of *France* were no ways diminiſh'd; and nothing could put a Period to them while the Duke of *Burgundy* kept faithful to the *Engliſh*. Therefore to prepare Matter for a Separation between the Regent and the Duke, ſuch of the Nobility as went over to the latter inſinuated to him *That King* Charles *had upon all Occaſions ſpoke honourably*

Rymer. Monſtrel. Mezeray. Serres. &c.

rably of him, and inwardly wiſht well to him; and that he never hear'd the Murder of his Father nam'd, but it caus'd him with Sighs and Proteſtations to declare his Innocence. Theſe and the like mollifying Allegations ſoon began to operate, when apply'd to the Mind of one whoſe Affections towards the *Engliſh* daily decreas'd, by means of ſeveral Jealouſies and Averſions; ſo that there wanted nothing but an outward honourable Occaſion to bring him intirely to the *French* Party. In the mean Time, to put an End to the general Calamity, the Deputies of the Grand Council urg'd the *French*, *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* to come to a Treaty; and the City of *Arras* was appointed for that Purpoſe. From the Pope and Council of *Piſa* came the Cardinals of St. *Craſſe* and *Cyprus*, with twelve Biſhops: For the King of *France* were the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Richemont*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, and many other great and learned Men: For the King of *England* were the two Cardinals of *York* and *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Huntington*, the Lord *Hungerford*, and ſeveral Doctors of Divinity: For the Duke of *Burgundy* were the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earl of *Naſſau*, and ſuch a Number of other Noblemen as were ſufficient to ſhew that tho' in Title he was but a Duke, yet in Greatneſs he was equal to a King. *Mezeray* ſays that this was the greateſt and nobleſt Aſſembly that had been known to this Age, where all the Princes of Chriſtendom had their Ambaſſadors; and the Harbingers took up Stabling for ten thouſand Horſes. But notwithſtanding all this Care, it prov'd ineffectual; for the *Engliſh* being in Poſſeſſion ſtrenuouſly urg'd the Right of Deſcent, and the Act of the late King *Charles* the Sixth, by which the Crown of *France* was ſetled upon *Henry* the Fifth, and the Iſſue of *Catharine* his Wife; and therefore they propos'd no other Conditions of Peace, but that *Henry* their King ſhould have all, and *Charles* to hold under him. The *French* offer'd intirely the two Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Gaſcony*; and the Aſſembly broke up without any further Agreement. King *Charles* therefore reſolving to maim the *Engliſh* Faction upon any Terms, tho' never ſo mean, ſent the Duke of *Burgundy* a blank Paper, bidding him preſcribe his own Conditions and Demands; which he did: And his Conditions, ſays a *French* Author, were ſo numerous as to fill a Volume, and ſo unreaſonable, that it was amazing that ſo great a Monarch ſhould ſtoop ſo much to his Subject and Vaſſal. But Neceſſity urging, they both join'd upon the twenty fourth Day of *September*; and the Duke, tranſported by Profit, declar'd himſelf an Enemy to all Oppoſers of King *Charles*, after he had caus'd the Deaths of three hundred thouſand Men in his Quarrel, beſides the Deſtruction of innumerable Cities and Towns.

The Treaty of Arras.

The King of France and Duke of Burgundy reconciled.

Æmilius. Pol. Virg. &c.

This may be ſaid to have been the firſt parting Blow which ſeparated the *French* Dominions from the *Engliſh* Soveraignty; and the Event declar'd, That the *Engliſh* had done more politickly, if they had accepted of *Normandy* and *Gaſcony*, but in thoſe Circumſtances they could not in Honour comply; and if Counſels were to be determin'd by the Event, the moſt fooliſh would ſometimes paſs for prudent. By this Conjunction King *Henry* loſt not only a powerful Alley, but was conſtrain'd to rely upon his own ſingle Strength, as well againſt King *Charles* his declar'd Enemy, as now againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, who more than ſeem'd to have betray'd the Cauſe. To give a fair Colour to this Fact, the Duke diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors into *England* to King *Henry*, to give the Reaſons of his Treaty with King *Charles*, and to perſuade him to reſt ſatisfy'd with what had been tranſacted; which Embaſſy was ſo odious to the *Engliſh*, that they took the Liberty to call the Duke a *Time-Server, a perjur'd Man, and a Traitor*; and the popular Fury aroſe ſo high againſt the Duke's Subjects reſiding in *London*, that many of them were beaten and ſlain, before a Proclamation could put a Stop to it. The Ambaſſadors return'd with honeſt Admonitions to their Maſter, againſt which his Ears and his Senſes were irreſiſtably fortify'd; for King *Charles* had ſurrounded and loaded him with Royalties, Privileges, Honours, Mony, Cities, Towns, and indeed whole Provinces, that

The Advantages of the Reconciliation.

that were confirm'd to him, only to oblige him to abandon the *Engliſh*. His extraordinary Munificence ſoon made the Duke a true *Frenchman*; and tho' he paid ſo vaſtly dear for his Alliance, yet it was worth the Expence, for *Æmilius* tells us, That the Ceſſation of his Anger redeem'd the *French* from a Foreign Government, as his firſt Aſſuming of it made the *Engliſh* Lords over *France*. But however the Duke's Indignation for the Murder of his Father had mov'd him firſt to embrace the *Engliſh* Intereſt, he afterwards, by way of Compenſation, ſubtily converted his Revenge to the Enlargement of his own Riches and Power. After the Return of his Ambaſſadors, he ſent back all Contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounc'd the Alliance of *England*, declaring *That every Man ſhould look to himſelf*.

Upon this each Party made new and vigorous Preparations, in order to recover that by Force which they could not obtain by Reaſoning: But all Things manifeſtly favour'd the *French* Deſigns; for this was the general State of the *Engliſh* Affairs. King *Henry* was ſcarce out of his Childhood, and after that not Man enough to deal with ſuch turbulent Occurrences; the Princes of the Blood weakly united for the common Good; the Protector tho' vigilant over *England*, and the Regent careful for *France*, yet both privately envy'd; *Richard* Duke of *York*, encreaſing in Strength, but ambitiouſly reſerving himſelf for a ſelect Day; many of the great *Engliſh* Warriors ſlain; and in Sum, a declining Inability through the whole Body of the *Engliſh* Forces; which tho' otherwiſe they might have prolong'd the War, and kept their Footing, yet the Death of the mighty Regent doubled the Difficulty, or almoſt the Impoſſibility. In removing this triumphant Hero, God made it manifeſt that he accounted the *Engliſh* unworthy and unfit to continue their Empire any longer among the *French*. This Prince, not long after the Revolt of the Duke of *Burgundy*, dy'd in the City of *Paris*, after a fourteen Years Regency; uncertain to ſome whether out of Grief for the Evils he foreſaw, or of ſome other Diſtemper. How powerful this Prince was appears in ſome meaſure from his Titles, which were Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Alenſon* and *Anjou*, Earl of *Maine*, *Richmond* and *Kendale*, and High-Conſtable of *England*. And what exceeded his Greatneſs was his being one of the beſt Patriots and Generals that ever ſprung out of the Royal Stem of the *Plantaganets*. His Valour was not more formidable to the Enemy, than his Memory was honourable; for *Lewis* XI. the next King of *France*, being afterwards adviſ'd by certain envious Perſons to demoliſh his ſtately Tomb at *Roan*, in which was bury'd all the good Fortune of the *Engliſh*, he generouſly return'd this noble Anſwer. *What Honour can it be to Us, or You, to deface this Monument, and to diſturb the Bones of him, who when living, neither my Father, nor your Progenitors with all their Power, were once able to repel? Who by his Strength, Policy and Conduct kept them all out of the principal Dominions of* France, *and out of this noble Dukedom of* Normandy: *Wherefore I ſay firſt, God ſave his Soul, and let his Body now lye at reſt; who when he was alive would have terrify'd the Proudeſt of us all: And as for his Tomb, I think it not ſo worthy or convenient, as his Honour and Acts deſerv'd.* It is obſervable that none of the Sons of King *Henry* the Fourth did degenerate; a Thing not uſual in ſo large a Family: *Henry* the Fifth dy'd glorioufly in the Purſuit of his Conqueſts, the Duke of *Clarence* valiantly fighting, and tho' *Bedford* of a natural Death, and *Gloceſter* afterwards of a violent, yet they dy'd not with leſs Fame than the reſt. So as Nature having done her utmoſt in them, if ſhe fail'd in the preſent *Henry*, it is not to be admir'd; for having cloath'd him with the inner Garments of Piety, ſhe was ſparing in an upper Robe of other Virtues and Fortune.

Serres. Speed. Camden. &c.

The Death of the Duke of Bedford, *Regent of* France.

His Character.

A. D. 1436. Reg. 14/15. IV. The Regent of *France* being dead, the late Treaty between King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſoon produc'd Effects moſt dangerous to the *Engliſh* Cauſe; for many Towns immediately revolted, and Multitudes of the *French*,

Æmilius Serres. Fabian

French, who through Fear had been reſtrain'd, falling away, all the *Engliſh* Dominions were fill'd with private Aſſemblies, Practices and Correſpondences with the Enemy. Such *Engliſh* as were then in *France* were not altogether idle, but yet, through a fatal Security or Negligence at home, they wanted Recruits to ſupport them. To ſupply the Vacancy of the great Duke of *Bedford*, *Richard* Duke of *York*, now a prevailing Favourite, was created Regent of *France*; and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, his perpetual Rival, ſtill continu'd Governor of *Normandy*. This latter violently oppos'd the Advancement of the former to this nice Station; wiſely foreſeeing more than the Protector and all the Council of *England*: Yet his Oppoſition was unſeaſonable and fruitleſs; for *York*'s Carriage had won ſuch a Party about the King, that notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage of his latent Title, which alone was ſufficient to have excluded him from great Truſts in a politick Government, he prevail'd. But before he could arrive in *France*, the Capital City of *Paris* was loſt. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was then Governor for the *Engliſh*, who had not above two thouſand Soldiers with him; for in Caſe of Extremity, the Faith of the Citizens was preſum'd to ſupply all Defects againſt a common Reſiſtance. But on the contrary the Citizens, perceiving the Declenſion of the *Engliſh*, eſpecially after the Regent's Death, conſpired againſt them; and the Treaſon was carry'd on ſo ſubtlely by ſome of the principal Magiſtrates, who articled for a general Pardon from King *Charles*, that the Deſign took effect before it could be diſcover'd. The Lord *Beaumont* introduc'd the Loſs with his own Misfortune; for the Earl of *Richmont*, Conſtable of *France*, hovering about *Paris*, in hopes to recover the Place, the Lord *Beaumont* with ſome hundreds of *Engliſh*, falling in with him about St. *Denis*, were worſted. While the Rumour of this inconſiderable Defeat was freſh, and much aggravated, the *French* advanc'd their Banners up to the City Walls, upon which a Gate was immediately open'd to them by their Partiſans. And now the Citizens, who were lately Subjects, ſuddenly turn'd Enemies; and Women and Children attack'd the *Engliſh* from their Windows with all ſorts of miſſive Weapons, and many were beaten down and maſſacred in the Streets. The Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of the Place, with many others fled to St. *Anthony*'s Gate and the *Baſtile*, Places which they had reſerv'd for Defence in Times of Neceſſity. Many more had been ſav'd in thoſe Places, but the perfidious Citizens drew Chains over the Streets, and ſtopp'd their Paſſage. At length thoſe in the *Baſtile*, after ſome Shew of Defence, demanded a Parly, and agreed to depart with their Lives and Baggage. They were conducted about the Town beneath the *Louvre*, to embark upon the River *Sein*, and ſo paſs to *Roan*; for they could not ſafely paſs through the City. The People being adviſ'd of this ran to the Walls, and with great Shouts baited the *Engliſh* like Dogs, whom lately they had fear'd and honour'd as their Maſters. Thus *Paris* return'd to its former Government, above ſixteen Years after the Duke of *Clarence* had plac'd a Garriſon there in behalf of his Brother *Henry* the Fifth.

The Engliſh *Affairs decline in* France.

The Duke of York *made Regent.*

Paris *loſt from the* Engliſh.

Speed. &c.

Paris was loſt in the worſt Time to march an Army, which was wiſely projected by the *French*, elſe their Deſign might have fail'd; for the Duke of *York* the new Regent, being hinder'd by the Badneſs of the Seaſon, arriv'd afterwards, accompany'd with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and other worthy Perſons, and an Army of eight thouſand Men. But this Regent never did any good Service in *France*; tho' ſtill the *Engliſh* Affairs were not come to the laſt Extremity. In the late conquer'd Parts of *France* they held *Normandy* entire, but not without much Trouble; for the People again rebell'd in *Caux*, which Diſturbance was quell'd with a greater and more mercyleſs Deſtruction of the Authors and Actors, than the former. No leſs than five thouſand of them were cut in Pieces and trampled on by the juſt Fury of the *Engliſh*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo*, and others; who burnt all their Habitations, made Booty of their Goods, and drove

the whole Body of them out of the Country. The Lord *Scales* not long after defeated *La Hire* and his Men not far from *Roan.* The War was manag'd on all Sides without full or compleat Armies; Skirmiſhes were the ordinary Ways of Fighting; and the *French* were cautious in venturing all upon a pitch'd Battel.

The Duke of *Burgundy* as yet had not in Perſon given any Proof againſt the *Engliſh* of his Affection to King *Charles*; but now he ſet himſelf to an Enterprize worthy that Expectation, which was the Recovery of *Calais*; tho' he is believ'd to have been mov'd to this Action by a Deſire of private Revenge. For the *Engliſh*, upon his forſaking their Alliance, had endeavour'd to ſtir up the Inhabitants of *Gaunt*, and other *Flemmiſh* Towns ſubject to the Duke, to riſe in Rebellion; but the Opinion that King *Henry*'s Fortunes in *France* were dangerouſly declining, made them unwilling to move. However the News of this ſucceſsleſs Attempt excited the Duke to a Revenge; and caus'd him to bring an Army of forty thouſand Men before *Calais*. The chief Commanders there for King *Henry* were the Lord *Dudley*, who had the Charge of the Caſtle, and Sir *John Ratcliff* of the Town. The Duke's Deſign was to have block'd up the Harbour by ſinking Ships loaden with Stones; but upon the Ebb-Tide the *Caliſians* eaſily remov'd thoſe Impediments. King *Henry* being inform'd of the Siege of this important Place, the Protector the Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſent over in Perſon with a powerful Fleet and Army, who bravely challeng'd the Duke of *Burgundy* to meet him in the open Field. Here Authors differ, yet they generally agree in this, That the Duke of *Burgundy* rais'd the Siege without any Battel. Some ſay that the very Rumor of the Protector's Approach drove him away, and that the Protector came the next Day after the *Burgundians* Flight; and others excuſe him by alledging that the *Flemmings* grew mutinous, and reſolv'd to return home. The Protector became Maſter of the Duke's Camp, and ſpent eleven Days in his Dominions, burning *Poppering* and *Bell*, and doing great Damages about *Graveling*, *Boloign* and other Places; then ſetling the Affairs of *Calais*, he return'd home with great Honour to his Charge in *England*. The *Engliſh* were thought to have created new Work for this active Duke in his own Dominions, where many great Tumults aroſe, in one of which his own Perſon was indanger'd at *Bruges*, where *Liſle Adam* the Captain of his Guard was ſlain. Hence it came perhaps that a Medium was found out, by Contracts made with *Iſabel* the Dutcheſs, his third Wife and an ingenious Woman, to hold a League with *England*, and yet make no Breach with *France*.

Berret. Pol. Virg. Fabian. &c.

Calais beſieg'd by the Duke of Burgundy.

But in vain.

A. D. 1437. Reg. 15/16.

The following Year was memorable for the Death of three great Princeſſes, *Catharine*, Mother to the preſent King *Henry*, and Siſter to the King of *France*; the old Dowager of King *Henry* the Fourth, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*; and the old Counteſs of *Armanack*, Daughter to the Duke of *Berry*, and Mother to the Duke of *Savoy*; who all dy'd within forty eight Hours of each other. The former of the three, not long after the Death of her Husband *Henry* the Fifth, ſecretly marry'd to *Owen ap Tudor*, a *Welſh* Gentleman and of the Court, the moſt noble and beautiful Perſon of that Nation, who drew his Deſcent from *Cadwallader*, the laſt King of the *Britains*; by which Husband ſhe had ſeveral Children, two of whom, *Edmund* and *Jaſper*, bear a Part in the Royal Hiſtory. The former, (being afterwards created Earl of *Richmond*, and marry'd to *Margaret*, the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, who was Grandſon to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*) became Father to the famous King *Henry* the Seventh. In the ſame Year the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Bedford*, Widow to the late Regent of *France*, marry'd alſo below her Degree to Sir *Richard Woodvile*, who became Father to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who had the Honour to marry King *Edward* the Fourth, and by this was both her ſelf a Queen, and a Progenitreſs of thoſe Kings and Queens that follow'd: For from her and this Match ſprung another *Elizabeth*, the renowned Wife of King *Henry* the Seventh, as King *Henry* himſelf did of the former Match. Both theſe Matches prov'd

Speed. Blondus &c.

The Deaths of three Princeſſes.

prov'd moſt fortunate to *England*; but another happen'd which now threaten'd preſent Danger to King *Henry*, and that was what *James* King of *Scotland* made with *France*, who marry'd his Daughter *Margaret* to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, and ſent new Supplies of Men againſt the *Engliſh*. He deſign'd alſo to have attempted ſomething in Perſon, but before he could effect it, he was moſt impiouſly murder'd by certain bloody Traitors at *Perth*, ſubborn'd by the Earl of *Athol* his near Kinſman, in hopes to attain the Crown; for which in part of his Puniſhment he had a red hot Crown of Iron put upon his Head. Tho' King *James* was a Prince of noble Worth and Virtues, yet this horrible Murther is by ſome Hiſtorians accounted as a juſt and deſerved Puniſhment upon him, for that voluntary Breach of his Homage, Oath and Fidelity made to King *Henry* the Sixth, at the Time when he was ſet at Liberty after his long Captivity in *England*. And here an *Italian* Author makes this Remark upon the *Scotch* Hiſtory, That among the numerous Race of Kings in that Nation, about one half of the Number met with untimely Deaths.

James King of Scotland *murder'd by his Subjects.*

Serres, &c. In *France*, the new Regent the Duke of *York* continu'd active, but perform'd nothing memorable, tho' he wanted not Advantages and Opportunities of ſignalizing himſelf. For two thouſand *French* Horſemen were mutinous, and rang'd about in great Diſorder: *Paris* was dreadfully puniſh'd with Famine, and its uſual Attendants, peſtilential Diſtempers: The Countries adjacent lay open and deſolate; and the Courtiers were diſcontented and divided. Still nothing of note was done by the Regent; which ſome impute to the Oppoſition he met with from the Duke of *Somerſet*, who out of Envy and Diſdain incommoded his Diſpatches. However the Duke of *Somerſet*, accompany'd with the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, and other brave Men, and a competent Force laid Siege to *Harfleur* which the *Normans* in the late Rebellion had ſeiz'd, and maintain'd under *French* Commanders. King *Charles* upon this ſent a Body of four thouſand Men to relieve the Place, but not being able to effect it, *Harfleur* ſurrender'd to the Duke. Not long after the Duke of *York* was recall'd, and in *November Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was ſent over to ſucceed him as Regent of *France:* He carry'd with him a thouſand freſh Soldiers, and arriving at *Harfleur*, he from thence march'd to *Roan*, now the chief City of the *Engliſh* Dominions in North *France*, as *Bourdeaux* was in the South; to which laſt Place the Earl of *Huntington*, with certain Troops of Soldiers, was ſent as Lieutenant.

The Duke of York *recall'd from* France. *The Earl of* Warwick *ſent.*

Holling. Mackray. This new Regent vigorouſly apply'd himſelf to the Buſineſs of his Station; and under him the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Forces were driven from *Crotoy*, by the brave Lord *Talbot*: *Abbeville* was freed from the Danger of a Fort with which the Duke had bridled the Town; and the *Engliſh* for twenty Days together took their Pleaſure in ravaging the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. After this the Earl of *Mortaign* Son to the Duke of *Somerſet* arriv'd at *Cherburgh* with four hundred Archers and three hundred Spears, and paſſing through *Normandy* into the Country of *Maine*, he beſieg'd a Caſtle call'd *Anian*, in which were three hundred *Scots*, beſides *Frenchmen*. He ſoon took this Caſtle by Storm, ſlew all the *Scotch*, and hung up the *French*, becauſe they had been ſworn to the *Engliſh* Government. After theſe, and many other inferior Actions of the like Nature, at the Sollicitations of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* and the Pope's Legate, a grand Conference was held between *Graveling* and *Calais*, the Deputies of *England* and *France*, and thoſe of *Burgundy* meeting to treat about a Peace. But the *Engliſh* not receding from that Condition, that *Normandy* and their other Conqueſts ſhould be left to them in full Soveraignty, they parted without effecting any thing. Still the *Engliſh* Intereſt was retain'd in *France*, not only by means of King *Henry*'s Miniſters and Forces, but alſo by the Remiſsneſs of King *Charles*, who gave his Son an Occaſion to raiſe a Rebellion againſt him; but the Fear of the *Engliſh* Power, and the wiſe Management of ſome, ſoon produc'd a perfect Reconciliation.

A. D. 1438. Reg. 16/17.

Various Actions in France.

A. D. 1439. Reg. 17/18.

Before any great Advantage could be made of this hopeful Breach, the Regent the Earl of *Warwick* after many worthy Actions dy'd at *Roan*; and the Duke of *York* was a second Time sent over in Quality of Regent of *France*.

The Earl of Warwick *dies.* *The Duke of* York *returns to* France.

A. D. 1440. Reg. 18/19.

King *Charles* was now fallen into some Disfavour with his People, but to redeem his Credit, he attempted the Recovery of *Ponthoise*, near *Paris*, which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before surpriz'd by a Stratagem; and accordingly he sat down before it with ten or twelve thousand Men, while the Lord *Clifford* made a brave Defence within. The Duke of *York* lately landing in *Normandy*, as Regent assembled his chief Forces, consisting of seven or eight thousand Men, and offer'd the King Battel; but he kept himself within his Trenches. The Regent, agreeable to the Humour of the *English*, eager of present Action, unexpectedly pass'd the River *Oyse*, which ran between the two Camps; which caus'd King *Charles* to remove with such Precipitation, that the *French* could hardly excuse him from flying. The Duke having gain'd the Spoil of the *French* King's Camp, reinforc'd *Ponthoise*, and attack'd a Fortress, where King *Charles* had left three thousand Men to maintain the Appearance of a Siege. But it was judg'd more advantagious to pursue the King who was arriv'd at *Poisie*; where the Duke again very nobly provok'd him to the Field. King *Charles*, finding the Hazards unequal, endur'd the Bravado; so that the Duke was constrain'd to return to his main Charge in *Normandy*. King *Charles* fell into such Obloquy and Contempt with his People by this dishonourable Retreat, especially with the *Parisians*, that if he had not a second Time attempted and prevail'd against *Ponthoise*, it might have endanger'd his whole Fortunes; for a Faction was then ready to make use of any false Step. He therefore return'd in a great Fury to the Siege, and took it by a general Assault, with extraordinary Bloodshed on his own Side, and the Loss of five hundred of the *English*. The King was one of the first that enter'd at the Breach, chusing to be rather thought rash than timorous; by which Exploit he re-establish'd his Reputation with his People.

The French King *succeeds.*

Monstrel. Serres. &c.

Both Sides began by this Time to grow weary of the War; and the State of *England* under King *Henry*, whose Softness and Lenity gave way to several dangerous Court Factions, requir'd some Rest: For which Reason Commissioners for a Treaty met at *Calais*; where nothing was concluded but the Freedom of *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, for a Ransom of three hundred thousand Crowns, after he had been Prisoner in *England* about twenty six Years, ever since the famous Battel of *Agincourt*, where he was taken. The Duke of *Burgundy* was a main Agent as to his Enlargement, designing to secure his own Greatness by Acts of Benificence; this high born Prince, for the Murther of his Father, being naturally the Head and Spring of that unfortunate Feud that had most mortally rag'd between the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. The Duke of *Gloucester* prudently foreseeing the Dangers like to ensue upon *Orleans*'s Liberty, strenuously oppos'd it, and that upon important Reasons, which he requir'd to have Register'd, that they might remain on Record for a Testimony of the Discharge of his Duty. This great Duke had no better Success when he set about to reform the State of *England*, which suffer'd much from the Mismanagements of the two Cardinals of *York* and *Winchester*, especially the latter. For tho' the Duke was Governor of the King and Protector of the Realm, yet the Cardinal of *Winchester*, with the other acted many Things without the Consent of the King or him; at which being greatly offended, he in Writing declar'd to the King how much the Cardinal and the Arch-Bishop had offended both his Majesty and the Laws of the Nation. This Complaint of the Duke's was drawn up in twenty four long Articles, which chiefly imported, That the Cardinal of *Winchester* had continually, through his ambitious Desire of surmounting all others in Honour and Dignity, sought to inrich himself, to the great Damage of the King, as not only defrauding him of his Treasure, but also practising Things highly prejudicial to his Affairs in *France*, particularly by freeing the King of *Scotland* upon

Sped. Holling. &c.

The Duke of Orleans *releas'd.*

A. D. 1441. Reg. 19/20.

The Duke of Gloucester's *Complaints against the Cardinal of* Winchester.

on ſuch eaſie Conditions that his Majeſty became a great Loſer. Tho' theſe Things were heard and examin'd before the Council, yet the Cardinal found ſo many Friends, as not only protected him, but afterwards found means to effect the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Ruin.

Holling. &c. Still the Miſeries and Calamities of *France* continu'd, and the Wars were carry'd on with various Succeſs, but yet after a more feeble and languid manner than formerly. The County of *Amiens* was ravag'd by the *Engliſh* under the Lords *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; the Regent and the Duke of *Somerſet* march'd into *Anjou*, where they loaded their Carriages with much Plunder, and return'd into *Normandy*: After which the Duke of *Somerſet* parted from the other, and perform'd ſeveral Exploits in and about *Bretaign*. *Dieppe* in *Normandy* being beſieg'd by the *Engliſh*, was reliev'd by the *Dauphine*, to the great Loſs of the former; while the *French* King gain'd ſome Advantages in and about *Gaſcony*. During theſe variable Tranſactions, *John* the valiant Lord *Talbot*, lately recall'd into *England*, was, for his approv'd Courage and Wiſdom, both in *England* and *France*, as well in Peace as War, created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and with a Body of three thouſand Men ſent over again into *Normandy*, for the better Defence of that Country. Not long after the Counteſs of *Cominges* dying, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Armagnack* became violent Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl took Poſſeſſion; but fearing the King of *France*'s Greatneſs, offer'd his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *England*, with a large Portion in Mony; promiſing alſo to deliver full Poſſeſſion of all ſuch Towns and Caſtles, as were by him or his Anceſtors detain'd in *Gaſcony*, and had been formerly conquer'd by King *Henry*'s Predeceſſors. The Ambaſſadors for this Affair were graciouſly receiv'd by King *Henry*, and honourably ſent back: After whom were ſent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Roſs*, and others, to conclude all Things; by whom the young Lady was by Proxy affianc'd to King *Henry*. But the King of *France* highly diſliking this Match, ſent the *Dauphine* with a powerful Army, who took the Earl Priſoner, with his youngeſt Son, and both his Daughters, and gain'd the Counties of *Armagnack*, *Louverne*, *Rovergne* and other Parts, chaſing the Baſtard of *Armagnack* out of the Country; by which means the Conſummation of the Marriage was deferr'd, and never effected.

A. D. 1442. Reg. 20/21.

Various Fortunes in France.

A. D. 1443. Reg. 21/22.

King Henry *affianc'd to the Earl of* Armagnack's *Daughter.*

Ibid. In this Diſtraction of Chriſtendom, many Princes, as the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark* and *Hungary*, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Ambaſſadors on all Sides were ſent, many Meetings were heard, and many Propoſals made; but in Concluſion only a Truce for eighteen Months was agreed on. During this Negotiation, *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, a great Favourite and one of the Commiſſioners for this Peace, took upon him a bold Thing beyond his Commiſſion; and without acquainting his Aſſociates treated of a Marriage between the King of *England* and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Niece to the Queen of *France*. This *Reyner* now ſtil'd himſelf King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*; and the Earl of *Suffolk* was ſo active in this Affair, that it brought the Aſperſion of Bribery upon him; and without his Maſter's Warrant he proceeded ſo far as to appoint an Enterview between the two Kings, which was to be held betwixt *Roan* and *Chartres*. Upon the Return of the Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Suffolk* ſet forth the Beauty and Qualifications of the propos'd Bride, and the Benefits of Peace that would redound to the Kingdom by this Match. The King and many others were eaſily induc'd to credit the Relation, but the worthy Duke of *Gloceſter* bravely oppos'd it, partly becauſe it was a manifeſt Injury to the Earl of *Armagnack*'s Daughter, to whom the King had been ſolemnly affianc'd, which Match was honourable and advantagious; and partly becauſe this latter brought nothing with it but Loſs and Diſhonour, as the Delivery of the Dukedom of *Anjou* and County of *Maine*, Bulwarks to *Normandy*, which now ought eſpecially to be retain'd in order to conclude a laſting Peace with *France*.

A. D. 1444. Reg. 22/23.

But

But all Reaſons were of no effect, when the Heav'ns had decreed that for this Cauſe the Duke ſhould loſe his Life, the King his Crown and Dignity, the Kingdom all its foreign Poſſeſſions, and the People that Peace at home they had hitherto enjoy'd. King *Charles* underſtanding that *Henry* had conſented, he ſent over the Count of *Vendoſme* and the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, who concluded the Contract; and the more to honour this unfortunate Match King *Henry* created three Dukes and one Marqueſs, which latter was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who for his further Honour was made his Deputy to celebrate the Formality of the Nuptials, and to bring the Bride into *England*.

yet after that was contracted to the Duke of Anjou's *Daughter.*

A. D. 1445. Reg. 23/24

All Things being in Readineſs, the new Marqueſs went over into *France*, with his Wife and great Numbers of Ladies and Gentlemen glorioufly adorn'd, and Letters for the Bride's Father, who tho' he was rich in Titles of imaginary Kingdoms, was not able to ſend her honourably to her Husband; ſo that all the Charge, which was vaſt and extraordinary, fell to King *Henry*'s Share. The noble Company being arriv'd at *Tours*, the Marqueſs marry'd the Lady in the Name of his Maſter, in the Preſence of the King of *France*, the Queen, and a numerous Train of Princes and Noblemen, among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Calabria*, *Alenſon* and *Bretaign*; and the Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with magnificent Feaſts and Tournaments. After this the Lady in great State was convey'd into *England*, and at *Southwike* in *Hampſhire* was ſolemnly marry'd to King *Henry*. From thence ſhe remov'd to *London*, being met after a moſt pompous manner by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and others of the Nobility; and the famous Poet *John Lydgate* Monk of St. *Edmund*'s *Bury* compos'd the Speeches for ſuch Triumphant Receptions as were made upon her Entrance into the City. A few Days after, on the thirtieth of *May*, ſhe was crown'd Queen at *Weſtminſter* with all the uſual Solemnities. *Polydore* gives no improper Character of this beautiful Queen, when he ſays ſhe was one ſufficiently provident, ambitious of Glory, abounding in Diſcourſe, Counſel, Officiouſneſs and maſculine Courage; in which appear'd much Ingenuity, Vigilance and Care; but not free from the Humour of Women, which, as he ſays, is uſually vehement and apt to change.

Ibid.

The Marriage compleated.

The Character of the new Queen.

A. D. 1446. Reg. 24/25.

V. The Kingdom of *France* had for above thirty Years ſuffer'd all the Convulſions and Calamities of War, both Civil as well as Foreign; but thoſe Miſeries ſeem'd to be transferr'd by gradual Steps to *England*, and from this Time began the apparent Forerunners of the Nation's Misfortunes. Here ſome of our *Engliſh* Writers very freely tell us, That it appear'd that God was not pleas'd with the late Marriage: For from that Day forward the Fortune of the World began to fall from the King, ſo that he loſt all his Friends in *England*, and all his Dominions in *France*: For in a little Time all was govern'd by the Queen and her Council, to the great Detriment of the King and his Realm, and the no leſs Obloquy of the Queen, who thereby became expos'd to many falſe Reports. All which Miſery, ſays *Fabian*, aroſe from BREACH OF THE PROMISE made by the King to the Earl of *Armagnack*'s Daughter, as moſt Writers agree: All which Miſery, as he adds, will in ſome meaſure appear by the Loſs of *Normandy*, and the reſt of *France*, the Diviſion of the Lords within this Kingdom, the Rebellion of the Commonalty againſt their Prince and Soveraign, and finally the King himſelf depos'd, and the Queen with the Prince forc'd to fly the Land, and loſe the Government of it for ever. Theſe and many other Evils were the Products of the ſucceeding Times. However ſtill ſome Care was taken about the Affairs of *France*; and the Parliament granted Supplies of Mony to carry on the War upon the Expiration of the Truce. The Duke of *York* was recall'd from his Regency, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, in an unfortunate Hour, was ſent in his Place, with ſuch Proviſions as were reputed competent.

Fabian &c.

The Beginnings of England's *Miſeries.*

The Duke of Somerſet *made Regent of* France.

The

A. D. 1447. Reg. 25/26.

Hall. Holling. &c.

The renowned Protector, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, felt the firſt fatal Blow of the evil Angel that was ſent to puniſh *England*, and root out her Nobility. This Duke had been a brave Oppoſer of the late Marriage, and was much hated by the Queen and her Faction, as the only Man who by his Prudence, as alſo by the Honour and Authority of his Birth and Place, ſeem'd to hinder that Soveraign Power which they pretended to ſettle in the King's Perſon, but deſign'd indeed, as is uſual under ſoft Princes, to reign themſelves in another's Name. The Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, and ſeveral of the Nobility, at the Time of a Parliament held at St. *Edmund's Bury*, were drawn on to concur to his Ruin; not perceiving, that by ſo doing they pull'd up the Flood-Gate, at which the Duke of *York* enter'd, overwhelming all of them in a Deluge of Blood. Whether they had any real Fear of *Gloceſter* himſelf, leſt perhaps he ſhould take Revenge upon ſome particular Perſons among them, is uncertain; tho' it ſeems probable enough, that they had. Beſides the Duke's frequent Conteſts with the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and ſeveral others, there were ſome former Accidents that concurr'd to make Way towards his Ruin. For about five Years before, *Eleanor* his Dutcheſs was convented for Witchcraft and Sorcery, and afterwards indited for Treaſon before the Earls of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and other Lords and Judges; of which Crime ſhe was appeal'd by one *Bolingbrook* an Aſtronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Canon, which laſt was charg'd with ſaying Maſſes over certain Inſtruments, by which the Aſtronomer ſhould practiſe Negromancy againſt the Life of the King. Theſe being taken, accus'd her as an Acceſſary, and one who had deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of their Art to know her Fortune; and Part of this ſhe confeſs'd, for which ſhe was put to publick and ſolemn Penance in *London*, upon three ſeveral Days, with extraordinary Shame to her Perſon, and after that ſhe was committed to perpetual Impriſonment under the Care of Sir *Thomas Stanley*. The Duke of *Gloceſter* her unhappy Lord and Husband, whom by Love-Potions ſhe was ſaid to have inchanted, being provok'd with this Reproach, might reaſonably be ſuppos'd to have ſtirr'd in this Affair. However it was, his Deſtruction certainly borrow'd Countenance from that Opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at St. *Edmund's Bury*, in the ſecond Day of the Seſſions he was arreſted of High-Treaſon by the Lord *Beaumont* Conſtable of *England*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and others, and all his Followers taken from him, whereof thirty two were committed to ſeveral Priſons; and the Day after his Impriſonment he was found murther'd in his Bed. Yet he was expos'd the ſame Day with a Deſign to have it thought he dy'd of a Palſie or Impoſtume, tho' all that ſaw his Body found that he dy'd of a violent and unnatural Death; ſome ſay ſtrangled; ſome that a hot Spit was thruſt up his Fundament; and ſome that he was ſtifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps was convey'd the ſame Day to St. *Albans*, and there interr'd. Five of his menial Servants being condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, the Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, to affect Popularity, brought their Pardons, and ſav'd their Lives, after they had been hang'd, let down quick, ſtript naked, and mark'd with a Knife to be quarter'd. By a Pardon granted to one of his Servants may be ſeen the Pretence made for committing the Murther, namely, he was one of the many Traitors who came with the Duke of *Gloceſter* to deſtroy the King, and ſet his Wife *Eleanor* at Liberty.

The Duke of Gloceſter *in Danger.*

He is arreſted of High-Treaſon,

and murder'd.

Holling. &c

Such was the End of this great Prince, who, notwithſtanding his Body was expos'd, and many Crimes pretended, was by the People of *England* thought to be doubly murther'd, in his Reputation, as well as his Perſon. His Death was much lamented by the whole Kingdom, from whom he deſerv'd the Sirname of *Good*, for he was a Lover of his Country, a Friend to Good Men, a Protector of the Learned, of which himſelf was one, and ſo great an Incourager of them, that he built the Divinity Schools at *Oxford*, a Work worthy to be admir'd in all Reſpects. His main Opinion concerning the Government of King

His Character.

King *Henry*'s *French* Dominions was generally oppos'd by the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and ſome others, who altogether perſuaded Peace, to which this Heroical Duke, nicely inſiſting upon the Honour and Majeſty of the *Engliſh* Name, was a profeſs'd Enemy: From which Fountain of divided Councils flow'd innumerable Inconveniencies. Tho' he had many virtuous Qualifications, yet he has been blam'd for Incontinency and Ambition, one or both of which formerly caus'd a dangerous Breach with the Duke of *Burgundy*. After him the Title of *Gloceſter* was reputed ominous; for the four laſt *Gloceſters* came to violent Ends: *Thomas*, Son to *Edward* the Third, was ſtrangled at *Calais*; *Thomas Spenſer* Earl of *Gloceſter* beheaded at *Bury*; *Humphry* the preſent Duke dy'd as now related; and *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* afterwards ſlain in Battel. The Death of the preſent Duke, prov'd the Queen, who was eſpecially concern'd in it, not to have been ſo careful or politick as common Reaſon ſeem'd to require of her; for while he liv'd his Authority and near Relation to the Crown would eaſily have ſtifled the Duke of *York*'s Claim: And here were the firſt Seeds ſown between the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Badge was the *Red-Roſe*, and the Houſe of *York*, who gave that of the *White*. And now, ſays *Polydore*, Good Men, apprehenſive of their own Safeties, voluntarily forſook the Court, into whoſe Places ſucceeded many, who for the moſt Part ſeeking their own Intereſt, open'd an eaſie Way for new Factions. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſoon follow'd by his great Enemy the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, the other chief Counſellor of the Nation; ſo that the whole Frame of the Government was laid upon the Queen, and ſuch Favourites as the King, by her Recommendation, approv'd of. We are aſſur'd that when this rich Prelate lay upon his Death-Bed he cry'd out, *Why ſhould I dye that have ſo much Wealth? If the whole Kingdom would ſave my Life, I am able by my Policy to get it, or by my Mony to buy it. Will not Death be brib'd, nor Mony do nothing?* Being dead, he was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by a more worthy Perſon, *William Wanfleet*, ſo called from the Place of his Nativity in *Lincolnſhire*, tho' his real Name was *Patin*; who afterwards founded *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, one of the nobleſt Foundations in *Europe*.

The Cardinal of Winchester dies.

A. D. 1448. Reg. 26/27.

The Marqueſs of *Suffolk* now the chief Favourite, was created a Duke, which render'd him a more conſpicuous Mark of Envy than ever, beyond even the Protection of the King or the Queen. And now the Affairs of *France*, where *Somerſet* was Regent, were neither duly inſpected, nor the Govenors of the Country well advis'd; but the King and Realm of *England*, much more than *France*, lay expos'd to the deep and pernicious Deſigns of *Richard* Duke of *York*. He, by an Error of the State, being made great, and grown ſtronger by affected Popularity, perceiving the King to be a Ruler and not to govern, began ſecretly to allure his Friends of the Nobility, and privately declar'd to them his Title to the Crown; as likewiſe he did to certain Governors of Cities and Towns; which Attempt was ſo politickly and ſecretly carry'd on, that his Proviſion was ready, before his Purpoſe was diſclos'd. The publick State of Affairs ſeem'd to favour this fatal Conſpiracy: There was a milder King than *England* then deſerv'd; a Council out of Favour with the People, numerous Loſſes and Diſhonours abroad; a turbulent and unſetled Condition of all Things at home. Of all which, and many more Miſchiefs, the Duke of *York*, having *Henry* the Fourth for a dangerous Precedent, made his pernicious Uſe, cheriſhing the popular Averſions, without ſeeking to redreſs any Evils, but repreſenting them worſe than they were, only to bring about his ambitious Purpoſes. His Removal from the Regency of *France* did not a little diſoblige him, becauſe the Duke of *Somerſet* gain'd it from him; but it was not long before *Somerſet*'s ill Management of that Truſt, and the declining Fortune of the *Engliſh* gave him Occaſion to rejoice at the Foil of his dreaded Enemy. Which in ſhort was thus.

Stow. Speed.

The Deſigns of the Duke of York.

During

Serres. Mezeray, &c. During the Truce between *England* and *France*, one Sir *Francis Surienne* a Knight of *Arragon*, ſerving under the Regent, ſurpriz'd the City of *Fougers*, belonging to the Duke of *Bretaign*, where he met with a Booty of above ſixteen hundred thouſand Crowns. Upon which Reparation and Reſtitution was demanded; but the Duke of *Somerſet*, a proud Man, contrary to good Diſcipline, cheriſhing his Soldiers in their Riots and Diſorders, wilfully neglected the Juſtice of Nations in that Point. After ſix Months Delays the Duke of *Bretaign* began the Revenge, and by the *French* King's Conſent ſurpriz'd *Pont de Larche*, and Town after Town, ſo many and ſo faſt, that King *Charles*, after he found no Reſtitution would be made, uniting his Forces, ſoon became Maſter of *Roan* it ſelf, of *Caen*, *Bayeux*, and indeed of all other Places belonging to the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts; to the great Diſhonour of the Duke of *Somerſet* and the *Engliſh* Nation. And thus was all *Normandy* regain'd by the *French*, or rather, as *Mezeray* ſays, help'd to recover it ſelf, in one Year and ſix Days; after it had continu'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* above thirty Years from the Conqueſt of it by *Henry* the Fifth. In this Dukedom were a hundred ſtrong Towns and Forts, all tenable and of Conſequence, beſides thoſe deſtroy'd in the Wars; and it alſo contain'd one Archbiſhoprick and ſix Biſhopricks. Some are of Opinion that the *Engliſh* wanted Strength, either to man the Towns as they ought, or Numbers to inhabit the Country, which was the Reaſon they could not keep it. Others charge it upon the Avarice of the Duke of *Somerſet*, who kept not half the Number of Soldiers for which he was allow'd, and thoſe ſo ill paid, that he was forc'd to connive at all their Outrages. But the principal Cauſe, as moſt agree, was the fatal Diviſions within the Kingdom of *England*, where every great Man deſiring rather to be reveng'd on his Foe at home, than the common Enemy abroad, no timely Succours could be ſent. Yet ſtill if we conſider the general Deportment of the *Engliſh* Nation, the Concurrence of Martial Men, their Counſel, Diſcipline and Deſigns, from the Beginning of *Edward* the Firſt to this Time, which was a hundred and eighty Years; it muſt be acknowledg'd that they were Men of extraordinary Worth and Valour, and carry'd the Palm of Victory before them wherever they went

A. D. 1449. Reg. 27/28.

All Normandy *loſt from the* Engliſh.

The Cauſes of it.

Hall. Holling. VI. After the diſhonourable Loſs of *Normandy*, the Calamities of *England* began to diſcover themſelves more openly than ever: For while the *French* triumph'd in their new Acquiſitions, three cruel Enemies, among many others, grievouſly urg'd on the Ruin of the Nation at home. One was Preſumption in Governing, by ſome that were moſt unfit to rule, as the Queen with her Privy-Counſellors and Favourites; next the inveterate Malice and Pride, as well as inſatiable Avarice in the States both Spiritual and Temporal; and laſtly the general Diſcontents of the People, who began to ſink under the Tediouſneſs as well as Weight of their Burthens. Theſe finding that by Miſgovernment all Things were running towards Confuſion, as well within the Realm as without, they began to exclaim againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, charging him as the only Cauſe of the Delivery of *Anjou* and *Main*, the chief Procurer of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Death, the very Occaſion of the Loſs of *Normandy*, the Devourer of the King's Treaſure, the Remover of good and virtuous Counſellors from about the Prince, and the Advancer of vicious Perſons, and ſuch as were Enemies to the Publick. The Queen at this apprehending not only the Duke's Deſtruction, but alſo her own Confuſion, caus'd the Parliament, which had met at *London*, to be adjourned to *Leiceſter*, thinking there, by Force and Rigour of Law, to ſuppreſs all the Malice and ill Opinions conceiv'd againſt the Duke and her ſelf. At which Place few of the Nobility would appear; therefore the Parliament was again adjourn'd to *Weſtminſter*, where there was a full Appearance. In this Seſſion the Commons drew up many Articles of Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, conſiſting of ſeveral Crimes, as well Treaſon as leſſer Miſ-

A. D. 1450. Reg. 28/29.

The Misfortunes in England.

The Duke of Suffolk *impeached.*

demeanors; moſt of which he deny'd. But when he was charg'd with making the unhappy Marriage for the King, and the Loſs of *Anjou* and *Main*, he alledg'd that the very next Parliament after the Conſummation of the Match had ſo well approv'd of it, as to vote him Rewards for his Service. But notwithſtanding all his Defence, the Queen juſtly doubting ſome Commotion if he paſſed with Impunity, caus'd him for a Colour to be committed to the Tower: Where remaining about a Month, he was again deliver'd, and reſtor'd to the King's Favour; which ſo diſpleas'd the People, that if extraordinary Care had not been taken, innumerable Miſchiefs might have happen'd. For the common People in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom aſſembled in numerous Bodies, and choſe a Captain for themſelves, whom they call'd *Blue-beard*; but before they had perform'd any Enterprize, their Leaders were apprehended, and the Matter pacify'd without any further Damage.

After theſe Outrages were allay'd, the Parliament was adjourn'd to *Leiceſter*, where the King and Queen appear'd in great State, and with them the Duke of *Suffolk* as chief Counſellor. The Houſe of Commons not forgetting their old Reſentments, petition'd the King that all ſuch Perſons as conſented to the Delivery of *Main* and *Anjou* might be duly puniſh'd. And as privy to that Fact they accus'd the Duke of *Suffolk* as Principal, with *John* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and divers others. The King perceiving that no common Methods would appeaſe the Peoples Fury, to pacifie their inveterate Hatred, he firſt remov'd the Lord *Say* from being High-Treaſurer, and ſome others of the Duke's Adherents from their Offices and Places; and after that baniſh'd the Duke himſelf for five Years, as being the preſent Annoiance of the Nation. But he was now purſu'd by a more inevitable Vengeance from above: For embarking in *Suffolk* to go for *France*, he was ſet upon by a Man of War belonging to the Earl of *Exeter*, taken by the Captain, and brought into *Dover* Road, where his Head was ſtricken off in a Cock-boat, and his Body ignominiouſly thrown upon the Shore; from whence it was taken by one of his Chaplains, and bury'd in the College of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*. This was the remarkable End of *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*; a Perſon of very conſiderable Abilities, who had warr'd in *France* forty four Years without Intermiſſion, in ſeventeen of which he never ſaw his own Country: When he was taken Priſoner his Ranſom coſt him twenty thouſand Pounds, tho' then he was only a Knight; he was of thirty Years ſtanding of the Order of the Garter, his Father was ſlain at the Siege of *Harfleur*, his eldeſt Brother at *Agincourt*, and his two younger in the ſame Wars; ſo that it cannot be deny'd but that his Prince and Country did owe much to him, ſince he ſpent his Life in the Service of the one, and his Reputation in the Service of the other. But after all, ſuffering himſelf to be guided by a prodigious Ambition, he fell into two dreadful Errors, his making of a State Marriage, not only pernicious in it ſelf, but contrary to an expreſs Contract before; and his contributing towards the worthy Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murther: For which he met with ſuch a Puniſhment, as look'd more like the Hand of Heav'n, than the Hatred of the People.

Holling. &c.

He is baniſh'd,

and then murder'd.

His Character.

The Death of this Miniſter was highly prejudicial to the King, who greatly ſtood in need of his Service and Support; and this Chance did much animate thoſe of the Duke of *York*'s Faction, who now ſpar'd no Pains to render the King deſpicable, and the Queen odious. They alſo inſiſted upon the Duke's brave Management in *Ireland*, where at preſent he reſided as Governor, and where by his Wiſdom and Valour he had in a manner tamed a ſavage People, and reduc'd them to that Diſcipline and Obedience, that he thereby ſhow'd how much *England* wanted ſuch a King. Theſe Inſinuations were not only privately whiſper'd, but publickly diſpers'd; and every Man had the Vanity to blaze 'em abroad, to ſhew their Wiſdom, and their Affection to the publick Weal. The Duke of *York* before the Death

Ibid.

The Duke of York's further Deſigns.

Death of *Suffolk* had wrought the End of *Adam Molleins* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Lord Privy-Seal; for fearing that a Man of his Integrity might oppoſe his Deſigns, he caus'd him to be aſſaſſinated by Fiſhermen at *Portſmouth*, that he might be thought to be ſlain by the outragious Commotion of that baſer ſort of People. But theſe Things tending more to the ruining than the raiſing of his Projects, he deſign'd to begin his Work with ſome popular Sedition, which precipitating the Rebels into a Crime unpardonable, and the Fear of Puniſhment making them obſtinate, he might uſe them either collected or diffus'd as Occaſion ſhould ſerve. For that End the common People of *Kent* were excited to take up Arms, under the Conduct and Command of *Jack Cade*, who had formerly been a Servant to Sir *Thomas Dagre* a *Suſſex* Knight, and killing a Woman with Child, abjur'd the Land and turn'd *French*; and returning was an Inſtrument to hang out *Mortimer*'s Name, as a Flag, to draw in a Party, feigning himſelf of that Family, and to be a Couſin to the Duke of *York*. A peſtilent Contrivance to ſound the Affections of the Multitude, and to proclaim that Title to the Crown, which the Duke as Heir to the Family afterwards challeng'd: For who would not ask what ſhould move him to uſe the Name of *Mortimer?*

Holling. Stow. &c. This *Cade*, a Man of no ſmall Courage, having drawn great Numbers together, encamp'd at *Black-Heath* by *Greenwich*, and in his Writings ſtil'd himſelf the *Captain of* Kent, and Captain *Mendall*; and his Pretences, like thoſe of all other Rebels, were the publick Good of the Nation. The King and his Council being mov'd at the News of this dangerous Inſurrection, this Captain ſent a large Roll of Complaints and Demands to his Majeſty. One of which was, That *Richard* Duke of *York* ſhould be recall'd out of *Ireland*, and with the Duke of *Buckingham* and certain others be principally us'd in Council. Another was, That as the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been falſely proclaim'd Traitor, ſo the Authors of his Death might be puniſh'd. Beſides theſe and other plauſible Demands, great Complaints were made of many Grievances and Extortions, proceeding from the Courts of the Kings-Bench and the Exchequer, with many other Particulars too numerous to recite here. Theſe Matters being inſiſted upon with extraordinary Inſolence and Bravados, the King ſoon became ſenſible of the Indignity and Danger; and raiſing an Army of fifteen thouſand Men, he march'd in Perſon againſt the Rebels. Upon which *Cade* politickly withdrew his Forces into *Sevenoke* Wood; upon Notice of which the King retir'd again to *London*; but the Queen longing for a Diſpatch, ſent the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humphry* and *William*, with many fiery Youths of the Court, to follow the Rebels. But theſe were ſoon cool'd; for they found the *Kentiſh* Captain in good Order ready to receive them, and in the firſt Encounter ſlew Sir *Humphry*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the reſt to Flight. The King's Forces being at *Black-Heath*, could neither by Threats or Intreaties be oblig'd to march to their Reſcue; but rather wiſh'd the Queen and her Favourites to meet with the *Staffords* Fate: Or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to aſſiſt his Couſin *Mortimer*; and many of them ſtole away to the Rebels, whoſe Numbers from *Suſſex* and *Surry* daily encreas'd. And now the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham* were ſent to expoſtulate with the Rebels about their Demands; to whom *Cade* gave civil Language, but directly deny'd a Ceſſation from Arms, unleſs the King in Perſon would hear the Grievances of his Subjects, and paſs his Royal Word for the Redreſs of them. This Reſolution being made known to the King, who was not ſure of his Soldiers Fidelity, he and his Queen retir'd to *Kenelworth* Caſtle in *Warwickſhire*; having firſt committed the Tower to the Cuſtody of the Lord *Scales* and the renown'd *Matthew Gouge*, and the City of *London* to the Fidelity of Sir *Thomas Charlton* Lord Mayor.

Jack Cade's Rebellion in Kent.

The King marches againſt him.

Cade is ſucceſsful.

The King retires to Warwickſhire.

Ibid. The *Kentiſh* Captain taking Advantage of the King's Abſence, march'd into the Borough of *Southwark*, where he quarter'd his Men, ſtrictly charging them

to commit no Outrage, nor do Injury to any; which was duely obſer'd. The next Morning, being the ſecond of *July*, he march'd to *London* Bridge, where without Reſiſtance he caus'd his Men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge; and ſo in good Order march'd into the City, and coming to *London-Stone*, he ſtruck his Sword upon it, crying, *Now is* Mortimer *Lord of* London! The Lord Mayor, ſtanding by his Door, bad him *Beware of attempting any thing againſt the Peace of the City*; to whom he made Anſwer, *Let the World judge of our honeſt Intentions by our Actions.* And indeed this orderly Behaviour of himſelf and his Company gain'd him an extraordinary Opinion among the common ſort of People. And now aſſuming to himſelf the Place of Chief, he ſent out his Letters of ſafe Conduct to ſuch as he thought fit to employ; among others he wrote to *Thomas Cock*, Woollen-Draper of *London*, commanding him to bring him a certain Number of Arms and Horſe, and a thouſand Marks of Mony at the Charge of the *Genoeſe*, *Venetian* and *Florentine* Merchants; and threatening to take the Heads of all that refus'd Payment: All which was perform'd by thoſe Foreign Merchants. At Night he return'd into *Southwark*, where *Robert Poinings*, Eſq; was his Sword-Bearer and Carver. The next Morning he return'd into the City, and immediately ſent to the Lord *Scales* to bring his Priſoner the Lord *Say* to *Guild-Hall*, to which Place he ſummon'd the Lord Mayor and his Brethren. Before theſe he caus'd the Lord *Say* to be arraign'd, who deſiring to be try'd by his Peers, was ſuddenly taken from his Keeper, hurry'd to the Standard in *Cheap-ſide*, and had his Head ſtrucken off, which upon the End of a Pike was born before him to *Mile-End*, where he went to confer with the Rebels of *Eſſex*; and in the Way meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, High-Sheriff of *Kent*, and lately marry'd to the Lord *Say*'s Daughter, he alſo caus'd his Head to be taken off, and carry'd before him in Deriſion, The next Morning he again enter'd the City; where after publick Execution done upon ſome of his Aſſociates, who had acted contrary to his Proclamation, upon ſome Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt Alderman *Malpas*, he ſent and ſeiz'd upon all his Wares and Goods, and fin'd Alderman *Horn* five hundred Marks.

Cade *enters* London.

His Tyrannical Behaviour.

The chief Citizens now finding the intolerable Inſolence of *Cade*, and that they had born too much before, ſecretly ſent to the Lord *Scales* in the Tower for Aſſiſtance; and the brave *Matthew Gouge* with ſome Forces in the Night came to them. The Rebels in *Southwark* hearing that their Entrance would be diſputed, ran furiouſly to Arms, and *Cade* endeavour'd to open his Paſſage by Force; but notwithſtanding all his Power, the Citizens made good and defended *London* Bridge againſt him, tho' with the Firing of ſeveral Houſes, and the Loſs of many honeſt and valiant Men, for the Conflict continu'd all Night, 'till nine in the Morning. Among ſuch as were ſlain on the King's Side were *John Sutton* Alderman, *Robert Heyſand*, and *Matthew Gouge* himſelf: Which laſt, an Eſquire of *Wales*, was a Man of admirable Virtue, Manhood and Zeal for his Country, and of great Renown in the Wars of *France*, where he had nobly ſerv'd for above twenty Years; and his Deſerts at this Time merited a Statue in the City, for whoſe Deliverance he ſpent his laſt Blood. To give quick Diſpatch to theſe Troubles, Impunity was proclaim'd for all Offenders, and ſent them in the King's Name by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord-Chancellor, under the Great-Seal of *England*. The Rebels were ſoon diſpers'd with this Aſſurance of their Safeties, and every Man retir'd in Peace from following ſuch a peſtilent Impoſtor. *Cade* afterwards attempting new Troubles in *Kent*, a thouſand Marks were promis'd to him who kill'd or took this counterfeit *Mortimer*; and *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the good Fortune to diſcover and kill him by main Force at *Hothfield* in that County. His Body was brought to *London*, and beheaded and quarter'd; his Head ſet upon *London* Bridge, and his Quarters diſpers'd in divers Places in *Kent*; to which Country the King came ſhortly after in Perſon, where tho' five hundred were found

Ibid.

He is inveſted at London *Bridge.*

Cade *taken and ſlain.*

found guilty, only eight were executed. Tho' *London* was the chief Stage of this Rebellion, yet other Countries were not free, eſpecially *Wiltſhire*; for the Rebels there proceeded ſo far as to draw *William Askot*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, when he was ſaying Maſs in *Edington* Church, to the Top of the Hill; and there in his Epiſcopal Robes moſt inhumanly murther'd him. *The Rebellion ended.*

Pol. Virg. Speed. &c. The *Kentiſh* Rebellion being thus pacify'd and ended, far greater and more dangerous Troubles ſucceeded, as it is uſual to Human Bodies, which by Relapſes are ſhaken more terribly than ever. All theſe Troubles had their prime Source from *Richard* Duke of *York*, the true Son of that *Richard* whom *Henry* the Fifth had created Earl of *Cambridge*, and loaden with Wealth and Favours; but as no Bounty nor Benefits can change a treacherous Diſpoſition, ſo he conſpir'd the Death of his Benefactor *Henry* the Fifth, as the Duke of *York* his Son labour'd to depoſe the preſent King *Henry* his great Advancer. The Humours of the People were in the laſt Commotion not obſcurely diſcover'd; and the Commonwealth had really ſome Enormities, through the Miſmanagement of great Officers, but yet ſuch as the Malady was far leſs pernicious than the Remedy. Upon Intelligence of which the Duke of *York* came ſuddenly out of *Ireland*, and to begin his uſurp'd Authority, he apprehended *John Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *Reginald* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and another, and impriſon'd them in his Caſtle of *Ludlow*. *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet* was the Man, who after *Suffolk*'s Death, moſt ſupported the King's Intereſt by his Vigilance, Hazards and good Counſels, endeavouring by all Methods to clear the Realm from Factions, and to preſerve the Kingdom in Quiet. *York* ſeeing this, ſoon found that *Suffolk* periſh'd in vain, if the ſame Favours were conferr'd upon *Somerſet*; againſt whoſe Perſon he had a particular Pretence of Quarrel, becauſe the City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, the Duke of *York*'s own Charge, was by him delivered to the *French*, when the *Engliſh* Affairs became deſperate in thoſe Parts; Sir *David Hall*, then Lieutenant to the Duke of *York*, not allowing it, tho' the renowned *Talbot* was preſent at the Surrender, and became a Hoſtage for Performance of Articles. The Duke of *York* hereupon conſulted with his chief Friends the Earl of *Salisbury* and his Son, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Cobham* and others, how he might beſt get into the Throne of *England*, and how to ruin the Duke of *Somerſet*, from whom they were to expect the greateſt Oppoſition. At length they agreed to have recourſe to Arms, but to ſmother the mention of the Duke of *York*'s Title, they publiſh'd to the World, *That they deſign'd all Honour and Obedience to King* Henry, *but only would remove certain ill Men from about his Perſon, who oppreſs'd the People, and made a Prey of the Publick.* Which to gain the more Credit, and to blind the eaſie King, the ſubtle Duke in a Proclamation us'd theſe Hypocritical Words: *God knows, from whom nothing is hid, I am, have been, and ever will be, his true Liege-man,* &c. *For Proof of which, I offer my ſelf to be ſworn on the bleſſed Sacrament, and receive it as a Pledge of my Salvation at the Day of Doom.* Becauſe it was the Misfortune of the Duke of *Somerſet*, that *Normandy* was loſt during his Regency, his Enemies had the more Opportunity to aſperſe him with the People, who forbore not at his Return to offer him ſeveral Injuries and Indignities, 'till upon Pain of Death they were reſtrain'd, for the Breach of which Proclamation one was beheaded in *Weſt-Cheap* in *London*. A. D. 1451. Reg. 29, 30. *The Duke of* York *proceeds in his former Deſigns.* *He takes up Arms.*

Ibid. Notwithſtanding all the winding Artifices of the Duke, the King ſaw ſo much of his Deſigns, as not to rely upon his plauſible Pretenſions; but by the Advice of his Friends, and chiefly of the Duke of *Somerſet*, he ſoon gather'd a more numerous Force than the Duke, and march'd againſt him towards *Wales*; in which the King acted wiſely, but not ſo much as the Occaſion requir'd. The Duke having Notice of the King's Approach, turn'd aſide, and with the utmoſt Expedition march'd towards *London*; but that City, the vain Hope of all Rebellions, *The King does the ſame.*

bellions, would not harken to them. Upon which he retir'd with his Forces into *Kent*, the Place of his greateſt Intereſt, and incamp'd at *Brent-Heath* near *Dertford*, about twelve Miles from *London*, deſigning to fight the firſt Opportunity. The King with no ſlow Marches return'd back, and pitch'd his Royal Standard upon *Black-Heath*, with a full Purpoſe to teach his Couſin of *York* more Duty and Loyalty. Here we may ſee the Fate of *England*; when God had put an excellent Opportunity into the King's Hands of rooting out all Hazards and Dangers that threaten'd his Family, for the Duke was far inferior in Numbers. Such therefore as ſecretly favour'd him, fearing his Overthrow, were ready to adviſe the King to an Accommodation; and Meſſengers were daily ſent between the two Armies. The Duke in a Letter to the King, after his uſual Manner, pretended Loyalty and particular Injuries, *as that the King's Servants, Sir* John Talbot *at* Holt *Caſtle, Sir* Thomas Stanley *in* Cheſhire, *and others in other Places, were ſent to be Spies upon him. That by two of the* Norris's, Bulkley, Gurſt, Bould *and other Gentlemen, he was forbidden to land at* Bewmaris, *or to have any Refreſhment, affirming to him that he was againſt the King's Intentions, and as a Traitor.* The King condeſcended to anſwer this Letter, letting him underſtand, *That the Suſpicion univerſally conceiv'd of his Behaviour produc'd thoſe Effects: Nevertheleſs, in regard of the humble Obedience he had lately proteſted, he, for the eaſing the Duke's Heart, does declare, repute and admit him as a true and faithful Subject, and as his well-beloved Couſin.* The Duke upon this advanc'd one Step further, and wrote to the King, *That Juſtice might be done upon all Perſons of what Degree ſoever, which were guilty, or reported to be guilty of Treaſon*; aiming at the Duke of *Somerſet* in particular, whom he doubted not to overwhelm with Slights and Calumnies, as he and his Adherents had done to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Duke parlies with the King.

The King anſwers him.

A. D. 1452. Reg. 30. 31.

The poor King, relying upon weak and treacherous Counſels, was contented that *Somerſet* ſhould be commanded Priſoner to his own Houſe, and that the Duke of *York*, having firſt disbanded his Forces, ſhould come in Perſon, and put himſelf into the King's Hands. All this being done, in the King's Preſence he exhibited a grievous Complaint againſt the Pride and Avarice of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and very artfully accuſing none but him, he ſought the Favour and good Opinion of all others: A moſt ſubtle Project, by which he threw upon his Enemy all the Envy of the People, and left him ſingly to ſtand againſt the Effects. *Somerſet*, a Prince of great Wit and Spirit, reſolving as well for his own Honour as the Intereſt of the Publick, not to endure ſuch an Indignity, bravely preſented himſelf before the King, Face to Face anſwer'd the Duke of *York*, and in expreſs Terms accus'd him of the higheſt Treaſon, *as having conſpir'd to depoſe the King, and uſurp the Soveraignty himſelf:* Vehemently urging, *That the Duke might be committed and arraign'd, that by his deſerved Death, and the Incapacity of his Poſterity, all civil War might be extinguiſh'd*; finally praying, *That Heaven would not ſuffer the Enemy of the Kingdom to eſcape the Hand of Juſtice.* This in probability had been effected, but the publick Faith ſeem'd engag'd for the Duke's Indemnity, as having come upon the King's Word, and alſo that the Hearts of the People were not well aſſur'd to the King, which by executing the Duke might have been more unſettled, becauſe they would have been ready to believe, that he was ſacrific'd to *Somerſet*'s Reſentments, and not for the Safety of the Nation. Upon theſe Conſiderations, and the Reports of the Duke's Son being ready with an Army to reſcue his Father, the Duke was no longer kept under Reſtraint, as he had been by *Somerſet*'s weighty Accuſations; but to aſſure the gentle and indulgent King of his Allegiance, he made a formal Submiſſion, and ſolemnly took his Oath to be a true, faithful and obedient Subject. This was firſt done in St. *Paul*'s Church in the Preſence of the King and moſt of the chief Nobility, as the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolk* and *Somerſet*, nine Earls, two Viſcounts, many

The Duke of Somerſet *accuſes him of Treaſon.*

Ibid.

The Duke of York *ſubmits and ſwears Allegiance to the King.*

many Barons, both the Arch-Biſhops of the Realm, and three Biſhops. The Form of Words to which he ſwore and ſubſcrib'd, were long, expreſs and moſt ſolemn, and may be ſeen both in *Hollingſhed* and *Speed*; which being afterwards reiterated by him at *Weſtminſter*, and then at *Coventry*, the Breach of them do manifeſtly diſplay the higheſt Degree of Perjury, Treachery and Treaſon.

Serres. Holling. &c. As it were to divert theſe domeſtick Rancors and Diſturbances, two *French* Noblemen came ſecretly over from *Gaſcony* into *England*, petitioning for an Army into their Country, declaring that *Bourdeaux* and the *Gaſcoigns* would readily return to the *Engliſh* Subjection, if they were duely ſupported againſt the *French* King. Upon which an Army was ſoon decreed for their Reduction; and the renowned *Talbot*, firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was made General in that Enterprize; who landing in *Gaſcony*, the Fame of ſuch a Soldier caus'd ſeveral Places to yield. The City of *Bourdeaux* it ſelf ſecretly open'd a Gate to him, which the *French* Garriſon perceiving, fled out at a Poſtern; but many being overtaken, were cut in pieces by the Lord *L'Eſparre* and the *Engliſh*. After which new Supplies and Proviſions arriv'd, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s younger Son; and *Bourdeaux* being well mann'd and fortify'd, the Earl receiv'd Advice that the *French* had laid Siege to *Caſtillion*, a Place of Importance upon the River *Dardonne*. To that Place the Earl directed his March; but too adventrouſly charging the Enemy upon unequal Terms, he was there, together with his Son, unfortunately ſlain. The *Engliſh* Fortunes and Hopes which began to revive, with this Commander made an unhappy Concluſion, to the infinite Loſs of the *Engliſh*, and the great Affliction of the *Gaſcoigns*, who generally miſlik'd the *French*, and approv'd of the *Engliſh*, as having ſo long and honourably govern'd thoſe Dominions. This was the End of that mighty Earl, in the eightieth Year of his Age, after he had ſerv'd his King and Country in the *French* Wars for twenty four Years with the higheſt Commendations; a moſt noble and valiant Man, by whoſe Virtue the *Engliſh* Name did principally become formidable to *France*. *Bourdeaux* it ſelf, and all other Places after this, were by Siege reduc'd again to the *French* King, who proſecuted thoſe Affairs in his own Perſon. From that Time forwards the *Engliſh* never obtain'd any further Hold or Footing in thoſe Parts, the Fortune of this Attempt breaking all further Combinations of the *Gaſcoigns*. This Dukedom of *Gaſcony* or *Aquitain* was a large Province, containing four Archbiſhopricks, twenty four Biſhopricks, fifteen Earldoms, two hundred and two Baronies, and above a thouſand Captainſhips and Bailywicks; ſo that the World may eaſily conjecture how great the Loſs was of ſuch a noble Inheritance, which had continu'd *Engliſh* for about three hundred Years. Here in a great Meaſure ended all the *Engliſh* Soveraignty in *France*, when all the martial Men were recall'd from that Country, to carry on more unfortunate and calamitous Deſigns in their own. At this Time a *French* Captain ſcoffingly ask'd an *Engliſh* Man *When they would return again into* France? to whom the latter made this memorable Anſwer, *When your Sins are greater and more crying than ours:* A Sentence worthy the Notice of all *Engliſh* Men to this Day.

A. D. 1453. Reg. 31/32.

Talbot *Earl of* Shrewsbury *ſent into* Gaſcony.

He is ſlain there.

His Character.

Gaſcony *and* France *quite loſt to the* Engliſh.

A memorable Saying.

In this fallen Eſtate of the *Engliſh*, the Queen, upon the thirteenth Day of *October*, was deliver'd of a firſt Son, whoſe Name was *Edward*; proving the Child of Sorrow and Infelicity. And as this was an unfortunate Year to *England*, ſo it was no leſs to all *Europe* by the great Progreſs of the *Turks*, who in the ſame Year became Maſters of the famous City of *Conſtantinople*, and finally diſſolv'd the *Grecian* Empire, after it had laſted from *Conſtantine* the Great eleven hundred and twenty three Years.

Conſtantinople *taken by the* Turks.

Holling. &c. **VII.** After all the Loſſes and Misfortunes of the *Engliſh* abroad, they ſoon felt greater at home, and the long Miſeries and Calamities of *France* ſeem'd to be all transferr'd to the Kingdom of *England*. The grand Occaſion and Founda-

A. D. 1454. Reg. 32/33.

The Duke of York ſtill purſues his old Deſign.

Foundation of them was the ſubtle and ambitious Duke of *York*, who ever reſtleſs in his Deſigns, now contrary to the moſt religious and ſolemn Oaths, reſolv'd to mount the Throne of *England*. He doubted that King *Henry*'s known Goodneſs and Piety would render the Buſineſs extreamly difficult; eſpecially ſince he held the Crown not by any Uſurpation of his own, but by two ſucceſſive Deſcents from Father and Grandfather, and both worthy Princes. This Conſideration ſo far prevail'd as long to keep him within the Bounds of Diſſimulation; for knowing how dangerous it might prove if he made known his Deſigns, he thought it beſt to make the World believe that he acted for the publick Good, when he only ſought his own Ends. He knew alſo that by reviving his Pretenſions againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, he might revenge himſelf of a mortal Enemy, free himſelf from his greateſt Obſtacle, deprive the King of his greateſt Supporter, and at the ſame time purchaſe the Love of all Men; the Love of the People, by ruining a Man deteſted for the Loſs of *Normandy*, and the Love of the Nobility, by reducing him who for his exorbitant Authority was highly envy'd by moſt of them. But not contented with this, he forbore not to vilifie King *Henry*'s Reputation, repreſenting him to be poorly ſpirited, and affirming the Condition of the preſent Times requir'd a King that would not be govern'd by his Wife, or any Third Perſon, but by his own Judgment, a wiſe Man and vigorous, and Maſter of ſuch Virtues as were not to be found in him. Having by theſe Means prepar'd the Peoples Inclinations, he firmly ſecur'd to himſelf two extraordinary Men, the Father and Son, the one the Earl of *Salisbury* whoſe Daughter he had marry'd, and the other the Earl of *Warwick*; the firſt celebrated for his wiſe Counſel, and the latter for his invincible Reſolution. By the Aſſiſtance of theſe two, he caus'd the Duke of *Somerſet* to be arreſted in the Queen's own Lodgings, and ſent to the Tower; to which he was more embolden'd by reaſon of the King's being at that Time ſick; whoſe double Weakneſs both of Body and Mind encourag'd him, and aſſiſted his working himſelf into the Government.

He arreſts the Duke of Somerſet.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33, 34.

But as ſoon as King *Henry* recover'd his Health, underſtanding that Malice and Deſign were the chief Cauſes of *York*'s Accuſations, he not only ſet the Duke of *Somerſet* at Liberty, but alſo made him Governor of *Calais* with the County of *Guiſnes*, the only Remainder the *Engliſh* had in *France*. This gave new Occaſions of Diſguſt, and *York* finding that he had twice fail'd in his Endeavours to ruin him, retir'd into *Wales*, where having gather'd a conſiderable Army, he march'd towards *London*, accompany'd with the fore-mention'd Lords, and many others. The King ſo much diſtruſted the Fidelity of that City, that he would not ſtay for the Duke's coming there, but went and encamp'd with his Forces at St. *Albans*, where the Adverſary preſented himſelf to give him Battel. The King had in his Camp the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Ormond*, *Pembroke*, *Stafford*, *Northumberland*, *Devonſhire* and *Dorſet*, with the Lords *Clifford*, *Ludley*, *Berners*, *Roſs*, and others; and proceeding according to his pacifick Diſpoſition, he ſent ſome to the Duke to know why he came in that hoſtile Manner. The Duke in a Letter to the King requeſted *That he would deliver up ſuch Perſons as he ſhould name to deſerv'd Puniſhment*. The King, to let him know his Authority, return'd this Anſwer, *That he and the reſt of his Adherents were Traitors; and rather than they ſhould have any Lord from him at that Time, he himſelf would live and die in the Quarrel.* Upon this the bold Earl of *Warwick* unawares attack'd the Vantguard Royal, and diſorder'd it before the Duke of *Somerſet* could remedy the ſame; ſo that the Forces on both Sides falling in, a bloody Battel enſu'd; in which, on the King's Party were ſlain the Duke of *Somerſet* himſelf, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with about five thouſand of the inferior ſort, and about ſix hundred on the other Side. The King himſelf was ſhot in the Neck with an Arrow, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales* in the Faces, and the Lord *Dorſet* was

Weſtm. Hall. Holing. &c.

The Duke of York raiſes an Army.

The firſt Battel at St. Albans.

was ſo wounded, that he was forc'd to be carry'd away in a Cart. The King's Army being at length all diſpers'd or ſlain, the King himſelf, unguarded, fled to a poor thatcht Houſe not far off; of which the Duke of *York* having Notice, he with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, the Father and Son, approach'd him on their Knees, humbly craving his Royal Pardon; declaring, *That ſince the common Enemy was dead, they had no more to require.* Upon which the poor King with Trembling anſwer'd, *Let there be no more Bloodſhed, and I will do what you'll have me.* This firſt Battel of St. *Albans* was fought upon the twenty third Day of *May*, and thirty third Year of this Reign; and the Bodies of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford* were bury'd in the Chappel of that Town. And now the Duke of *York* in the King's Name commanded a Ceſſation from further Hoſtilities, and with a great Appearance of Reverence convey'd the King to *London*, where they kept the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* together.

The King worſted.

Ibid. A Parliament was immediately call'd, in which all Things were decreed directly oppoſite to what had been enacted in former Parliaments, to teſtifie that the late Government had been unjuſt, and the King abus'd by the Malice of thoſe who counſell'd him; *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter* was declar'd to have been Loyal to the King, and Faithful to his Country; all Grants whatſoever, whether by Patent from the King or by Parliament, beginning from the firſt Day of the preſent Reign, were revok'd as Things that impoveriſh'd the Crown and diminiſh'd its true Luſtre. And that the late Inſurrection, tho' condemn'd by all Laws, might be thought meritorious, Declaration was made, That the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord chief Juſtice *Thorp*, and *William Joſeph*, were the grand Occaſions of it, by detaining a pacificatory Letter, which if it had been deliver'd to the King, it would have remov'd the Foundation of the foreſaid Diſorders; wherefore the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* and their Adherents ought not to be blam'd for the future. Theſe Pretences thus paſs'd over, they proceeded more directly to their Buſineſs by framing a Triumvirate for the Groundwork of their deſign'd Monarchy; *York* caus'd himſelf to be created Protector of the Kingdom, *Salisbury* Lord Chancellor, and *Warwick* Governor of *Calais*; ſo that the Political Authority remain'd in the Firſt, the Civil in the Second, and the Military in the Third: Whilſt *Henry*, King only in Name, was depriv'd of all Authority and Safety; all that had a Dependance upon the King were gradually remov'd from his Council, and from all Places of Truſt and Honour; and *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was by Force taken from *Weſtminſter*, whither he was fled for Sanctuary, and ſent Priſoner to *Pomfret* Caſtle; a Sacrilege not formerly ventur'd on by any King.

A Parliament call'd.

The Duke of York *encreaſes in Power.*

Walham. Holling. The King was now in a very declining Condition, and the Queen ſo ſuſpicious, that ſhe durſt only truſt thoſe, who being injur'd, were to run the like Fortune with her Husband. Yet the Reſpect due to the King was not ſo much diminiſh'd, nor his Majeſty ſo much darken'd, but that the young Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and other Lords, reſolv'd no longer to endure the Injury done to him, and to quit themſelves of the imminent Danger that threaten'd them: For every Man now ſaw *York*'s Deſigns to be the Uſurpation of the Crown, and that his Delays proceeded from the Apprehenſions of Danger; for the King by Reaſon of his Piety being reverenc'd by the Beſt, he thought he could not ſuddenly compaſs his Deſigns without direct Scandal; and being oppos'd by the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, if that happen'd, it might for the preſent ruin, and for the future totally loſe all his Hopes. After a Conſultation had with the Queen, who was of a high Spirit and impatient under Subjection, a great Council was call'd at *Greenwich*, wherein it was reſolv'd, that ſince the King was no Child, and conſequently needed no Protector, nor was ſo void of Underſtanding as to be govern'd by other Mens Diſcretions, therefore the Duke of *York* ſhould be freed from his Protectorſhip, and the Earl of *Saliſbury* from being Lord Chancellor, and that he ſhould ſurrender the Great Seal

A. D. 1456. Reg. 34/35.

The King reaſſumes his Power.

to whom the King ſhould think fit. The Duke of *York* could not fence himſelf from this ſudden Blow, being taken unprovided; and it was ſtrengthen'd with Reaſons not to be gainſaid without a direct Rebellion; ſo that he was now forc'd to endure it, but not without the great Diſlike of his Adherents, who were not wanting to add new Fuel to the Fury of the People. This they did by cauſing them to riſe in a Tumult in the City of *London*, occaſion'd by a Diſſention between a Merchant and an *Italian*; but tho' an Inſurrection was made, yet Matters did not ſucceed as they expected; for after having pillag'd many Houſes of the *Venetians*, *Florentines* and other Foreigners, the Tumult was appeas'd, and the Authors of it puniſh'd.

A. D. 1457. Reg. 35/36.

The Duk of *York* left the Court confirm'd in his former Deſigns by this new Affront, while the *Scots* took the Opportunity to enter *England* in one Part, and the *French* in two other. The *Scots* having endamag'd the Borders, retir'd with their Booty into their own Country; the *French* pillag'd ſome Houſes, ſurprized *Sandwich*, took ſome Ships and return'd to *Normandy*; but the Surprize of *Sandwich* did them no great Service, they finding it not tenable againſt ſo many Enemies. *England* was now like a Body oppreſs'd by a general Diſtillation, malignant Humours diſpers'd themſelves in every Part, and the vital Faculties the Laws had not Force enough to repel them; for while one Party endeavour'd to deſtroy the other, all Care of the Common-wealth was laid aſide, and Juſtice and Equity clearly baniſh'd the Realm. Many Quarrels happen'd between the Nobility; particularly between the Baron of *Egremont* and the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Sons, in which a conſiderable Number of People were ſlain and hurt. In the mean time the Queen, not being able to ſecure her ſelf, the King and Kingdom, but by the Ruin of the Duke of *York* and the two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, nor yet able to work their Ruin but by Fraud and Stratagem, caus'd the King to go to *Coventry*, under Pretence of paſſing away his Time in Hunting and Hawking, and of changing the Air. She found that *London* was too much inclin'd to ſupport their Intereſts, therefore feigning ſome grand Affair, ſhe ſent for theſe three Perſons by expreſs Letters from the King, requiring their immediate Preſence at *Coventry*, to which Place without Suſpicion of Danger they obediently reſorted. But being admoniſh'd by private Friends of what was deſign'd againſt them, they by Flight avoided that Danger, which otherwiſe might have been fatal to them. So without taking Leave they departed from Court; the Duke to *Wigmore* in the Marches of *Wales*, the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Caſtle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to *Calais*. And tho' theſe Three were ſeparated in their Perſons, yet they continu'd firmly united in Hearts and Intereſts, and kept an uninterrupted and faithful Correſpondence with each other.

The Scots *and* French *inſult the* Engliſh.

The Queen's Deſigns againſt the Duke of York.

Holing. &c.

A. D. 1458. Reg. 36/37.

The good King was much diſpleas'd at theſe Proceedings of the Queen, as being contrary to his pious Inclinations; wherefore returning to *London* he call'd a grand Council, where having ſtated the Condition of the Kingdom, he ſhew'd *That the late Diviſions had incourag'd both the* Scots *and the* French *to aſſault him at home, and therefore a Reconciliation was neceſſary, which if the Failings of particular Men, and thoſe of his own Family were likely to obſtruct, he for his Part would forget the Injuries done to himſelf, and would endeavour for his Relations Agreement with them, who in the late Conteſts had ſhed their Blood*; promiſing *That the Duke of* York *and his Friends ſhould in this Affair have nothing to do, but barely to ask and deſire.* Upon this obliging Declaration, choice was made of proper Perſons to be ſent to the chief Men of both Parties, many of whom had forborn coming to Court ſince the Battel of St. *Albans*; and theſe were deſir'd to come and treat of Things neceſſary and expedient for the publick and private Peace. The Duke of *York* accordingly came to *London*, and with four hundred well appointed Men lodg'd at his Houſe call'd *Baynard*'s Caſtle; the Earl of *Salisbury* with five hundred lodg'd at his Houſe call'd the *Herbour*; the Duke of *Exeter*, lately releas'd, and

Fabian. Holing.

The King propoſes an Accommodation.

All Parties meet at London.

and the Duke of *Somerſet* with eight hundred more were lodg'd within *Temple-Bar*; the Earl of *Warwick* with ſix hundred, all in one ſort of remarkable Habit, were lodg'd at the *Gray-Friars*; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the Lords *Egremont* and *Clifford*, with fifteen hundred Men were lodg'd in *Holborn:* Such was the Cuſtom of that military Age. Upon the ſeventeenth of *March* the King and Queen came to *London*, and were lodg'd at the Biſhop's Palace; and *Godfrey Bolein*, the Mayor and Anceſtor to the famous *Anne* Queen to *Henry* the Eighth, having five thouſand Men in Readineſs, with a competent Number rod daily round the City, for the Preſervation of the King's Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friars*; the other at the Chapter-Houſe in *Weſtminſter*.

Ibid. After a few Meetings, by the prudent and pious Exhortations of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other worthy Prelates, the Parties offended were induc'd to a Communication, and afterwards to a final Agreement, upon ſeveral Articles in Writing, of which the King himſelf, as a Perſon of Impartiality and Integrity, was made the ſole Arbitrator of their Differences. Certain particular Satisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *York*, and his two Friends the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, upon the Account of the Death of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and others ſlain in the Battel of St. *Albans*. And the ſaid Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, ſlain at St. *Albans*, were declar'd true Liege-men to the King at the Day of their Deaths, as well as the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*. Many other healing Articles and Awards were made in order to reconcile and unite the alienated Hearts and Affections. The Rejoycings for this hopeful Accommodation were extraordinary among all good *Engliſhmen*, who in great Multitudes throng'd to the publick Celebration of it. For upon the twenty fifth of *March*, a moſt ſolemn Proceſſion was made into St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, where the King, adorn'd with his Crown and Royal Robes, went in Perſon, before whom walk'd the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Salisbury* in one Rank, the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick* in another, and ſo one and one of each Party, 'till they were all marſhall'd: And behind the King himſelf, came the Queen led by the Duke of *York*, with the moſt obliging Marks of Satisfaction on both Sides.

They come to a hopeful Agreement.

The Solemnity of it.

Pol. Virg. Fabian. &c. VIII. The Affairs of the Publick for a ſhort Time ſeem'd to have been in a peaceable and happy Condition; but Providence had ſtill reſerv'd far greater Puniſhments for the *Engliſh* Nation, which were to be brought about by the Head and Hands of *Richard* Duke of *York*. It is not to be doubted, but a Man of his profound Thought and reſtleſs Ambition, ſtill continu'd his Deſigns for the Crown, notwithſtanding all his varniſh'd Pretences, and did only ſeem to lay it aſide, becauſe he preſum'd the Time incommodious. On the other ſide the Queen, who was the Head and Life of the contrary Party, in regard of her ſelf, her Husband and Son, may probably be thought to have omitted any Thing rather than that Vigilance and Jealouſie which former Perils, and the Enemy's preſent Power might juſtly keep alive in her. The thin Aſhes therefore which cover'd theſe glowing Coals were eaſily unrak'd and blown away, and particularly by means of this Accident. While the King and many of the Lords continu'd at *Weſtminſter*, there happen'd, or perhaps was deſign'd a Quarrel between one of the King's Servants and an Attendant of the Earl of *Warwick*, who hurt the King's Servant. Upon which his Fellow Servants of all ſorts, and with all Kinds of Weapons, in a great Diſorder aſſaulted the Earl himſelf, as he was coming from the Council; in which Conteſt many were hurt, and the Earl with great Difficulty eſcap'd into a Barge, and gain'd the City. The Queen immediately commanded the Earl to be committed to the Tower, but he foreſeeing the Danger, poſted into *Yorkſhire*, where he acquainted the Duke of *York* and his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* of all the Occurrences, with the Queen's inve-

A. D. 1459. Reg. 37/38.

The Earl of Warwick *in Danger.*

terate Diſpoſition, adviſing them to ſtand upon their Guard, and provide againſt the approaching Storm. The *Yorkiſts* directly charged the Queen with all this as a Plot laid for the Earl's Deſtruction; and *Warwick* haſten'd to *Calais*, and being then Lord Admiral, he took with him all the King's Ships that were in Readineſs; and ſcouring the Seas, met with five great Carricks, three of *Genoa* and two of *Spain*, and after two Days Fight took three of them, which he carry'd into *Calais*. There unloading their Fraight he found it worth ten thouſand Pounds in ſtaple Commodities, beſides the Ships and Priſoners. Shortly after the young Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent to be Governor of *Calais*; but *Warwick* refus'd to reſign, notwithſtanding the King's Commands, alledging he was conſtituted by the Parliament. So that *Somerſet* was rejected not only with Danger to his Perſon, but with the Loſs of ſeveral of his Mens Heads, which *Warwick* commanded to be cut off. Theſe were bold Proceedings in this Earl; whom yet the unskilful and impetuous Multitude highly extoll'd and applauded.

The Civil War begins again.

The Duke of *York* in the mean Time, and *Warwick* with his Father the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Triumvirate of *England*, carefully conſulted of their Affairs: *Salisbury* reſolv'd with Sword in Hand to expoſtulate the Danger and Injury offer'd to his Son at *Weſtminſter*. The Queen, a Lady of great Magnanimity and Penetration, being juſtly ſenſible, that now King *Henry* or the Duke of *York* muſt periſh, and that one Kingdom was not capacious enough for both their Families, actively ſtirr'd her ſelf to maintain the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and advance her own Son Prince *Edward*, by ruining the other's Houſe, whoſe whole Building conſiſted of *Lancaſtrian* Beneficence. Therefore ſhe daily conſulted, ſent, ſpoke, gave, and ſtrengthen'd her ſelf with Friends on all Sides, eſpecially in *Cheſhire*; cauſing her Son to diſtribute Silver Swans, as his Badge and Device, to all the Gentlemen of that County, and to many others throughout *England*. In a ſhort Time *Salisbury* ſet forwards from his Caſtle at *Middleham* with four or five thouſand Men; but *James Touchet* Lord *Audeley*, by the Queen's Orders unadviſedly encounter'd him upon *Blore-Heath* near *Muckelſtone*. The Fight was long and bloody, but at length King *Henry*'s evil Fortune gave the Advantage to the Earl of *Salisbury*; where, beſides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himſelf, were ſlain no fewer than two thouſand four hundred Men; but the chief Loſs fell upon the *Cheſhire* Men, who wore the Prince's Livery. This was the ſecond Battel fought between the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which was the Chance that ruin'd both Parties, tho' for a while it was fortunate to *York*'s Succeſſor; for God, after having chaſtis'd one Side and the other, was pleas'd at length to appeaſe his Anger, by uniting both the Houſes, and putting a Period to the Civil Wars.

The Second Battel at Blore-Heath.

By this laſt Action the Earl of *Salisbury* open'd himſelf a Paſſage to *Ludlow*, where the Head of their Combination the Duke of *York* employ'd himſelf in gathering of Forces; and being met, they concluded, that ſince the Conteſt was become Mortal, they would act no longer in Clouds, but fight it out to the laſt Extremity. Men were drawn out of all Parts with large Hopes and Promiſes of ſharing in their Fortunes; and the Earl of *Warwick*, leaving his Charge at *Calais*, with the valiant Captain *Andrew Trollop*, and a Troop of ſelect Men, came to the general Rendezvous of the *Yorkiſts*, at the Caſtle of *Ludlow*. The King in the mean Time, according to the Exegency of his Affairs, aſſembled a great Number of faithful Subjects; and being attended by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, and others of his choice Friends, march'd againſt his Enemies. He began firſt with offering them a general Pardon; which they utterly refus'd, calling it *a Staff of Reed, or a Glaſs-Buckler*. Upon which the King commanded his Standards to advance towards the Enemy; but during this March, a Letter fill'd with the uſual hypocritical Pretences was deliver'd to the King: In which, among many other Inſinuations, were theſe alſo: *Moſt Chriſtian King, right, high and mighty Prince, and our moſt dread Soveraign Lord*, &c.

Weſtm. Holling. &c.

The Duke of York's Letter to the King.

we

we ſent unto your good Grace by the Prior of the Cathedarl Church of Worceſter, *and divers other Doctors, and among others by* M. William Linwood *Doctor of Divinity, who ſeverally miniſter'd to us the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Body of* Jeſus, *upon which we all of us depos'd of our ſaid Truth and Duty.* But the Letter made no Overture of any Conditions upon which they would yield to lay down their Arms, alledging, *They would but make their Way to the King for Redreſs of Abuſes; and that they were conſtrain'd to ſtand together for their own Defence, againſt ſuch great Courtiers and Favourites as deſign'd their Deſtruction;* meaning in Reality ſuch Perſons whoſe Vigilance and Valour might protect and guard him from their violent Practices.

Pol. Virg. Graſton. &c. The King now came in ſight of his Foes, when the Triumviri, *York, Warwick* and *Salisbury*, being ſtrongly intrench'd before *Ludlow*, deſign'd to attack him. Upon the Approach of the Armies, the King generouſly caus'd Proclamation to be made, *That whoever would abandon the Duke of* York, *ſhould be receiv'd into Mercy, and have Pardon.* Upon this the brave *Andrew Trollop*, finding himſelf deceiv'd by the Duke and his Party, who pretended nothing but the King's Preſervation, abandon'd the Duke's Camp at Midnight, and with all his ſelect Men, not only preſented his Service to the King, but alſo diſcover'd all the Duke's Counſels. This extreamly diſcourag'd the Duke, who reſolv'd to betake himſelf to flight; but whether it proceeded from his Fear of *Trollop*'s Valour and Wiſdom upon whom he had much rely'd, or from the Fear that his Example ſhould induce others to follow his Steps, is uncertain. However, taking his younger Son the Earl of *Rutland* with him, he haſten'd into *Ireland:* The Earl of *Marche*, his eldeſt Son and Heir, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with much Difficulty eſcap'd to *Calais*; which Place, as *Polydore* obſerves, if *Henry* had in Time taken from his Enemies, they had without Queſtion been irrecoverably ruin'd. The Multitude that ſerv'd under the Triumvirate found Mercy; but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or for the moſt part pillag'd. The Town of *Ludlow* it ſelf was plunder'd to the bare Walls, and the Dutcheſs of *York* depriv'd of all her Goods; and nothing leſs could be the Effects againſt the Friends of ſuch Adverſaries, upon ſo publick an Act and Advantage. The Cauſe was purſu'd more ſeverely againſt the great Offenders in the next Parliament, which was held at *Coventry:* Where *Richard* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *Marche* his eldeſt Son, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Alice* his Wife, by whoſe Right he was Earl, two or three Lords, nine Knights, and certain others, were publickly and ſolemnly attainted of High-Treaſon, and their whole Eſtates confiſcated.

The Duke and his Adherents diſperſe and fly.

They are declar'd Traitors in Parliament.

Wetham. Holling. Thus was *Henry* once more abſolutely King, and *Somerſet* was made Governor of *Calais*, who with the Lords *Roſs* and *Audley* were ſent over with Forces to take it from *Warwick* and his Adherents. Their Succeſs was unfortunate, for *Somerſet* was forc'd to fly, his Soldiers were pillag'd by *Warwick*'s Men, the Lord *Audley* was taken into the Town, and the Lord *Roſs* could hardly eſcape. Letters were hereupon written from the Court into Foreign Parts, deſiring, *That no Relief might be given to the Traitors that kept* Calais *againſt the King*; and all Men at home were forbidden *to tranſport any Victuals or Refreſhment to that Place.* The Duke of *Somerſet* being at *Guiſnes*, a neighbouring Caſtle, daily diſturb'd the *Caliſians*; but *Warwick*'s main Buſineſs was to conſult the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, who now had that Kingdom at his Command. But hearing that the King had certain Ships lying at *Sandwich* to tranſport Supplies and Succours to *Somerſet*, that he might not leave ſuch Danger behind him, he ſent away Sir *John Denham* with a Company of Soldiers more valiant than numerous, who with a Wind as favourable to them as contrary to their Enemies, enter'd the Haven and Town of *Sandwich*, which being unguarded and her Inhabitants aſleep, he took the Lord *Rivers* and his Son in their Beds, and tho' the Soldiers awakened, made head and wounded *Den-*

The Earl of Warwick *keeps* Calais.

Denham ſo as to lame him, he notwithſtanding worſted them; and plunder'd many Houſes; and being favour'd by the Mariners, he made himſelf Maſter of the King's Ships, furniſh'd with all warlike Proviſions, and brought them with ſeveral Priſoners into *Calais*. With theſe Ships *Warwick* convey'd himſelf into *Ireland* to the Duke of *York*; and in his going and coming, he was ſo favour'd by the Winds that he ſpent not above thirty Days in his whole Voyage. The Duke of *Exeter* was made Admiral, with Orders to intercept his Paſſage; but he fail'd in the Attempt, and many of his Men deſerting him, he durſt not attack the Earl, nor was he willing to attack the Duke, upon Pretence that he was of the King's Blood: Such was the Artifice and Subtlety of the *Yorkiſts*, to pretend Reverence to that Blood they moſt deſir'd to ſhed. Five hundred freſh Soldiers waited at *Sandwich*, to be ſhipp'd over to the Duke of *Somerſet* for his ſafe Conduct into *England*; but *Warwick*'s Men came ſuddenly upon them, ſlew *Montfort* their Commander, with many others, and diſarm'd the reſt. Such was the diſtracted State of miſerable *England*, through the Pride and reſtleſs Ambition of one or two preſumptuous Men. And tho' nothing was more true, than that the Duke of *York* ſought the Crown of *England*; yet nothing was more plain than that his Friends pretended the contrary: For the Veneration of King *Henry*'s Piety and Purity was likely to turn greatly to their Prejudice and Diſadvantage.

His Succeſs.

The Yorkiſts Remonſtrance.

The King failing thus to gain the Perſon of the Earl of *Warwick*, or his Town of *Calais*, the *Yorkiſts* ſent over certain Articles into *Kent*, in which they ſubtlely complain'd *of certain general Enormities concerning Injuries done to the Church, and the ill Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Abuſe of Purveyors, the King's Poverty by the Corruption of his Officers*, and other Things of the like plauſible Nature. Where they mention'd the Perſon of the King, they freed him from all Exceptions, as being of *as noble, virtuous, righteous, and bleſſed a Diſpoſition as any Earthly Prince whatever*. When they mention'd their Enemies, who were the King's faithful Friends and Subjects, they nam'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Beaumont*, as principal Perſons concern'd in the Attainders of the *Yorkiſts* at *Coventry*. Where they ſpoke of themſelves and their Intentions, *they profeſs'd all Sincerity and Loyalty* to King *Henry*, and that they only meant to come upon their Guard to ſpeak with him concerning the Common Good, and their own Safeties; and that now they would attempt the ſame again *in the Name of the Land*, and not ſuffer ſuch Miſchiefs to gain upon them. In the Concluſion of theſe their ſpecious Pretences they had theſe Words; *Requiring you, on God's Behalf, therein to aſſiſt us, doing always the Duty of Liege-men in our Perſons to our ſaid Soveraign Lord, to his Eſtate, Prerogative and Preeminence, and to the Security of his moſt noble Perſon, to which we have ever been, and will be as true as any of his Subjects alive; whereof we call God, our Lady St.* Mary, *and all the Saints in Heav'n to Witneſs*. With theſe treacherous and impious Proceedings they prevail'd upon the unthinking Multitude; and the Lord *Fauconbridge* was ſent over to ſound their Affections, and draw the purulent Matter to a Head; and ſhortly after, the Earls of *Marche*, *Warwick* and *Salisbury* landed in *Kent*. But the People were not the only deluded Perſons; for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other venerable Men, believ'd they ſpoke Truth; which that they might do effectually, the Earl of *Warwick* publickly took an Oath upon the Croſs of *Canterbury*, *That they had ever born true Faith and Allegiance to King* Henry. The King before their Arrival had quitted the City of *London*, as not greatly truſting the Affections of the Citizens, who hated ſeveral of his Miniſters, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Forces at *Northampton*, where he reſided. The Enemy advanced that way; and in the mean Time their Accomplices endeavour'd to take the Tower of *London*, in which were ſeveral Loyal Noblemen, as the Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Veſcie*, *Lovel*, *De la Ware*, and others.

Holling. Spud.

The King quits London.

In

Pol. Virg. Grafton. Fabian. Stow.

In the mean Time the Queen, with the King in her Company, had gather'd a conſiderable Army at *Northampton*; and among other Lords in the Army were the Duke of *Somerſet* lately return'd from *Guiſnes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were no ſooner arriv'd but they heard of the Enemy's Approach, therefore paſſing the River, they went and encamp'd in the neighbouring Fields. The Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick*, being deny'd Admittance to the King's Preſence, proceeded to a new Piece of Subtlety, and order'd a Cry to go through the Field, That no Man ſhould lay Hands upon the King, nor the common People, but upon the Lords, Knights and Eſquires. Early in the Morning the Earl of *Marche*, urg'd on by his Youth and Valour, began the Battel, which was very bloody and obſtinate for five Hours together, without any great Inequality. At length, the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* running over to the Earl's Side, the King was defeated with the Death of ten thouſand Men; a great Loſs, but not of ſuch Conſequence had he not loſt himſelf; for being depriv'd of his Defenders who were ſlain round his Perſon, he fell into the Power of his Enemies. This dreadful Battel was fought upon the ninth Day of *July*, in which the King's Ordnance could not play by reaſon of the Rains, wherein were ſlain the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who fighting valiantly did not degenerate from his Father, the Lord *Egremont*, the Vicount *Beaumont*, beſides many other Knights and Gentlemen: And the Priſoners were very numerous, eſpecially among the Knights and Gentlemen; for being alighted from their Horſes to fight on Foot, they had no means to eſcape. The Queen, with Prince *Edward* her Son and the Duke of *Somerſet*, fled to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. The Victors being return'd to *London*, inflicted ſuch Puniſhments as uſually attend the Injuſtice of Civil Wars; among ſuch of their Adverſaries as were found in the City, thoſe who could eſcape had the beſt Fortune. *Thomas Thorp*, ſecond Baron of the Exchequer, endeavouring to eſcape in the Habit of a Monk, was taken and committed Priſoner to the Tower, and after that by the Commons beheaded at *High-Gate*. Thoſe in the Tower had yielded upon certain Conditions, which forc'd the Lord *Scales* to endeavour to take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; but being upon the *Thames* he was murder'd by certain Watermen belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*, and his Body wallowing in Blood was ſtript of all its Apparel, and left to the publick View of all Men. Yet ſtill the two Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* continu'd their uſual Hypocriſie to the King, now in their Poſſeſſion, and thus addreſs'd themſelves to him, *Moſt noble Prince, be not diſpleas'd that God has granted us the Victory over our mortal Enemies, who by their inveterate Malice have unjuſtly excited your Highneſs to baniſh us from the Land, and would have put us to final Shame and Confuſion. We come not to diſquiet or afflict your Highneſs, but to pleaſe your noble Perſon, tenderly deſiring the Proſperity of that and all your Realm, and to be your true Liege Subjects as long as our Lives ſhall endure.*

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38/39.

The third Battel at Northampton.

The King defeated and taken Priſoner.

The Hypocriſie of the Victors.

Fordun. Mackay.

In the mean Time *Scotland*, by reaſon of the late Affinity with the Houſe of *Beaufort*, whoſe Head was the Duke of *Somerſet*, deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt*, was a ſpecial Support to King *Henry* in all his tempeſtuous Adverſities; but now that Refuge was much hazarded. For King *James* the Second, partly in Favour of King *Henry*, laid Siege to *Roxborough* Caſtle, then in Cuſtody of King *Henry*'s Enemies; where going into the Trenches to ſee the *Lion*, a famous Piece of Ordnance, and the other Artillery diſcharg'd, one of them broke, and with a Shiver of it ſlew the King, and dangerouſly wounded the Earl of *Angus*. This unfortunate Accident happen'd upon *Sunday* the third of *Auguſt*. The Queen of *Scotland* nevertheleſs maintain'd the Siege, and gain'd that Place as well as the Caſtle of *Warke*, both which ſhe in Revenge laid level with the Ground. *James* the Third, a Child of ſeven Years of Age, ſucceeded his Father, as well to the Support of the diſtreſſed *Engliſh*, as to the Crown of *Scotland*. The Death of the King of the *Scots* was follow'd by that of

The Death of James *the Second of* Scotland.

James *the Third ſucceeds.*

of *Charles* King of *France*, which tho' it was not violent, was no leſs ſtrange and unuſual. Being ſick, ſome of his Flatterers, to manifeſt their Zeal, put an Imagination into his Head that ſome Perſons deſign'd to poiſon him; which caus'd him to abſtain from all Suſtenance for ſeveral Days. And when his Phyſicians told him that his Weakneſs proceeded from Want of Meat, and not from any Sickneſs, he endeavour'd to eat but could not; for the Channels through which his Meat ſhould paſs were clos'd up; whereupon he dy'd with Hunger, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Lewis* the Eleventh.

The Death of the French *King.*

The News of the Battel of *Northampton* being convey'd to the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, he now reſolv'd to throw off the Mask he had ſo long worn, and with all Expedition came to *London*, where the Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* had ſummon'd a Parliament to meet in the King's Name upon the Eighth Day of *October*. He made his Entry with numerous Troops of Men, and Trumpets ſounding before him; cauſing the Sword to be carry'd before him as Kings uſually did, only with this Difference, that it was now carry'd naked, whereas in the Preſence of Kings it us'd to be ſheath'd. He alighted from his Horſe at the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and entring into the upper Houſe of Parliament, he laid his Hand a conſiderable Time upon the Throne, as if by that Act he had taken Poſſeſſion of it; and when he remov'd his Hand, he turn'd to thoſe that were by, as deſirous to read his future Succeſs in their Countenances; and, as it is uſual for Men to flatter themſelves in what they moſt paſſionately deſire, he thought they approv'd of this Action. But the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſtanding up and asking him *if he would be pleas'd to go and ſee his Majeſty*, he chang'd Countenance and angerly anſwer'd him, *He knew none in the Kingdom to whom he ought that Duty, but on the contrary all Men ought it to him.* The Arch-Biſhop going forth to acquaint the King with his Anſwer, who lay in the Queen's Lodgings, the Duke likewiſe went forth and boldly enter'd the King's Lodgings, and broke open all the Doors and Locks, to the great Indignation of many. After this, without any Reſerve, he made his Claim to the Crown of *England*, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn Oaths and Ingagements to the contrary; and publiſh'd it in open Parliament, together with his Pedigree. Moſt of the Houſe ſtood amaz'd, both to find him ſeated on the Royal Throne, and for this unexpected Challenge. But the Duke, tho' at firſt he fully deſign'd to have depos'd King *Henry*, and crowned himſelf by the firſt of *November*, yet finding ſuch Aſtoniſhment and Silence, he ſent them his Pedigree and his Claim in Writing, that they might better conſider of it; yielding, as he pretended, to ſubmit to their general Determination.

Holling. Fabian. Hall.

The Duke of York's *Entry into* London.

He claims the Crown of England.

The Subſtance of the Duke of *York*'s Claim to the Crown of *England* was as follows. 'King *Edward* the Third had ſeven Sons, *Edward* Prince of 'Wales, *William* of *Hatfield*, *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke 'of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Willi*'am of *Windſor*. *Edward* the Eldeſt dy'd during his Father's Life, and left 'one Son, King *Richard* the Second, who dy'd without Iſſue, as alſo did King 'Edward's Second Son *William*. *Lionell* the Third Son had only one Daugh'ter nam'd *Philippa*, who being marry'd to *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche*, 'ſhe had by him *Roger* Earl of *Marche*, who afterwards had two Sons and two 'Daughters, of whom three dy'd without Iſſue; only *Anne* the ſole Heireſs of 'the Houſe marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Son of *Edmund* Duke 'of *York*, the fifth Son of King *Edward* the Third, which Earl of *Cambridge* 'begot *Richard* Duke of *York* the preſent Claimant. On the other Side *John* 'of *Gaunt*, the Fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, and younger Brother 'to *Lionell*, had a Son nam'd *Henry*, who immediately after King *Richard*'s 'Reſignation, unrighteouſly enter'd upon the Throne; becauſe *Edmund* Earl 'of *Marche*, Son to *Philippa* the Daughter and Heireſs of the foreſaid *Lionell* 'elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, was then alive; and the ſaid *Henry*, Son to

Stow. &c.

The Subſtance of his Claim.

'*John*

'*John* of *Gaunt*, and his Succeſſors, had hitherto held the Crown of *England* 'unjuſtly, becauſe the ſaid *Richard Plantagenet*, the preſent Duke of *York*, 'was the lawful Heir, as being the Son of *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* and *Anne* 'before mentioned.

Ibid. This was the Subſtance of the Duke of *York*'s Title and Claim, which as to Matter of Genealogy was undoubtedly true; tho' in Bar to this Claim King *Henry*'s Friends, without denying any Part of the Premiſes, had not a little to plead for him; and among other Things they alledg'd 'That King *Richard* the 'Second reſign'd up his Crown and Authority at large; and that no other ma- 'king Claim but *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, he was 'admitted to the Throne by the Conſent of the three Eſtates of the Land: 'That *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* was attainted of High-Treaſon and execu- 'ted, and his Iſſue render'd incapable of any Inheritance; that *Richard* his 'Son now challenging the Crown of *England*, being reſtor'd and advanc'd by 'the meer Clemency and Goodneſs of King *Henry* the Sixth, had voluntarily 'acknowledg'd him for his lawful Soveraign, and ſolemnly ſwore to the ſame; 'and that the ſame *Richard* after that had been juſtly attainted for Treaſon, and 'adjudg'd incapable of inheriting. They further alledg'd ſeveral Acts of Parliament 'to eſtabliſh the Right of the Line of *Lancaſter*; the Succeſſion of three Kings, '*Henry* the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, the politick Government of the Firſt, 'the noble Victories of the Second, and the pious Life of the Third; which 'three Kings Reigns contain'd no leſs than ſixty Years, in which Number this 'was the thirty ninth of King *Henry* the Sixth, who was deſcended from the 'Male Line, and the Duke of *York* but from the Female, which Line had ne- 'ver been in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. Theſe were thought great and weighty Points, and the more conſiderable, becauſe King *Henry*'s Perſon being no bet- ter than a Priſoner, no Act of his to eſtabliſh the Duke's Title could bind in Law or Conſcience; and the leſs, becauſe he had a Wife and a Son both at Li- berty, and ready to free him by Force of Arms, or to hazard the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Name. But they who on the Duke's Behalf abſtractedly diſpu- ted theſe high Queſtions, inſiſted upon a Rule of Law, *That the Rights of Blood are not to be alter'd by Civil Powers*; and the *Lancaſtrians* were not without their ſpeculative and remote Conſiderations, to countenance the Parti- culars of their Cauſe. By which it appear'd that in Monarchies, tho' the no- bleſt Form of Government, where Lineal Succeſſion is the Rule of Inheritance, there ſometimes happen as great and as indeterminable Difficulties, as where E- lection deſigns the Succeſſor: Of which both *France* and *England* have been miſerable Inſtances.

The Anſwer to it.

Caxton. Holling. Graſton. While this weighty Controverſie was debating, there happen'd this ſurpriſing Accident: A Crown that was hung up for Ornament in the Parliament Houſe, without the leaſt Touch or Blaſt of Wind ſuddenly fell down; as likewiſe did another which for the ſame Cauſe was plac'd upon the higheſt Tower of *Dover* Caſtle: Which was generally believ'd to portend That King *Henry*'s Reign was ended, and that the Crown ſhould be transferr'd from one Line to another. The Lords forgot not the Duke's Demands, and to take the better Directions, divers of them both Spiritual and Temporal with many grave and wiſe Perſons of the Commons, daily met at the *Black-Friars*, and other Places, to treat of this Matter, that was of ſo great Importance. During which Time the Duke of *York*, tho' both the King and himſelf were lodg'd in the Palace Royal, would by no Inducements once viſit his Majeſty, 'till ſome Concluſion was made in the Affair; declaring *That he was ſubject to no Man, but only to God, under whom he had no Superior*. After a long debating of the Matter, and deliberate Conſultation among the Peers, Prelates and Commons, upon the Vigil of *All-Saints* it was thus concluded and determined, 'That foraſmuch as *Henry* had 'been acknowledg'd King for the Space of thirty eight Years and more, he 'ſhould enjoy that Name and Title, and the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, during his

The Controverſie determin'd by Agreement in Parliament

'his natural Life. And if he either dy'd, or reſign'd, or forfeited the ſame 'by breaking or violating any Point of this Contract, then the ſaid Crown and 'Dignity ſhould immediately be devolv'd upon the Duke of *York*, and the law-'ful Heirs of his Body, excluding all thoſe of King *Henry*. This ſolemn Agreement being put into divers Articles, was ingroſs'd, ſign'd, ſeal'd and ſworn to by the King and Duke, as likewiſe all enacted in this Parliament. For Joy of this, the King, accompany'd with the Duke of *York*, on *All-Saints* Day, rod in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s with the Crown upon his Head. And upon the *Saturday* following, the Duke of *York* was by Sound of Trumpets ſolemnly proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Realm.

The Queen and her Friends ſtand out.

The active Queen, now in the North, would by no means allow of this Determination, ſo prejudicial to her ſelf and Poſterity; therefore when the King, at the Duke of *York*'s Inſtigation, ſent for her to repair to him at *London*, ſhe relying upon the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, and other Royaliſts, utterly refus'd; and *Henry* being ſtill acknowledg'd as King, the Arms taken for his Deliverance had the greater Juſtice. The Duke of *York* miſſing his expected Prey, left the King at *London* with the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*; and taking with him his young Son the Earl of *Rutland*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and five thouſand Men, he march'd towards *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire* to purſue the Queen and her Son, ſending Orders to the Earl of *Marche* to follow with all his Power. In the Caſtle of *Sandall* within view of *Wakefield* the Duke took up his Quarters upon *Chriſtmaſs* Eve, waiting for the Encreaſe of his Army. The Queen being adviſ'd of this, thought it Wiſdom to fight before the Duke grew too ſtrong; and thereupon advanc'd with an Army of eighteen thouſand Men, led by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Clifford* and *Roſs*, and in effect all the Northern Nobility. Part of the Army preſented it ſelf before *Sandall* Caſtle, in order to provoke the Duke to Battel; who fir'd with this Bravado, and perhaps ignorant of his Enemies Multitude, reſolv'd to meet them, tho' the Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *David Hall* earneſtly urg'd him to ſtay 'till his valiant Son the Earl of *Marche* came up with his numerous Forces. But the Vengeance of Heav'n would forbear him no longer, but like a ſtrict Maſter reſolv'd to call him to an immediate Account; by which he might find whether all the Kingdoms in the World were worth the leaſt Sin, much leſs a wilful Perjury. *Holing. Grafton.*

The fourth Battel at Wakefield.

The Queen therefore added Policy and Stratagem to her Power, that his Ruin might be inevitable; for which Cauſe, on the laſt Day of *December*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* upon one Side of the Hill, and the Lord *Clifford* upon the other, lay in Ambuſcade to get between him and the Caſtle; while the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* drew up in open Field. This Deſign had its deſir'd Effect; for the Duke iſſuing out of the Caſtle with his ſmall Army down the Hill, ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded; and tho' he ſhew'd great Valour and Bravery, within half an Hour his whole Forces were defeated, himſelf with many of his dear Friends beaten down and ſlain. There lay dead about him the Lord *Hartington*, Sir *Thomas Nevill* Son to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *David Hall*, with ſeveral Knights, and others to the Number of two thouſand eight hundred Men; among whom were the Heirs of many Southern Gentlemen of great Account, whoſe Blood was ſhortly after ſeverely reveng'd. The Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of *Rutland*, a hopeful Lad of twelve Years of Age, ſeeing the ill Succeſs, led his Charge out to ſave him; but the Lord *Clifford* obſerving his rich Habit, follow'd, and with a Dagger in his Hand demanded who he was. The unfortunate Youth ſtruck dumb with Fear, with Knees, Hands and Eyes begg'd for Mercy and Pardon; and the Chaplain, who by naming him thought to have ſav'd him, told him who he was, and *That if he would ſave his Life, he would ſpend it in his Service*; but *Clifford* ſwore *Holing. Witham. Grafton. Sped.*

The Duke of York *ſlain.*

dread-

dreadfully, *That as his Father had ſlain his, ſo would he ſerve him and all his Progeny*, and then ſtruck his Dagger into his Heart, rejoicing at the moſt barbarous and inhuman Revenge that ever cruel Man took. And not ſatisfy'd with this, caſting himſelf upon the dead Body of the Duke he cut off the Head, and crowning it in Deriſion with a Crown of Paper, he preſented it to the Queen, who poorly and ungenerouſly made her ſelf merry with that gaſtly and bloody Spectacle. This was the fatal End of the famous *Richard*, who contrary to all Oaths and other Obligations, had caus'd infinite Miſchiefs to the *Engliſh* Nation; of whom it was ſaid by the Duke of *Somerſet* his former Antagoniſt, *That if he had not learn'd to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject in* England. The Earl of *Salisbury*, here taken Priſoner, was with other Priſoners beheaded at *Pontfract*, and their Heads together with the Duke's ſet upon the Gates of *York*; while the Victors triumph'd and rejoic'd, who not many Days after bewail'd their own Calamity, as did the Queen, or ſhar'd in the like Fortune, as did the Lord *Clifford*.

His ignominious Treatment.

Ibid. The Earl of *Marche*, Son and Heir to the deceas'd Duke of *York*, hearing of this tragical Adventure, with a Mind full of Grief and Revenge, and an Army of twenty three thouſand Men, reſolv'd to march againſt the Queen. But he found more immediate Imployment; for being inform'd that *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, half Brother to King *Henry*, and *James Butler* Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, had with them a great Force of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to intercept his March; this youthful and valiant Man, whoſe amiable Preſence and Behaviour render'd him gracious to the People, eſpecially to the Female Sex, reſolv'd firſt to try his Fortune againſt thoſe Earls. He therefore ſuddenly turn'd back from *Shrewsbury*, and at a Place call'd *Mortimer's Croſs* near *Ludlow*, he engag'd the Enemy on *Candlemaſs-Day*. In the ſame Morning, we are told there appear'd three Suns in the Heav'ns, that ſuddenly join'd in one; which fortunate Omen exceedingly fir'd the Earl of *Marche*, and was judg'd to be the Reaſon why he us'd for his Badge, or Royal Device, the *Sun in his full Brightneſs*. The Armies maintain'd the Fight with great Fury; but at length the Earl of *Marche* obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Deaths of three thouſand eight hundred of his Enemies; the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltſhire* ſaving themſelves by Flight. But Sir *Owen Tudor*, Father to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Husband to King *Henry* the Fifth's Queen, with ſeveral other Priſoners of Note were beheaded at *Hereford*, as a Sacrifice to the Manes of his Father the Duke of *York*.

A. D. 1461. Reg. 39.

The fifth Battel at Mortimer's Croſs.

Holling. Stow. &c. The Queen on the other Side being incourag'd by her late Victory, after ſhe had ſetled her Affairs in the North, march'd towards *London* with an Army conſiſting of *Scotch*, *Welſh* and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*. But when her Soldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if that River was the utmoſt Limits of their good Behaviour, they proceeded to ravage the Country after a barbarous manner. Advancing near to St. *Albans*, they were inform'd that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*, with the King in Perſon, were prepar'd to give them Battel; whereupon they haſten'd to march through the Town. But being not ſuffer'd to paſs, they furiouſly attack'd their Enemies in the Field call'd *Bernard-Heath*; where perceiving the main Battel to ſtand ſtill and not to advance, as it was manag'd by the Treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the *Kentiſh* Men had the Command of it, they ſoon caus'd the Southern Men to betake themſelves to flight; upon which the reſt, doubtful of each others Fidelity, made the beſt of their Way. The Lords about the King's Perſon, perceiving the Danger, withdrew themſelves; only the Lord *Bonvile* coming in a complimental manner to the King, and declaring his Affection to his Majeſty, was unfortunately importun'd by him, together with Sir *Thomas Kyriel* a *Kentiſh* Knight, to ſtay with him; he paſſing his Royal Word that their Stay ſhould be no Injury to them. Upon which Promiſe they ſtaid, but to their Ruin; for the

The ſixth Battel, which was the ſecond at St. Albans.

Queen hearing how the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *High-Gate*, without conſidering her Husband's Word, in Revenge caus'd both their Heads to be taken off at St. *Albans*. So that there were ſlain in this Battel about twenty three thouſand Men, but none of any Note or Name, but only Sir *John Gray*, who the ſame Day was Knighted, with twelve others, at the Village of *Colney*. This Battel was the ſixth fought in theſe unhappy Civil Wars, and the ſecond at St. *Albans*; it being upon *Shrove-Tueſday* the ſeventeenth of *February*.

The King ſet at Liberty.

And now the King was adviſ'd to ſend a Meſſenger to the Victors to let them know, That he would gladly come to them, if it might be done with Safety and Conveniency; upon which the Earl of *Northumberland* appointed ſeveral Lords to attend him to the Lord *Clifford*'s Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met him with extraordinary Joy. But it was now obſerv'd, as if it were in the Deſtiny of King *Henry*, that tho' he was the moſt Pious Prince in his Age, yet no Enterprize of War did ever proſper where he was preſent; which ſhews that Human Proſperity is not inſeparable to Piety. At the Queen's Requeſt the King honour'd thirty Gentlemen with Knighthood, who the Day before had fought againſt that Part of the Army where he was: The young Prince, now eight Years of Age, was alſo Knighted. After which they went to the Monaſtery, where they were receiv'd with Anthems, and likewiſe a humble Petition to be protected from the Outrages of the looſe Soldiers; which was promis'd, and Proclamation made accordingly, but to ſmall Effect, for the Northern Men alledg'd, That by Agreement they were to have all the Spoil in every Place after they had paſs'd the *Trent*, and ſo acted like lawleſs People, to the great Damage, or rather Ruin of the King's Affairs. For about this Time the Queen ſent Commands to the Lord Mayor of *London* to ſend her in Proviſions for her Men, which he obey'd; but the People oppos'd him, and ſtopp'd the Carts at the City Gates: Which ſhews the Error that deludes ſome Princes, when they promiſe themſelves Obedience from a diſſatisfy'd People, and who without Fear of Puniſhment have already begun to diſobey. The Magiſtrate laid open all the Miſchiefs that might enſue, but could not prevail; for ſtill they cry'd out the more, *That the City had no Occaſion to relieve them that came with a Deſign to pillage it.* This Diſobedience grew yet more obſtinate by reaſon of an inſolent Troop of Horſe, who at the ſame Time came from St. *Albans* to pillage the Suburbs; and many of them haſtening to *Cripple-Gate*, where the Carts were ſtopp'd, and endeavouring to enter, they were beaten back, and three of them ſlain, to the great Concern of the wiſer ſort; for it was fear'd that the Queen being in Arms, and ſo many ways offended, would rigorouſly reſent it. The Mayor ſent to excuſe himſelf to the Council reſiding at *Barnet*, and the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* accompany'd by the Lady *Scales* and ſome Prelates, went to the Queen to pacifie her. They perſuaded her that ſome Lords might be ſent, with four hundred armed Men, who riding about the Streets might appeaſe the Tumult, and that part of the Aldermen ſhould come to meet her at *Barnet*, to bring her and the King peaceably into the City.

The People againſt him.

Ibid.

But all theſe hopeful Deſigns ſuddenly vaniſh'd at the News of the Defeat of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltſhire*, and that the Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* were join'd, and marching towards *London*, with a Force not eaſily to be reſiſted. This ſo terrify'd the Queen, that ſhe ſuddenly return'd towards the Northern Parts, where ſhe had moſt Friends; impolitickly leaving ſome Marks of Severity and Cruelty behind her. The Earl of *Marche* on the contrary, who for his amiable Qualifications was in every Man's Mouth and Affections, hearing of the Queen's Retreat, march'd directly to *London*, where, upon the twenty eighth Day of *February*, he was receiv'd with the univerſal Applauſes of the People. On *Sunday* the ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick*, a zealous Friend to the Earl of *Marche*, muſter'd all his Army in St. *John*'s Fields, and having drawn them in a large Ring, and read aloud to them the Agree-

Hollingſ. Habing. &c.

The Earl of Marche, *Son to the Duke of* York, *enters* London.

ment

ment of the laſt Parliament, and then demanded, *Whether they would have King* Henry, *who had violated that Agreement, to reign over them*? They all cry'd out, *No, no*! Then he ask'd them, *Whether they would have the Earl of* Marche, *who according to the ſame Agreement ought to be King, to reign over them?* They with a great Clamour anſwer'd *Yea, yea!* Upon which ſome Commanders, and others of the City repair'd to the Earl of *Marche* at *Baynard*'s Caſtle, to acquaint him with what had paſs'd; who at firſt ſeem'd to excuſe himſelf, as unable to execute ſo great a Charge: But being animated by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at laſt conſented to take it upon him. On the next Morning he went in Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral; and after *Te Deum* ſung, he was in great State convey'd to *Weſtminſter*. There ſeated in the moſt conſpicuous Place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his Hand, he made a Declaration of his double Title to the Crown: *Firſt, By Deſcent, as Heir to the third Son of King* Edward *the Third: Secondly, By Authority of Parliament, which upon the Examination of the Duke of* York's *Title, had conferr'd the Crown immediately on him and his Heirs, when* Henry *the Sixth ſhould make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Reſignation, or Breach of that Agreement there ſolemnly ſworn by them. And that this Agreement was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke of* York *at the Battel of* Wakefield, *did ſadly manifeſt. Nevertheleſs he proteſted himſelf ready to give up the Juſtice of his Claim, rather than enter upon it without their free Vote.* At which, with loud Applauſes, all cry'd, *King* Edward, *King* Edward! tranſported when they found their Voices were requir'd to confirm him King, who had declar'd he would not receive that Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this ſecond Election thus paſt, he went in Proceſſion to the Abby Church; whence after much Solemnity, and Homage from the Nobility preſent, he return'd by Water to the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth. This was done upon the fourth Day of *March*, after King *Henry*, now near forty Years of Age, had paſs'd over an unfortunate and inglorious Reign of thirty eight Years, ſix Months and four Days.

He is proclaim'd King.

Here in the Courſe of all Writers ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, of whom it is obſerv'd, That never any came to be King ſo ſoon after his Birth, nor ceas'd to be King ſo long before his Death; the former being but eight Months, and the latter twelve Years. It has alſo been truly obſerv'd, That all the Sons of King *Edward* the Third, as well as himſelf; all the Sons of *John* of *Gaunt*, and all the Sons of *Henry* the Fourth, were compleat Hero's, Men the moſt renown'd in their Age for Perſonal Strength, Courage and Bravery: But when this Heroical Diſpoſition was at the Height in *Henry* the Fifth, how it came to degenerate in *Henry* the Sixth, is attributed to his Mother, who tho' a Woman of a noble Spirit, yet being deſcended from a crazy Father, it was no Wonder if ſhe prov'd the Mother of a crazy Iſſue. Yet as to his Perſon he was comely and well proportion'd, and had Virtues ſufficient to make a Saint; no King ever ſhowing more Piety and Devotion than himſelf. He had one Imunity peculiar to himſelf, that no Man could ever be reveng'd on him, becauſe he never offer'd any Man an Injury. He was ſo chaſte and modeſt, that when in a publick Mask ſome Ladies preſented themſelves before him with their Breaſts uncover'd, he immediately roſe up, and exclaim'd againſt their Behaviour: So merciful, that when he ſaw the Quarters of a Traitor over *Cripple-Gate*, he caus'd them to be taken down, declaring, *He would have no Chriſtian ſo cruelly treated for his ſake:* So free from Swearing, that he never us'd any Aſſeveration but *Forſooth* and *Verily*: So patient, that to one who ſtruck him when he was taken Priſoner, he only ſaid, *You wrong your ſelf more than me, to ſtrike the Lord's Anointed:* So devout, that on the chief Holy Days, he us'd to wear Sack-Cloath next his Skin: And ſo innocent in general, that his Confeſſor declar'd, *That for ten Years Space he never found any*

The End of King Henry's *Reign.*

His Character.

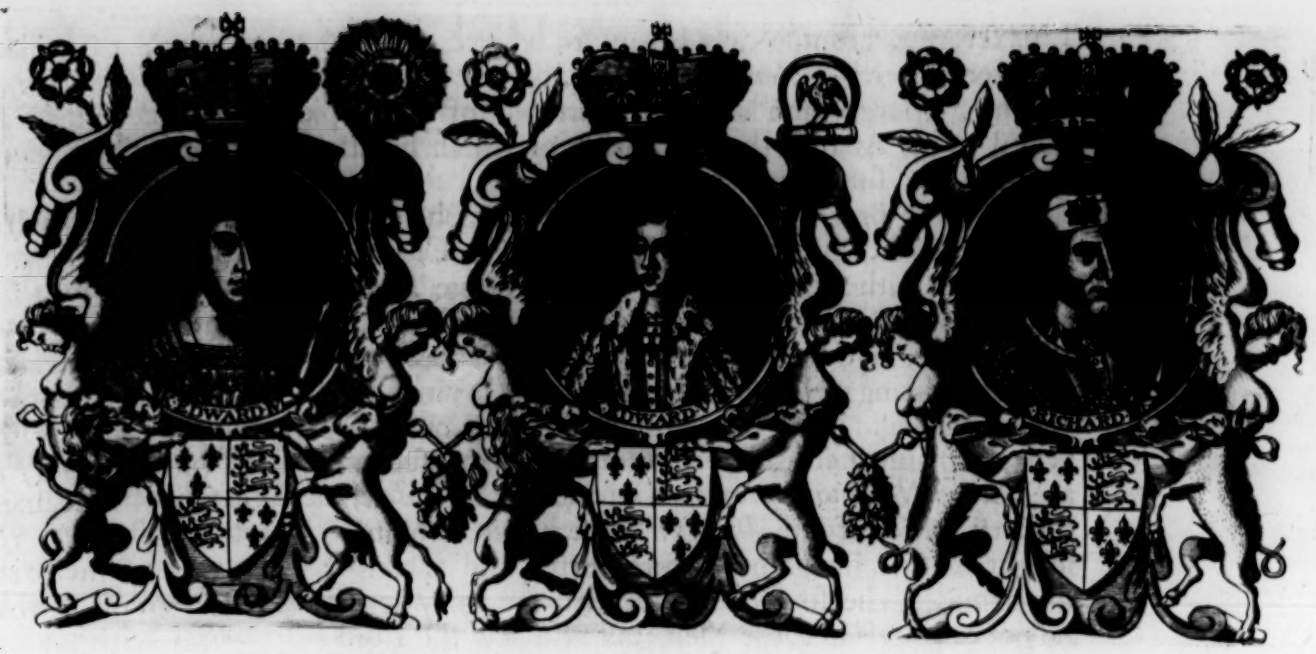
any thing he had ſaid or done, for which he might juſtly enjoin him Penance. And herein conſiſted his Happineſs, that he was the only Prince perhaps in the World that never diſtinguiſh'd between Adverſity and Proſperity; being ſo intent upon his Devotion, as to think nothing Adverſity that did not interrupt that. But this brought him under the ſole Power of others, and made him fitter for a Prieſt than a King; and had his Virtues been as uſeful to the Publick, as thoſe of his pious Father, neither the Duke of *York*, nor his Son durſt have conteſted with him for his Kingdom. Not to exclude Providence, the Peoples Inclinations was then the only thing which took the Kingdom from one, and gave it to the other; which may teach Princes that long Poſſeſſion, without the Practice of Princely Actions, is not ſufficient for their Converſation. In him was confirm'd that wiſe Sentence, *Wo to that Nation whoſe King is a Child*, and rather ſhows it means in *Government* more than in *Years*: For as long as he continu'd a Child in Years, his Kingdoms flouriſh'd by the Care of his Uncles; but when he ceas'd to be ſo in Years, and continu'd to be ſo in Government, all Things ran to ruin both in *France* and *England*; and a great Part of his Time was a Reign of Diſgrace, Miſery and Blood. And notwithſtanding his extraordinary Piety, his manifeſt Breach of Faith to the Earl of *Armagnack* ought not to paſs uncenſur'd by a Chriſtian Hiſtorian; and the great *Raleigh* obſerves, that as he refus'd the Daughter of that Prince, by which he might have defended his Inheritance in *France*, and marry'd the Daughter of *Anjou*, by which he loſt all that he had in that Country; ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy Death of his Uncle of *Gloceſter*, the main Pillar of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, he drew on himſelf and his Kingdom the greateſt Loſs and Diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtain'd ſince the *Norman* Conqueſts.

Matters of Note in his Reign.

Notwithſtanding this Reign was both troubleſom and calamitous, it was remarkable for many pious and charitable Foundations, and for ſeveral eminent and worthy Men. The King himſelf founded two famous Colleges, the one in *Cambridge* called the *College Royal* or *Kings-College*, and the other at *Eaton* near *Windſor*; to the Maintenance of which he gave three thouſand four hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and the glorious Chappel of the former ſhews of what wonderful Magnificence the whole ſhould have been, had the Founder reign'd to finiſh it. In the twenty eighth Year of this Reign Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. Three Colleges in *Oxford* were alſo founded in this Reign, *All-Souls*, *Bernard* and *Magdalen*; the two firſt by *Henry Chichely* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the latter by *William* of *Wamfleet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; as alſo the famous Divinity School by *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*. There were many other Foundations and Buildings made in other Places, as the College of *Tatſhall* in *Lincolnſhire* by *Ralph* Lord *Cromwell*; *Leaden-Hall* in *London* by *Simon Eyre* Mayor; the Standard in *Cheapſide*, &c. As to Men of Valour, we have already taken notice of the chief, ſuch as the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and others; ſo that it may be ſaid, as there was never a more Heroical King of *England* than *Henry* the Fifth, ſo never any King had more Heroical Subjects than *Henry* the Sixth, who had been train'd under his Father and Grand-father. As to Men of Learning, they are too numerous to be particulariz'd; we ſhall only mention *John Leland* the Elder, who wrote divers Treatiſes for Inſtruction of Gramarians; *Peter Baſſet*, Eſq; one of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the Fifth, whoſe Life he wrote; *Thomas Walſingham*, *Thomas Radburn*, *John Capgrave*, and *John Wethamſted*, all Writers of ſome Parts of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory; *John Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury* and celebrated Poet; *Richard* and *Robert Flemming*, *Thomas Dando*, and *Robert Bale*.

Here Ends the Royal Line of Lancaſter.

CHAP.



CHAP. V.

The Plantagenets *divided. The Royal Houſe of* York: *From the Depoſition of King* Henry *the Sixth, to the Death of King* Richard *the Third, and the Union of the two Families.*

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Fourth.*

Containing 22 Years, 1 Month, and 5 Days.

Holling. Speed. &c.

I. IN the midſt of the Miſeries of an unfortunate Nation, we are now arriv'd at the Hiſtory of the Second, yet neareſt great Branch of the *Plantagenets*, that ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne. And from the fourth Day of *March*, in the Year 1461, according to the common Computation in thoſe Days, commenc'd the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, who was then about twenty Years of Age, in the prime of his Youth and Beauty, and whoſe charming Looks and Behaviour render'd him the Object of all Peoples Love and Affection. Yet great Numbers were ſtill intire Friends to the depos'd King *Henry*, who was now with his Queen raiſing a powerful Army in the North; and not a few in *London* it ſelf, as King *Edward*'s Jealouſie gave him cauſe to ſuſpect: Of whom one *Walker* a ſubſtantial Citizen and a Grocer was an unhappy Proof, who only for Words ſpoken concerning his own Son, *That he would make him Heir to the Crown*, meaning the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapſide*, was on the eighth Day of this King's Reign apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And tho' the Words only contain'd an unſeaſonable Jeſt, and no real Treaſon; yet it being a Time when the Crown lay at Stake, the Law was ſtretch'd, and ſomewhat more, to remove the Man that ſpoke 'em. This

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1.

King Edward's *ſevere Beginning.*

This ſevere Beginning caus'd many to believe, that they had injur'd themſelves in wronging King *Henry*; which Opinion was more confirm'd by *Edward*'s retaining a large Sum of Mony borrow'd of the Staplers-Merchants, and diſburs'd in his Affairs, the Reſtitution of which he utterly deny'd with an angry Command to ſurceaſe their Demands.

Oppoſitions in the North.

And now hearing how King *Henry* was belov'd in the North, and what Numbers were gather'd to recover him the Crown, upon the twelfth Day of *March* he with a compleat Army ſet out from *London*, accompany'd with his two Brothers, and many other Noblemen. Then marching towards *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire*, he there appointed the Lord *Fitzwater* to keep the Paſſage of *Ferribridge*, omitting no Directions of a worthy Commander. King *Henry*, tho' no ways warlike, thought it beſt Policy to employ ſuch Commanders whom the Thirſt of Revenge had anima'ed againſt the Houſe of *York*; ſuch were the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whoſe Fathers had been ſlain in the firſt Battel of St. *Albans*: Which laſt, tho' in Degree the leaſt Man, yet ſought to raiſe his Fame with the firſt; and therefore to leave no Enterprize unattempted, he ſo ſuddenly attack'd the Party appointed for *Ferribridge*, that he not only defeated the Men, but alſo ſlew the Lord *Fitzwater*, with the Baſtard of *Salisbury*, and many others, before they well knew whence the Diſturbance aroſe. The Noiſe of this Defeat came firſt to the Ears of the ſtout Earl of *Warwick*, who too much tranſported at the evil Fate of the firſt Attempt, rod almoſt breathleſs to King *Edward*, and killing his Horſe in his Preſence, he cry'd out, *God have Mercy upon the Souls of thoſe, who for your ſake have already loſt their Lives! Let him fly that will fly.* Then kiſſing the Hilts of his Sword, he ſaid, *By this Croſs, I will ſtand by him that ſtands by me.* The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge*, fearing that this Beginning ſhould prove dangerous, ſoon got over the River at *Caſtleford*, three Miles from *Ferribridge*, deſigning to ſurround the late Victors; which *Clifford* perceiving, ſought to avoid; and whether out of Haſte or Heat, he put off his Garget, when ſuddenly an Arrow without a Head, ſhot from an unknown Hand, pierc'd through his Throat, ſtuck in his Neck, and put a Period to his Life. A Death too honourable for him; ſince the innocent Blood of the Earl of *Rutland* requir'd one foreſeen, painful and cruel. But his Son met with the Puniſhment he eſcap'd; who being ſav'd by a poor Shepherd, liv'd a Beggar during three Reigns, 'till he was reſtor'd by King *Henry* the Seventh.

Ibid.

The eventh Battel between the Houſe of Lancaſter *and* York, *at* Towton.

The next Day, more fatal for *England*'s Blood, being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning both Armies came in ſight of each other; a dreadful Meeting, which like the Soul and Body never parts but by Death. The Field was between *Caxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battel afterwards took its Name. Upon a full Survey of King *Henry*'s Army, ſo formidable for Numbers, Proclamation was made in King *Edward*'s Camp, *That whoever fear'd to fight might immediately depart, but if any remaining Soldier ſhould endeavour to fly, he ſhould be ſlain by his next Fellow, who ſhould receive a great Reward.* And further it was proclaim'd, *That no Quarter ſhould be given, nor Priſoner taken.* A neceſſary Cruelty, and not to be avoided without Hazard of King *Edward*'s Ruin; in regard the common Soldiers, in Hopes of Spoil or Ranſom, might be wanting in their Duty. About nine in the Morning both Armies drew near; ſixty thouſand for King *Henry*, then in *York*, and for King *Edward* ſcarce forty thouſand; only the Preſence and Courage of the latter made an Equality. The experienc'd Lord *Fauconbridge*, to whom the Van was committed, immediately before the Battel, commanded his Archers, as ſoon as they had ſhot their firſt Flight, to fall ſome Steps back, and make a Stand; by which they might avoid their Enemies Arrows. Which Stratagem had its deſign'd Succeſs; for the Northern Men with a ſudden Fury anſwer'd the Onſet, and having empty'd their Quivers, haſten'd to a cloſe Battel: But the Arrows they had diſcharg'd, not having reach'd their Adverſaries, turn'd now

Hollinſ. Habing.

now to their Annoiance and Diſtraction, and ſo far gaul'd them by the Splinters ſticking in the Ground, that they were forc'd to a confus'd Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men ſhot another Flight; and the Wind conſpiring with their Policy, blew a Storm of Hail and Snow in their Faces; ſo that the Vantguard, led by the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Andrew Trollop*, gave back. Yet the Main Battel did not ſtir with this Motion; but as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continu'd with the firſt Conſtancy.

Ibid. For ten Hours together the Victory hung in Suſpence; equal Courage on both Sides; equal Hopes in the good, and equal Deſpair in the bad Succeſs; which occaſion'd ſo much Obſtinacy and Cruelty in the Battel. But at length, after a moſt pitious Slaughter, the Northern Men began to hope for Safety only in Flight; nor did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, 'till their Courages were diſmay'd with the Sight of ſo many eminent Men ſlain before their Eyes. For the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Beaumont*, *D'acres*, *Gray*, *Scales* and *Wells*, with many others of greateſt Reputation for their Rank and Courage, had already fallen; and in their Deaths taught the Survivors what to expect. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, ſeeing all Things deſperate, the greater Part of the Army ſlain, the reſt broken and flying, poſted to *York* to carry the fatal News to the unfortunate King *Henry*; whoſe Virtue ſtill had a Patience greater than his Ruin. In no Battel ſince the Conqueſt was ever ſhed ſo much *Engliſh* Blood; ſo that the Fields were not only diſmally ſtain'd, but the Rivers alſo ran red for a great Diſtance: For in this and the preceding Day were ſlain no leſs than thirty ſix thouſand ſeven hundred Perſons; all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, ſome in Blood, fatally divided by Faction, yet all animated by the ſame Zeal to maintain their Prince's Right: Which being ſo difficult to determine nicely, doubtleſs it made the Conteſt on both Sides, how ruinous ſoever to their Families, not unſafe to their Conſciences. And it is worthy of Obſervation, that in this long and cruel Conflict between the two Royal Families, never any Stranger of Note was preſent at their Battels; as if the *Engliſh* had diſdain'd to conquer or periſh by any other Weapons than their own.

The Yorkiſts prevail.

The Greatneſs of the Bloodſhed and Victory.

Holling. &c. After this great Victory King *Edward* rode to *York*, from whence King *Henry* was fled, where he was receiv'd with the utmoſt Solemnity; and firſt he caus'd the Heads of his Father, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and other of his Friends, to be taken from the Gates and bury'd with their Bodies: And then he caus'd the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and three others, to be beheaded, and to have their Heads put on the ſame Places. In the mean time the unfortunate King *Henry* haſten'd with his Wife and Son to the Town of *Berwick*; and leaving the Duke of *Somerſet* in that Place, he went into *Scotland*, begging the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of the young King of that Nation. He was receiv'd with all Humanity, and had Proviſion made for him of a certain Penſion by the King of the *Scots*, who likewiſe agreed that the Princeſs *Margaret* his Siſter ſhould marry to Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Henry*, tho' this Marriage was never after conſummated. And *Henry* to requite theſe Civilities, did more than he would in Time of Proſperity, and gave up the Town of *Berwick* to King *James*; a Place very advantagious to the *Scots*, and long deſired by them. The Queen his Wife went with her Son into *France*, to procure Aſſiſtance from her Father *Reyner*, Duke of *Anjou*; and ſhe obtain'd alſo of King *Lewis* of *France* free Acceſs for as many *Engliſh* as were of her ſide, and Baniſhment for thoſe of the contrary Party; Matters of no great Conſequence. And thus we find the unfortunate King *Henry*, after above thirty eight Years Reign, not only to have been driven from his Throne and Crown, but alſo out of all his Dominions.

King Henry flies into Scotland.

Hall. Holling. In the Interim King *Edward*, with as glorious a Triumph and dilated Joy as Victory could beget, march'd towards *London*, where the Citizens, who were deeply intereſted in his Fortune, receiv'd him with great Splendor and Magnificence. And on the twenty eighth Day of *June* he was with great Solemnity

King Edward's Coronation.

crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, where in St. *Peter*'s Church it was the next Day again ſolemnly ſet on his Head, and the third ſo crown'd he came to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, and there was cens'd with the extraordinary Applauſe of the People. That no Circumſtance of Soveraignty might be wanting, a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet in *November*; by which his Title to the Crown was confirm'd, King *Henry* and his Son diſinherited, his Friends rewarded, and his Enemies puniſh'd. And tho' private Reſpects were his chief Buſineſs, deſiring to diſanul all Acts made in Prejudice of the Houſe of *York* and its Adherents, yet his outward Pretenſions were the Safety and Quiet of the Realm. For he publickly profeſs'd that his only Care was to have ſuch wholſom Laws enacted, as might redreſs Diſorders crept into the State, by the free Liberty given to Rapines in the former Troubles. By which Appearance of earneſt Care for quieting a diſturb'd Republick, he gain'd Authority among the Wiſe, and founded a Belief in all, that his Government in Peace would be as fortunate as his Proceedings in War. Having by his Wiſdom and Care thus won the Opinion of the Generality, he proceeded to confer his Favours on particular Perſons whom Blood and Service had render'd dear to him. He created his two Brothers, *George* and *Richard*, Dukes; the Elder of *Clarence*, and the Younger of *Gloceſter*. He made the Lord *Nevill*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, Vicount *Montague*; *Henry Bourchier*, Brother to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Eſſex*; and the Lord *Fauconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*; giving others the Title of Barons, and honouring many with that of Knighthood. The Concluſion of this great Aſſembly was with ſeveral Puniſhments: For *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Aubery Vere* his Son, Sir *John Tiddenham* Knight, *William Tyrrel* and *Walter Montgomery* Eſquires, were without Anſwer convicted of Treaſon, and beheaded: A formidable Proceeding, and too much manifeſting the Actions of a Conqueror.

Eſtabliſhments in Parliament.

Favours conferr'd.

Puniſhments inflicted.

A. D. 1462. Reg. 2.

Affairs thus happily ſetled for King *Edward*'s Intereſt, to check the Inſults of tranſmarine Neighbours, who had thrown Injuries on the Nation when weaken'd with Diſcords, the new-created Earls of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, with the Lord *Audley*, were ſent with ten thouſand Soldiers to ſcour the narrow Seas; who firſt landing in *Bretaign*, took the Town of *Conquet*, and afterwards in the Iſle of *Ree*, pillag'd that little Country, and return'd with Victory. By which Enterprize, tho' of no ſignal Conſequence to his Affairs, yet King *Edward* let the *French* know how unſafe it was to irritate the *Engliſh* when govern'd by an active Prince, who might hereafter appear in Perſon, for the Recovery of thoſe Provinces, which nothing but the Nation's Diſſentions could have loſt; and likewiſe ſtruck ſome Terror into all foreign States which ſhould adhere to King *Henry*, who both in Courage and Fortune was ſo far his Inferior. And now was the Proſperity of *Edward* in ſo much Splendor, and ſo dark a Cloud hung over the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, that *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy* forſook the Ruins of that Family they had ſo long endeavour'd to ſupport. The Submiſſion of two ſuch Perſons of Intereſt and Power, was as pleaſing to King *Edward* as a Victory; and they by his Favour were immediately reſtor'd to full Poſſeſſion both of Honour and Eſtate; and the ſame Grace was promis'd to any others, whom their Example ſhould perſuade.

Holling. &c.

Advantages abroad.

A. D. 1463. Reg. 3.

Yet did not the indefatigable Queen loſe any Part of her Spirit or Endeavours; but in *France* us'd all Means and Methods to gain Succours towards the Reſtitution of her Husband. At length, having obtain'd an inconſiderable Number of *Frenchmen*, ſhe paſs'd over with them to *Scotland*, and from thence with the Shew of a great Enterprize, ſhe ſail'd for *England*; and touching upon the Bay of *Tinmouth*, out of ſome peculiar Apprehenſions, ſhe and her *French* put back to Sea, where ſuch a ſudden Tempeſt overtook them, that had not the Queen in a ſmall Veſſel got into *Berwick*, ſhe had loſt her Life, or fallen into her Enemies Hands. Her *French* Forces, by the Baſtard *Ogle* and other

Ibid.

The Attempts of King Henry's Queen for his Reſtoration.

other Friends of King *Edward*, were driven into *Holy-Iſland*, where many were ſlain, and four hundred put to their Ranſoms. This feeble *French* Enterprize, tho' it enervated the Minds of many, yet it no ways daunted the Courage of the Queen, whoſe chief Hopes were founded upon the *Scotch* Valour. So leaving her Son *Edward* in *Berwick* for Safety, ſhe with the King her Huſband and a *Scotch* Army furiouſly enter'd into *Northumberland*, took the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, and ſo paſs'd into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, their Forces daily increaſing by the Confluence of ſuch *Engliſh* as favour'd King *Henry*. Among theſe the Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*, with other of King *Henry*'s Friends, revolted from King *Edward*, and came over to this Army. But many others came over in Hopes of Spoil; for his Army pillag'd and burnt Towns, and deſtroy'd Fields whereſoever they came.

Hall. Fabian. Holling. King *Edward* hearing of theſe Commotions in the North, made Preparations both by Sea and Land, and with his two Brothers and many Noblemen march'd to the City of *York:* From whence he ſent the new Viſcount *Montague* with a conſiderable Party to ſecure the Loyalty of the *Northumbrians*; who paſſing forwards, at a Place call'd *Hegley-Moor*, he was ſuddenly attack'd by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*. But *Montague* bravely ſtood the Aſſault, and in the firſt Encounter repuls'd the Lords, and at length ſlew the ſaid *Piercy*, who would not be driven from the Field, but in dying cry'd out, *I have ſav'd the Bird in my Boſom*, meaning his Oath made to King *Henry*. *Montague* finding Fortune thus proſperous, advanc'd forwards; and learning by his Spies that *Henry*'s Army lay incamp'd in a fair Plain call'd *Livels* near *Hexham*, he haſten'd his March, and ſo valiantly attack'd their Camp, that after a great Slaughter, he totally defeated their Army, with the Loſs of two thouſand Men. The unfortunate King *Henry* fled into *Scotland*; but the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Roos*, *Mollins* and *Hungerford*, with other Perſons of Note, as unfortunately fell into the Hands of their Enemies, and were afterwards, according to the uſual Proceedings of theſe miſerable Times, beheaded in cold Blood. Sir *Ralph Gray* was firſt ſolemnly degraded from his Honour of Knighthood, and then led to Execution. Thus was the white Roſe in every Place dy'd red with the Blood of the Nobility; and the red Roſe turn'd pale with Horror to view the Calamities occaſion'd by this Diſſention.

The eighth Battel at Hexam. *The* Yorkiſts *victorious.*

Ibid. King *Edward* having with a little Water extinguiſh'd a Flame which was like to have ſet all *England* on Fire, fortify'd all the Frontiers, and built Forts upon ſuch Parts of the Sea as were fitteſt for Landing; he threaten'd heavy Puniſhments againſt any who ſhould favour or harbour King *Henry*, Queen *Margaret*, or any of their Adherents. He us'd the like Care in other Places of his Kingdom, eſpecially in the Southern Parts, where Landing was eaſieſt for ſuch as ſhould come from *Normandy*. In the Rooms of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, who were fled with *Henry*, he created *John Nevill* Viſcount *Montague* Earl of the former, and *William Herbert* Earl of the latter. But the former being afterwards reſtor'd, *Nevill* gave up the Title, and was rewarded with that of a Marqueſs. In the mean Time King *Henry*, hurry'd on by his own Fate, paſs'd into *England* in diſguis'd Apparel; where in a ſhort Time he was betray'd, while he ſate at Dinner in *Waddington* Hall, from whence he was carry'd to *London* after a diſgraceful manner, with his Legs bound under the Horſe's Belly. Here, with Doctor *Manning* Dean of *Windſor*, he was arreſted by the Earl of *Warwick*, his gilt Spurs taken off, and he committed cloſe Priſoner to the Tower of *London*. A ſudden and ſtrange Alteration of Eſtate, when he that was once the moſt potent Monarch for Dominions that ever *England* had, was not now Maſter of a ſingle Spot of Ground, nor Owner of his Liberty. So various are the Changes and Fortunes of this tranſitory Life; which appear'd further from his diſtreſſed and diſconſolate Queen, who with her Son was driven once again to fly for Shelter into *France*.

King Henry *taken,*

and made Priſoner in the Tower.

A. D. 1464. Reg. 4.

II. The Imprisonment of King *Henry*, the Absence of his Queen and Son, with the Deaths, Flight and Banishment of the chief of their Party, for a long Time secur'd King *Edward* in his Throne. This Calm afforded him Occasion of reforming many Disorders in the Publick, to which the late Troubles had given Birth. For several Days together he sate publickly with his Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, on the King's-Bench, to acquaint himself with the Orders and Proceedings of the Court, either at Bench or Bar. He likewise order'd the Officers of the Exechequer to take more moderate Fees, and to be more intentive of their Duties, for the Benefit of the Subject, than their own Profit; and not under Colour of preserving the King's Revenues, to inrich themselves and oppress the Nation. And to shew his Liberality and Gratitude to those who had serv'd him, he distributed the confiscated Goods of the late Delinquents to as many as had merited Reward; in which he dealt so wisely, that none were dissatisfy'd. Then to gain the Love of all Men, he shew'd himself more familiar both with the Nobility and Commonalty, than as some thought was convenient either for his State or Dignity. To his Affability he added Clemency, and pardon'd all those who in what manner soever had formerly oppos'd his Greatness, provided they would abandon all who persisted in their Averseness to him: By which means he won such an Opinion of the People, that afterwards, by their Assistance, he surmounted Difficulties which otherwise would have been insuperable. The Laws of the Realm he in part reform'd, and in part augmented; and the Coin both of Gold and Silver he new invented and divided; for the Gold he nam'd Royals and Nobles, and the Silver he call'd Groats and Half-Groats. He ordain'd penal Statutes against excessive Pride in Apparel, particularly against long pick'd Shoes then usually worn, which grew to that Extream, that the Pikes in the Toes were turn'd upwards, and with Silver Chains or Silk Laces ty'd to the Knees. But among many good Provisions one prov'd injurious; for concluding a League with the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* in *Spain*, he granted them Liberty to transport certain Numbers of *Cotes-wold* Sheep, which so much increas'd, that it afterwards prov'd a great Hinderance to the *English* Merchants in the Sale of their Woollen Cloths in the *Levant* Seas.

Holling. Speed. &c.

King Edward's *Regulations in the Publick.*

His Ordinances.

The publick Affairs being thus establish'd, King *Edward* descended to what more particularly concern'd himself; and that was to provide a Queen, by whom he might have Issue and a sufficient Alliance against the Power of King *Henry*. Three Marriages were propos'd to him; *Margaret* Sister to *James* King of *Scotland*; *Isabel* Sister to *Henry* King of *Castile*, and *Bona* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the present Queen of *France*. The two former were set aside for particular Reasons, and the last approv'd of in Council; and none was thought more fit to sollicit this Affair than the mighty Earl of *Warwick*, a Man esteem'd as a King in Power and Revenues, and exceeding all in Magnificence and Hospitality; in whose House at *London* six Oxen were spent every Day, and most Taverns in the City were full of his Meat and Provisions. This Earl in great State arriv'd at *Tours*, and his Message known, was accordingly entertain'd in the *French* Court, where he wrought the Queen her self to be the chiefest Agent, who ingag'd her Sister *Bona* with recommending the State and Stile of a Magnificent Queen, and her Husband *Lewis* with the Assurance of a Wife and Potent Ally; a Subject sufficiently pleasing to this soft-natur'd Prince. In a short Time all Parties were fully satisfy'd, and the Earl of *Warwick* dismiss'd with no small Compliments; and the Earl of *Damp-Martin* was to pass into *England* for the final Conclusion.

Grafton. Fabian. Speed.

The Earl of Warwick *sent to treat of Marriage in* France.

But while the Earl of *Warwick* highly valu'd himself for his Success abroad, King *Edward*'s Affection was working another Way at home. For the young amorous King after Hunting coming to visit the Dutchess of *Bedford* at her Manor of *Grafton* near *Stony-Stratford*, was sollicited by a fair Petitioner, the Lady

Holling. Habing.

Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Daughter to the Dutcheſs, and Widow of Sir *John Gray*, ſlain on King *Henry*'s Behalf at the Battel of St. *Albans*. The King could deny no Requeſt made by ſuch an eloquent Tongue, and conquering Beauty; and immediately himſelf became as earneſt in ſolliciting her, but in a more unlawful Suit. But ſhe arm'd her ſelf with a Modeſty ſufficient to deſtroy the moſt violent Batteries of Luſt; and tho' ſhe was on all Sides attack'd by the moſt inſinuating Temptations, ſhe repuls'd her Enemy ſo nobly, that he offer'd to parly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with Chaſtity ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, who ſcarce ever fail'd in ſuch Attempts, he became enamour'd on the Beauty of her Mind, and concluded that her Virtue was Dowry enough to marry her to the higheſt Monarch upon Earth. The Reaſons of State were directly againſt this Marriage, which ſhew'd the Danger of exaſperating ſo potent an Allie as the *French* King, and ſo dangerous a Subject as the Earl of *Warwick*, as likewiſe the Inconveniencies of raiſing a Widow to his Bed, who could bring nothing but Poverty and an unprovided Iſſue; who if not advanc'd would be a Scorn to his Children, and if otherwiſe a Charge to his Exchequer, and an Envy to the Nobility. Yet the charming Object, and his unbounded Paſſion prevail'd ſo far, that notwithſtanding the Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother moſt violently oppos'd him, by throwing the higheſt Calumnies upon the Lady *Gray*, and alledging a Pre-contract with the Lady *Lucy*, he broke through all Difficulties, and marry'd her privately. Not long after, upon the twenty ſixth of Day of *May*, he crown'd her Queen with the uſual Solemnities. Her Mother was *Jaquellin* Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburg* Earl of St. *Paul*, and Dutcheſs to *John* Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*; after whoſe Death ſhe marry'd to Sir *Richard Woodville* Knight, and among others bore him this celebrated Lady.

King Edward *falls in Love with the Lady* Gray.

A. D. 1465. Reg. 5.

He marries her.

Holling. &c.

None were pleas'd with this Match, the Nobility leſs than the Commonalty; their Grandeur being obſcur'd by the ſudden Splendor of the Queen's Relations: Her Father was created Earl of *Rivers*, and ſhortly after made High-Conſtable of *England*: Her Brother *Anthony* was enrich'd by the Marriage of the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Scales*, which Title was likewiſe conferr'd upon him: Her Son *Thomas Gray*, whom ſhe had by her former Husband, afterwards marry'd the Daughter of the Lord *Harrington*, and was created Marqueſs of *Dorſet*. Hiſtorians obſerve many Calamities that were caus'd by this Marriage; as the Deaths of innumerable *Engliſh* Men, King *Edward*'s Expulſion from his Dominions, his Children declar'd ſpurious, and murder'd, and the Queen's Houſe extirpated. All which begun from the proud Earl of *Warwick*, who being by this deceiv'd and wounded in his Reputation, parted from *France* with ſuch furious Reſentments, as he could not wholly conceal from the *French* King. Being return'd into *England*, he ſo behav'd himſelf with King *Edward*, that he ſeem'd not at all diſoblig'd; while the preſent Injury reviv'd the Remembrance of many formerly receiv'd. He ſaw how the King apprehended his Greatneſs, and grew jealous of his Power; that his Deſign was to depreſs him, when himſelf was better eſtabliſh'd; that he thought himſelf no King, while Men judg'd him as neceſſary to the Conſervation of the State, as he was in the obtaining of it; and that he ſought all Occaſions to bereave him of Mens good Opinions. All which caus'd him to believe that he was ſent into *France* for the ſame purpoſe. To which ſome add, that King *Edward* had provok'd him by attempting the Chaſtity of his Daughter or Neice; thereby endeavouring to diſhonour the Family of his Kinſman, Servant and Benefactor. Theſe Conſiderations join'd together, begot in him ſuch a Hatred that all *England*, *France* and *Flanders* could never extinguiſh; ſo that he reſolv'd to depoſe him, and reinthrone King *Henry*, as ſoon as a fit Occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf. In order to which, by the King's leave he retir'd to *Warwick*, under a Pretence of Indiſpoſition of Health; yet the King made ſome Diſcovery of his Diſcontents, but not ſufficient for his own Security; for he thought him not ſo able to drive him from, as to lift him into a Throne.

The Earl of Warwick *enrag'd at it.*

His Deſigns.

In

A. D. 1466. Reg. 6.

King Edward's *Alliances.*

In the following Year the Queen was deliver'd of a Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, who afterwards put a happy Period to the Civil Wars, by marrying with King *Henry* the Seventh. In which Year King *Edward* concluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, who upon Occaſion might by way of Diverſion aſſiſt him in *Gaſcony* and *Languedock*; and likewiſe for the ſame Reſpect, he concluded a Truce with *Scotland* for fifteen Years. But the Alliance of the old Duke of *Burgundy* was that which moſt avail'd him, and which re-eſtabliſh'd him in his Kingdom when he had loſt it. This Prince had a Son, *Charles* the Count *Caralois*, who by two ſeveral Wives having but one Daughter, his Father deſir'd to marry him a third Time, hoping to ſecure the Succeſſion by Iſſue Male. He bethought himſelf of *Margaret*, Siſter to King *Edward*, a Princeſs of admirable Beauty, and endu'd with a Spirit not uſual to her Sex; but her being of the Houſe of *York* made him ſtagger in his Reſolutions, becauſe he was nearly related to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. Yet ſince he could make no Alliance more formidable to *France*, or more advantagious to the *Low-Countries*, he ſent over *Anthony* the Eldeſt of his Natural Sons, commonly call'd the Baſtard of *Burgundy*, with ſome others, as Ambaſſadors into *England* for this Purpoſe. He came with a pompous Retinue of four hundred Horſe, with rich Liveries, and richer Furniture; and was graciouſly receiv'd by King *Edward*. The Affair being propos'd in Council, none withſtood it but the diſoblig'd Earl of *Warwick*; for forming the Rebellion he had formerly deſign'd, he conceiv'd the Match would be injurious to King *Lewis*, on whom he intended to rely, and beneficial to King *Edward*, whom he intended to deſtroy. But he having but a ſingle Vote, the Ambaſſador's Requeſt was granted, and King *Edward* promis'd Amity to the Friends of *Burgundy*, and threaten'd Enmity to his Adverſaries. He preſented his Siſter to the Lord *Anthony*, and the other Ambaſſadors, who kiſs'd her Hand, as their Princeſs, and preſented her with many rich Jewels, which ſhe accepted with Terms of Gratitude both to her Father-in-Law and Husband. The Entertainments made upon this Occaſion were great and magnificent; and Challenges at Tilt paſs'd between *Anthony* and the Lord *Scales*, Brother to the Queen, and between his Followers and the *Engliſh* Gentry. In the midſt of theſe Rejoycings, News was brought of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death, which much afflicted the Lord *Anthony*; ſo taking leave of the King, with rich Preſents he paſs'd over into *Brabant*, and made ſuch a Relation of the Princeſs to the new Duke his half Brother, as abundantly ſatisfy'd him; who in the following Year deſir'd King *Edward* to ſend her over to him, according to the Articles of the Contract; which accordingly was perform'd. After a ſolemn and magnificent Departure, ſhe took Shipping at *Dover*, attended by five hundred Horſe, and accompany'd by her two elder Siſters the Dutcheſs of *Exeter* and *Suffolk*. She landed at *Sluce*, and went from thence to *Bourges*, where the Marriage was conſummated.

Ibid.

A Marriage between the Duke of Burgundy *and King* Edward's *Siſter* Margaret.

A. D. 1468. Reg. 8.

The high Earl of *Warwick*'s Reſentments againſt King *Edward* ſtill daily encreaſing, he reſolv'd immediately to perform what he had long deſign'd; and becauſe dangerous Reſolutions are not to be undertaken without great Supports, he judg'd the Aſſiſtance of his two own Brothers moſt proper, the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Marqueſs *Montague*. Diſcourſing with them of the Reaſons that mov'd him to this Undertaking, he made an odious Parallel between *Henry* and *Edward*, magnifying the Gratitude and Goodneſs of the Former, and aggravating the Ingratitude and Wickedneſs of the Latter, *Who when their Family had been foremoſt to ſpend their Lives and Eſtates in the Service of his Father and himſelf, he had not recompenc'd them according to their uncommon Deſerts; and durſt ſtill upbraid them with his being the Raiſer of their Family, when next to Heav'n they ought their chiefeſt Honour to King* Henry: *That not contented to vilifie them, he had endeavour'd to diſgrace them in a moſt tender Point, by attempting to violate the Honour of a Daughter of their*

Hall. Holling. &c.

The Sum of Warwick's *Reſentments.*

their Family. That he had thrown ſuch an Affront upon him relation to the Match with the Lady Bona, *as he would not have done to the moſt deſpicable of his Subjects; and that he no ways excus'd it, but paſs'd it over in Silence, not conſidering that a Man's Honour was more dear to him than his Life. Since therefore he had acted ſo contrary to Juſtice and Gratitude, his Reſolution was to uſe all Means to take that Crown from him, which he had plac'd on his Head, and put it again upon* Henry, *a good and lawful King. That ſince they were Sharers in the Injuries, they ought to be ſo in the Revenge; which might eaſily be effected, if they would be as vigorous and as hearty, as many of the chief Nobility of the Nation, as alſo ſeveral foreign Princes.* This unexpected Propoſition ſurpriz'd the two Brothers, who ſeem'd averſe to a Compliance. But the Arch-Biſhop after long Diſputes giving way, the Marqueſs with much Difficulty ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded, but ſtill with great Unwillingneſs. Which Ambiguity was the Ruin of them all; for being not able to deny his Brother, nor to betray his Prince, he did amiſs on both Sides: He aſſiſted *Edward* by not cordially aſſiſting his Brother, and betray'd his Brother by not reſolutely betraying *Edward*.

His two Brothers join with him.

Ibid. The Earl of *Warwick* having thus laid the Ground-work of his ruinous Building, he purſu'd the Fabrick with the King's ſecond Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, who being then a Male-content, he reſolv'd to ſound the Bottom of his Inclinations. But he partly anticipated the Earl's Complaints by exclaiming againſt the King his Brother, *That he was in his own Nature diſobliging and ungrateful, and chiefly to ſuch as had moſt oblig'd him: That ſince he had no Eſteem for his own Brothers, much leſs would he ſhow any to his other Friends; but more valu'd his Wife's Blood, than his own. That he had diſpoſed of three of the richeſt Heireſſes of the Nation to her Son, her Brother, and the Lord* Haſtings, *three upſtart Lords; and that without any Regard to his own Brothers.* Continuing ſuch like angry and threatning Diſcourſe, he gave the Earl Occaſion to lay himſelf open to him, and to offer his Daughter to him with a Portion equivalent to thoſe he had nam'd, with innumerable other Promiſes and Proſpects. The Duke at this Time blinded with Paſſion and Reſentment, contrary to all Reaſon and Policy, join'd with the ambitious Earl in a Deſign which might eaſily and naturally prove the Ruin of them both. The Order they took was to retire themſelves to *Calais*; and that the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Marqueſs *Montague* ſhould privately procure ſome Inſurrection in the North of *England*, and give the Occaſion of the War, while they being beyond Sea, might not be thought the Authors of it. Being thus repair'd to *Calais*, and having ſworn by the Holy Sacrament to all Things agreed between them, the Duke upon the foreſaid Promiſes and Expectations marry'd the Earl's Daughter.

He gains the Duke of Clarence *to his Party.*

Halling. &c. The two Brothers being gone to *York*, of which one was Arch-Biſhop, and the other Preſident, fail'd not to put in Execution what was agreed among themſelves. The firſt Occaſion of Arms was rais'd from the Abuſe of a Charity in an Hoſpital dedicated to St. *Leonard* in the City of *York*, whoſe Revenue conſiſted chiefly of Corn, which ſeveral factious Perſons alledg'd was miſapply'd, and given from the Poor to the Rich. To redreſs which Grievance, one *Robert Huldern* enter'd into Action, and with fifteen thouſand ſtrong attempted the City of *York*, where the Marqueſs *Montague* was Preſident for King *Edward*, who with a ſelect Body of Men iſſu'd out againſt the Enemy, repuls'd them, and ſtruck off the Head of their Captain before the Gates of the City: But whether he did this in Policy to gain Credit with the King, or elſe in Duty or Irreſolution, as not throughly moulded to this Commotion, is uncertain. But however the Rebels were no ways diſcourag'd at *Huldern*'s Death, but became more reſolute and vigorous in purſuing what they had begun. To which end they choſe themſelves two Commanders of greater Note, and of eminent Calling, which were *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and Sir *Henry*

A. D. 1469. Reg. 9.

A Rebellion rais'd.

ry Nevill, Son and Heir to the Lord *Latimer*, the one being Nephew and the other Couſin-German to the Earl of *Warwick*. Theſe being but young, and not fully experienc'd in Arms, choſe for their Conductor Sir *John Conyers*, a Knight of ſuch Conduct and Valour as was ſcarcely to be found in all the North; who deſigning to ſtrike at the Head, determin'd to march directly for *London*, proclaiming in his Paſſage, *That* Edward *was neither a juſt Prince to God, nor a profitable King to the Nation.*

King Edward's Preparations.

King *Edward* hearing of theſe Northern Proceedings, and that his own Brother and *Warwick* were preparing againſt him, ſent for the Lord *Herbert*, whom he had created Earl of *Pembroke*, to be General in the North; who joyfully undertook the Service, partly to deſerve the King's Favour, and partly in Revenge to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had hinder'd his Son from marrying with a rich Heireſs. So taking with him his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, a valiant Gentleman, and ſix or ſeven thouſand well arm'd *Welſhmen*, he advanc'd forwards, and was join'd by the Lord *Stafford* with eight hundred Archers. Underſtanding that the Northern Army was near *Northampton*, he march'd that Way; and deſiring to know their Number and Order, Sir *Richard Herbert* offer'd to make the Diſcovery. He with two thouſand *Welſh* Horſe took Shelter in a Wood, by which they were to paſs; and having view'd them, and deſirous to return with the Relation to his Brother, he could not with-hold his Men from charging them on the Rere; which marching in good Order, as expecting ſuch an Attack, fac'd about, and fighting valiantly, ſlew many of them, took many Priſoners, and diſpers'd the reſt, now too late ſorry that they had not obey'd their Leader. 1564.

Holl. Holing. &c.

King *Edward* underſtanding this ill Beginning, muſter'd his Subjects on every ſide, deſigning to ingage with the Northern Forces in Perſon; and the Earl of *Warwick*, as vigorous on the other Side, gather'd his Friends to encounter with *Pembroke* and the *Welſh*. But before any Supplies came to either of them, Fortune brought the two Armies together upon a fair Plain call'd *Danes-More* near the Town of *Hedgecot*, within three Miles of *Banbury*. The Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* were lodg'd in *Banbury*; where to avoid Diſputes, they agreed each of them to take ſuch Lodgings as Chance ſhould preſent them. *Stafford* being lodg'd to his Satisfaction, the Earl, forgetting his Agreement, and uſing Authority, oblig'd him to give Place and remove; which he unwillingly obey'd, becauſe by this he was to quit the Company of a fair Gentlewoman in the ſame Place. However to ſhow his Reſentment, he baſely abandon'd the Town with all his Men, and left the Earl deſtitute of the Archers, who were the moſt neceſſary Part of the Army; which ſtill did not diſcourage the Earl, who reſolv'd to ſuffer any Miſchief rather than retreat. Early in the Morning the Lord *Latimer*'s Son Sir *Henry Nevill*, one of the Northern Leaders, thinking he had been too idle, went forth to skirmiſh, being attended by a Company of light Horſe; but preſſing on too eagerly, he was taken Priſoner, and ſoon after put to Death in cool Blood; his Youth, Nobility and Valour not being ſufficient to ſave him. This Act of Cruelty highly incens'd the Northern People, who reſolving to revenge his Death, let fly their Arrows with their utmoſt Fury, and ſoon forc'd their Adverſaries to come to a general Battel, which was very ſharp and bloody. The Earl of *Pembroke*, who fought with Diſadvantage, thought it not ſufficient to execute the Part of a Commander, but alſo of a common Soldier; while his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, hurry'd on with a prodigious Impetuoſity, ſo behav'd himſelf, that the true Story of his Valour is not to be exceeded in fabulous Romances: For forcing his Way through the Enemies Troops with his devouring Sword, he twice paſs'd the Length of their Army, returning to his own Men, if not untouch'd, yet without any mortal Wound: Occaſion'd, as it was believ'd, by his uncommon Worth, which being admir'd by all who ſaw it, by joining Delight with Danger, and Wonder with Delight, reſtrain'd the Hands of all Men from hurting

Diſſentions in the King's Army.

The ninth Battel at Danes-More, *or* Banbury *Field.*

hurting him. The Victory ſeem'd wholly on his Side, 'till *John Clapham*, a Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with a few freſh Soldiers, and crying out *A* Warwick, *A* Warwick! ſo much terrify'd the *Welſh*, that believing *Warwick* was arriv'd with all his Forces, they betook themſelves to Flight, leaving a bloody Field, cover'd with five thouſand ſlain upon the Spot. *The* Lancaſtrians *prevail.*

Ibid. This Battel, like the reſt of thoſe in theſe miſerable Times, was ſucceeded by ſomething more dreadful and ſhocking than War it ſelf; which was the ſedate Execution of many great and worthy Men. For the Earl of *Pembroke*, with Sir *Richard* his Brother, and many other Gentlemen of Note were taken Priſoners, and without any Trial at Law beheaded at *Banbury*. The Earl who was appointed to ſuffer firſt, pathetically addreſſing himſelf to *Coniers* and *Clapham*, who ſat as Judges, petition'd them in Behalf of his Brother; alledging his Youth and graceful Perſon anſwerable to his martial Mind; that his Valour, even by themſelves admir'd, might one Day be ſerviceable to his Country. But the Death of *Henry Nevill* had ſo far exaſperated them, that it occaſion'd not only the Execution of theſe two, but alſo of many others; a deplorable Tragedy repreſented by ſo many worthy Men. Their Cruelties did not ceaſe here; *Great Severities.* for thoſe of *Northampton* having choſen one *Robert* of *Riddiſdale* for their Commander, and joining certain others with them, they ſurpriz'd the Earl of *Rivers*, Father to the Queen, and his Son *John*, in his Manſion-Houſe of *Grafton*, brought them to *Northampton*, and without any Proceſs of Law beheaded them: That deformed Body hark'ning to no Arguments but thoſe of Blood and Fury. An envy'd Life and a cruel Death was the Sum of all thoſe Favours which Fortune conferr'd upon this Earl, who eſteem'd himſelf ſo happy in his Marriage with the Duke of *Bedford*'s Widow, and in that of his Daughter's with the preſent King. For as his Aſcent to theſe extraordinary Heights was ever view'd with malignant Eyes, ſo his Deſcent was ruinous and fatal; not any one of his ſeven Sons leaving behind him Iſſue to perpetuate his Name; ſome of them likewiſe coming to violent Ends. A Misfortune either ſeldom hap'ning, or not obſerv'd in meaner Families. As to the Lord *Stafford*, the Cauſe of this Overthrow, he met with a deſerved Puniſhment from King *Edward*'s Party; for by diligent Enquiry being found in *Devonſhire*, he loſt his Head at *Bridgewater* without any Proceſs.

Hailing. Haking. In the mean Time the Victors were retir'd to *Warwick*, where the Earl of that Name was arriv'd with a great Body of armed Men; and underſtanding that King *Edward* was marching towards him, he gave Advice of it to the Duke of *Clarence*, who immediately join'd him with a conſiderable Force. They were ready to come to Battel with all Speed, according to the uſual Cuſtom of the *Engliſh*, had not ſome great Perſons, deſirous of Peace and the publick Good, interpos'd to find ſome Way of Accommodation. This Negotiation made King *Edward* ſo careleſs, that confidently truſting to a Peace, he neglected all the Duties of military Diſcipline, and began in his Camp to taſte the Pleaſures of a Court; while *Warwick*, more wary than he, being certify'd by his Spies of the Negligence of the Guards and all the reſt, who behav'd themſelves as if they had no Enemies, ſet upon the King by Night, and without any Reſiſtance took him Priſoner. Thus was King *Edward* betray'd into the Hands of an inſulting Enemy, who in the moſt inſolent Terms upbraided his Priſoner with Ingratitude to his great Merits; and boaſted *It was now both in his Power and Reſolution to plain that Mountain he had rais'd, and to elivate the Vally of King* Henry's *Fortunes to the Throne he once poſſeſs'd:* And immediately ſent away the King Priſoner to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, there to be kept by the Arch-Biſhop of *York* his Brother. But as through Negligence he fell into this Condition, ſo by good Fortune he freed himſelf from it; making uſe of his wonted Affability, by which he caus'd the Arch-Biſhop to treat him like a King, not a Priſoner, allowing him not only the Liberty of the Caſtle, but the Freedom to hunt, ſetting but a ſmall Guard upon him, who either could not Warwick *takes King* Edward *Priſoner.*

or would not ſecure him. For *Edward* having ſent to Sir *William Stanley* and Sir *Thomas Burgh* his faithful Friends, to come with a ſelect Body of Men to reſcue him; they ſucceſsfully perform'd the Service, whilſt he was a hunting, meeting with no Reſiſtance from the Guards, who were either too weak, or elſe, which is more probable, were brib'd to this Behaviour. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this Eſcape, was at firſt diſtracted with a thouſand Imaginations; but finding no Remedy, made uſe of Neceſſity, and gave it out *That himſelf had ſo caus'd it, having the Power to make and unmake Kings at his Pleaſure.*

He makes his Eſcape.

King *Edward* immediately repair'd to *York*, where he was receiv'd with great Honour and Satisfaction, which made him reaſonably hope for a further Supply of Men and other Neceſſaries; but failing in that Point, after a ſhort Stay, fearing the Arch-Biſhop's Purſuit, he with a ſmall Train poſted to *Lancaſter*, where he found the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain well ſtrengthen'd for his Convoy. His Spirits then reviv'd, and his Train daily increaſing, with ſpeedy Journies he got to *London*; where all his Studies and Conſultations were, how to be reveng'd on theſe diſloyal Lords, his Brother *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick:* And they on the other ſide, enrag'd at the Arch-Biſhop's Folly and Neglect, ſought Means to increaſe their Party and Intereſt againſt the King. The miſerable Nation thus torn by theſe unnatural Diviſions, and no Eſtate ſure to enjoy what was their own, the Nobility again began to ſollicit both Parties to an Accommodation. To that end having firſt obtain'd Liberty to ride freely without Moleſtation, and ſo effectually laid open the State of the Land, whoſe Ruin was become ſo imminent by theſe inteſtine Wars, that the Natives languiſh'd, Foreigners rejoic'd, and God in his Diſpleaſure had made the *Engliſh* in an unnatural Rage turn their Swords into their own Bowels, they at length ſo far prevail'd, that the Duke and Earl upon perfect Confidence came to *London*, accompany'd with ſmall Numbers in reſpect to their great Danger.

Nothing Spoil.

A Parly between King Edward and the Earl of Warwick.

Here falling into a formal Conference with *Edward* at *Weſtminſter*, he ſeverely tax'd them with Diſloyalty, and they him with Ingratitude; ſo that their Reſentments were nothing appeas'd, but much more exaſperated; upon which with angry Words they departed, the King to *Canterbury*, and they again to *Warwick*.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10.

The inrag'd Earl of *Warwick* now caus'd new Commotions to be rais'd in *Lincolnſhire*, under the Guidance of Sir *Robert Wells*, an expert Soldier, and Son to the Lord *Wells*, who with thirty thouſand Men in Arms diſturb'd the Country, and in every Place proclaim'd King *Henry*; and at length encamping not far from *Stamford*, he there reſolv'd to wait for the Approach of his Oppoſers. King *Edward* hearing of this Inſurrection, ſent for the Lord *Wells* his Father, and getting him into his Poſſeſſion, commanded him to write to his Son to deſiſt; and then marching towards *Stamford*, he took this Lord in his Company, hoping that the Son would not bear Arms againſt his own Father in the Field. But whatever he wrot, or the King conceiv'd, Sir *Robert* proceeded in his former Deſigns; which ſo inrag'd King *Edward*, that he beheaded the Lord *Wells*, with Sir *Thomas Dymock* who had marry'd his Daughter, tho' he had given them his Promiſe for their Lives and Safeties. An Action barbarous and unfaithful! the Report of which generally clouded the Reputation of King *Edward*; but in Sir *Robert Wells* it begot nothing but Fury and Revenge; who without ſtaying for *Warwick*, who was preparing for his Aſſiſtance, ſet furiouſly upon King *Edward* and his Army near *Stamford*, where between both Parties was fought a moſt terrible bloody Battel. At length Sir *Robert* was taken Priſoner, with Sir *Thomas Deland* and others, which ſo diſcourag'd the *Lincolnſhire* Men, that throwing off their Coats they all fled; upon which Account it was afterwards call'd *The Battel of Looſe-Coat Field*, in which were ſlain at leaſt ten thouſand Men. After which Victory King *Edward*, proceeding in the uſual Practice of theſe calamitous Times, commanded

Ibid.

The tenth Battel at Stamford *call'd* Looſe-Coat *Field.*

The Yorkiſts *prevail.*

Wells

Wells and many others of Note to be put to Death, as the chief Cauſers of theſe dangerous Commotions.

Comines. &c. This untimely Conflict and Overthrow drove *Clarence* and *Warwick* to the laſt Extremity, who being unprovided to encounter King *Edward*'s Forces, gave way to Neceſſity, and from *Dartmouth* embark'd themſelves and their Ladies, both to apply themſelves to King *Lewis*, no Friend to *Edward*, and to ſecure themſelves in *Calais*, where *Warwick* was Governor These caſting Anchor before the Town, and giving Notice that they were ready to land, the Lord *Vauclere*, a *Gaſcoign* whom *Warwick* had made his Deputy, to their great Surprize diſcharg'd ſome Canon againſt them, and let them know that they ſhould not enter there. In the mean Time the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* fell in Labour, and on Shipboard was deliver'd of a Son, which Child *Vauclere* would hardly ſuffer to be baptiz'd in the Town, nor without much Entreaty permit two Flaggons of Wine to be convey'd to the Dutcheſs in the Haven. For which Uſage and Service King *Edward* by his Letters Patents made him chief Governor of *Calais*, and diſcharg'd the Earl as a Rebel and Traitor. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who hated *Warwick* for hindering his Marriage, was alſo ſo well ſatisfy'd with *Vauclere*, that he ſent Thanks to him with a Promiſe of an annual Penſion of a thouſand Crowns, if he would be true and faithful to King *Edward*, as he had already ſhown himſelf. But tho' *Vauclere* gave both his Word and his Oath to be faithful to King *Edward*, he privately ſent Word to *Warwick* of the Danger he would meet from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and from *Duras* the King's Admiral, ſo that to land there would turn to his final Confuſion. His Advice was therefore that he ſhould haſten into *France*, where the King was his particular Friend, but as for the Town of *Calais* he wiſh'd him to take no Thought, but promis'd to give him a good Account of it, when Time ſhould ſerve. Upon this Advice he ſail'd towards *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, and in his Paſſage took ſeveral Ships belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and gain'd a conſiderable Treaſure towards his preſent Occaſions. Arriving at *Dieppe*, by the Command of King *Lewis* he was receiv'd with great Reſpect, and after that by him met at *Amboiſe*; where cauſing him to be provided with all Neceſſaries, he promis'd him his beſt Aſſiſtance, and caus'd many Ships to be fitted out for him, well furniſh'd with Soldiers and Mariners. And this he did the ſooner, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* had threaten'd him, if he aſſiſted *Warwick*, or any other againſt his Wife's Brother King *Edward*. King *Henry*'s Queen *Margaret* came to meet him as ſoon as he heard of his Arrival, and with her the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford*, the laſt of whom had lately eſcap'd out of Priſon in *England*. King *Lewis* to have the ſtronger Obligation, caus'd Queen *Margaret*'s Son Prince *Edward* to marry with *Anne* the Earl of *Warwick*'s ſecond Daughter; ſo that *Warwick* took for his Son-in-Law the Son of him whom he formerly depos'd, that he might now depoſe him who he had plac'd in his Room. Upon this Marriage, *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* took an Oath never to put a Period to the War, 'till King *Henry* or his Son *Edward* ſhould recover his Kingdom; and Queen *Margaret* promis'd to make them two Governors of the Nation, 'till her Son ſhould be of full Age.

Clarence and Warwick leave the Nation.

They are receiv'd by the French King.

They make new Alliances.

Ibid. King *Edward*, in the midſt of his Pleaſures, hearing of this Confederacy againſt him, began to rouze himſelf, and deal more ſeverely with thoſe of the *Lancaſtrian* Faction; ſo that many of them daily took Sanctuary, or yielded themſelves to his Mercy: Among whom the Marqueſs *Montague*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick* was one, who with fair Promiſes was receiv'd into Favour. But while both Parties were making their Preparations, a ſubtle and ingenious Gentlewoman was ſent over to *France*, who under Colour of viſiting the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, might prevail upon her Husband. Being arriv'd at *Calais*, ſhe impos'd upon *Vauclere* by making him believe that Affairs were near to an Accommodation, and that King *Edward* had ſent her over for that purpoſe; which caus'd him freely to give her a ſafe Conduct. Having gain'd Acceſs

A Gentlewoman ſent over to the Duke of Clarence.

ceſs to the Duke of *Clarence*, the Secret to be deliver'd was to counſel him *not to cauſe the Deſtruction of his own Family, by again ſetting up the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *but to remember their ancient Hatred and Diviſion*; *adding, That he might well aſſure himſelf that the Earl of* Warwick, *having marry'd his Daughter to the Prince of* Wales, *and already done Homage to him, would by all poſſible Methods ſeek to make him King*; *not only to the Ruin of the King his Brother's Intereſt, but alſo to his own.* This Gentlewoman ſo wiſely executed the Charge committed to her, that ſhe won over the Duke of *Clarence*, who promis'd to revolt to King *Edward*, immediately after his Return into *England*: Which ſhows of what little Efficacy Oaths and Alliance are, when a powerful Intereſt comes in place. She was a Perſon nicely adviſ'd, and of few Words, and by reaſon of her Sex had leave granted to paſs to her Miſtreſs, when a Man would have been refus'd; and notwithſtanding the profound Cunning of *Vauclere*, ſhe went beyond him, and was the ſole Manager of an Enterprize, which at length ruin'd *Warwick* and his whole Faction.

Who prevails with him to quit Warwick's *Intereſt.*

And now all Things being in Readineſs, as Ships, Men and Mony, ſupply'd by the *French* King, the Admiral of *France* was ſent to ſecure them from the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Fleet, which with great Numbers and Forces lay in the Mouth of the *Seyne*, to fight with *Warwick*, when ever he began to ſet Sail. But here Providence gave a remarkable Turn to King *Edward*'s Affairs, and ſent ſuch a Storm againſt the Duke's Fleet, the Night before the deſign'd Expedition, as deſtroy'd ſeveral of them, and diſpers'd the reſt, ſome into *Scotland*, and ſome into *Denmark*. Shortly after the *Engliſh* ſet Sail with a fair Wind and a calm Sea, and landed at *Dartmouth*, from whence they had been driven into *France* almoſt ſix Months before. King *Edward* relying upon *Burgundy* abroad, and imagining all to be Friends who flatter'd him at home, by Day gave himſelf up to Hunting and Hawking, and at Nights to Dancings and amorous Addreſſes to fair Ladies; little regarding the Approach of them, who deſign'd to deſtroy all his Pleaſures. For *Warwick* being landed, proclaim'd King *Henry*, commanding all from ſixteen to ſixty, upon the ſevereſt Penalties to take Arms againſt *Edward* Duke of *York*, the moſt unjuſt Uſurper of King *Henry*'s rightful Crown; and it was almoſt incredible to ſee the Confluence of them who came daily in to him, and who not long before applauded and approv'd of none but King *Edward*. Thus marching towards *London*, his Numbers continually encreas'd; which the youthful and vigorous King ſeem'd little to regard; but conceiving he had now *Warwick* in a Snare, wrote to the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſecure the Seas againſt his Retreat, and to the Lords of *England* to attend him in his Wars. But moſt of them neglected his Commands, and very few repair'd to him; which ſoon gave him ſuch a Sight of his Danger, that with his Brother of *Gloceſter*, the Lords *Haſtings* and *Scales*, he ſuddenly retir'd from *London*, and haſten'd towards *Nottingham*, there to determine what Methods to follow.

Comines. Speed.

Warwick *and his Party land at* Dartmouth.

His Progreſs and Succeſs.

King Edward *retires.*

In the mean Time the Baſtard *Fauconbridge* in the Weſt, and the Earl of *Pembroke* in *Wales*, proclaim'd King *Henry*; and at the ſame Time Doctor *Godard* preaching at *Paul*'s-*Croſs*, declar'd by reading of Bills and other Proofs, that King *Henry* was the true and undoubted Heir to the *Engliſh* Crown. Nor was the Marqueſs *Montague* the ſame Perſon he lately ſhow'd himſelf, who having gather'd ſix thouſand Men in the Name of King *Edward*, and brought them near *Nottingham*, ſuddenly drew back his Forces, alledging, *That* Edward *was ungrateful, and regardleſs of his Friends, of whom himſelf was an Example, who having ſerved him in many bloody Battels, was only rewarded with the bare Title of* Marqueſs, *without any Maintenance at all: And therefore he had juſt Cauſe never more to draw his Sword in his Quarrel, and thoſe who did would receive no better Reward than himſelf.* Theſe and the like Allegations being divulg'd among the rude Multitude, it caus'd a further Change in their Inclinations and Affections; in every Street Bonfires were made,

Ibid.

made, in every Church Bells rung, Pſalms and Songs were ſung at every Meeting, and every Man ſhouted *King* Henry, *King* Henry! whoſe Eccho likewiſe redoubled *a* Warwick, *a* Warwick! And indeed all ſo applauded the preſent Face of Affairs, that King *Edward* finding no Place of Safety, he went with ſome Danger to *Lynn*, where he found two *Holland* Ships and one *Engliſh*; where he imbark'd himſelf with ſeven hundred Men, without the leaſt manner of Baggage or Mony. In his Paſſage he was encounter'd by eight *Eaſterling* Ships, ſo that with great Difficulty he eſcap'd to *Alchemar* in *Holland*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*; where having no Mony to pay for his Waſtage, he gave the Captain a rich Veſtment lin'd with Sables, promiſing not to forget his Civility, and to ſatisfie him better afterwards. A ſtrange Change of Fortune happening in a few Hours to ſuch a Prince merely out of Remiſsneſs and Careleſsneſs; who loſt a Kingdom without one Blow given, and was conſtrain'd to fly to a Prince, whoſe Preſence alone upbraided him with his Negligence, Luſt and Male-Adminiſtration.

He leaves England, and flies to the Duke of Burgundy.

Holling. In theſe Times of Miſery, Queen *Elizabeth*, the Original of theſe Alterations, ſeeing her ſelf deſtitute and abandon'd, took Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where with a ſmall Attendance ſhe was deliver'd of a Son nam'd *Edward*; he who a ſhort Space after his Father's Death, was the Fifth King of that Name, who ſimpathiz'd in Birth, Fate and Death with his Couſin the Son of the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* born on Ship-board before *Calais*. Many of her beſt Friends likewiſe betook themſelves to ſeveral Sanctuaries, who afterwards prov'd highly ſerviceable at *Edward*'s Return. The *Kentiſh* Men, prone to Inſurrections, finding that one King was fled, and the other in Priſon, came to *London*, and pillag'd the Suburbs, and deſign'd to have enter'd the City, had not the Earl of *Warwick* diverted them, who coming there, puniſh'd the Accomplices of the Inſurrection; which Piece of Juſtice added much to his Reputation and the Peoples Love. This great Earl, accompany'd with his Brother the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Prior of St. *John*'s, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Baſtard *Fauconbridge*, the Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, ſome for Love, ſome for Fear, and ſome to gaze at a changeable World, upon the ſixth Day of *October* enter'd the Tower of *London*, where King *Henry* had been detain'd Priſoner about ſeven Years, and there again nominated him for their lawful King. Immediately they convey'd him roab'd in a long blue Velvet Gown through the City to the Biſhop's Palace, where a pompous Court was kept 'till the thirteenth of the ſame Month; upon which Day he went in Proceſſion crown'd to the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, the Earl of *Warwick* bearing his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* his Sword, the People crying out *God ſave King* Henry! forgetting that not long before they had pray'd for *Edward* againſt him. Thus was the Crown plac'd ſometimes upon *Henry*, and ſometimes upon *Edward*, according to the Power of the prevailing Party.

Warwick *comes to* London.

King Henry *deliver'd by him out of Priſon.*

Ibid. In King *Henry*'s Name a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* upon the twenty ſixth Day of *November*; in which *Edward* was declar'd a Traitor to his Country, and an Uſurper of the Crown, his Eſtate confiſcated, all Statutes made in his Name and by his Authority annull'd, the Crowns of *England* and *France* confirm'd upon *Henry*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, and for want of ſuch, upon the Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs Male, who hereafter was to be acknowledg'd the next Heir to his Father *Richard* Duke of *York*; and *Edward*, for his Crimes committed, depriv'd of his Birthright, and all other Advantages attending it. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford* were reſtor'd to their Blood, Dignities and Eſtates; and the Marqueſs *Montague* was receiv'd into Favour, and his Fault pardon'd, ſince his Revolt from *Edward* was the chief Cauſe of his deſerting the Kingdom. Thoſe who ſided with him were depriv'd of their Honours, Titles and Faculties; and ſuch puniſh'd as in this Conteſt had taken up Arms againſt King *Henry*. Upon which Account *John Tiptoft* Earl of *Wor-*

King Henry *recogniz'd, and* Edward *declar'd a Traitor in Parliament.*

Worceſter, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* for *Edward*, being found in a Hollow Tree near *Huntington*, was brought to *London* and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. Finally the Government of the King and Kingdom was committed to the great Earl of *Warwick* and his Son-in-Law the Duke of *Clarence*: So that King *Henry*, who ſcarce ever poſſeſs'd more than the Name of a King, ſeem'd not ſo much to be ſet at Liberty, as to have his Keepers chang'd, and his Priſon enlarg'd.

About this Time *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, going into *Wales* to view his Land in *Pembrokeſhire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, Son to *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir to *John Beaufort* the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, not then full ten Years of Age, kept in ſome meaſure like a Priſoner, yet honourably educated by the Lady *Herbert*. This remarkable Youth was brought by him to *London*, and preſented to King *Henry*; who after he had ſeriouſly fix'd his Eyes upon him, ſolemnly ſpoke thus to the Lords about him, *Lo this is the Perſon to whom, after all our violent Struggles, both we and our Adverſaries muſt at laſt ſubmit*. Which afterwards happening, confirm'd the Opinion that was held of his uncommon Sanctity, ſince by the Spirit of Prophecy he foreſaw the Succeſſion of King *Henry* the Seventh, when at that Time many of both Houſes were alive to precede him. *Holling. &c.*

Henry's prophetical Words concerning King Henry the Seventh.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10.

III. While all Things in *England* happily ſucceeded for King *Henry*'s Intereſt, his Rival *Edward* was uſing all poſſible Endeavours to recover his Kingdom by the Aſſiſtance of his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*. Before his Landing in *Holland* that Duke was inform'd that he was dead, which was no unpleaſing News to him, being biaſs'd by his ancient Inclination to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and tho' *Warwick*'s Power did much diſturb him, never expecting to gain him, yet he hop'd ſtrongly to oppoſe him, by Means of the two Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, who had been maintain'd by him in Time of their Diſtreſs. But hearing of *Edward*'s Arrival in *Holland*, he was at firſt confounded, for to aſſiſt him openly would draw on him the Enmity of King *Henry*; nor could he in Honour deny him Succours, ſince his Wife was the other's own Siſter. However to prevent all Relief, *Warwick*'s firſt Deſigns were to divert the Duke of *Burgundy*, juſtly conceiving that while he was buſied with the Arms of *France* in *Picardy*, and thoſe of *England* near *Calais*, Danger would oblige him to look wholly to his own Affairs, without concerning himſelf with thoſe of other Men. Accordingly he ſent a Body of Men to *Calais*, to make Inroads into the Parts about *Bouloign*, which were with all dutiful Reſpect receiv'd by *Vauclere*; which freed him from all Suſpicion of being inclin'd to the contrary Party. For as ſoon as the News of *Henry*'s Reeſtabliſhment arriv'd at *Calais*, every one there took upon him the Earl of *Warwick*'s Enſigns and Impreſs, which was a Ragged Staff made of Gold, Silver, Silk or Cloath, according to the Condition of him that wore it. And *Vauclere* was the firſt who did ſo. Still the Duke of *Burgundy* knew not that *Calais* was at *Warwick*'s Command; but building much upon *Vauclere*'s former Uſage towards *Warwick*, and his accepting a Penſion from himſelf, he ſent the famous Hiſtorian *Philip Comines* to ſee what he had to rely on. Upon his Arrival, he ſoon found his Labour uſeleſs; for all he met wore the Earl's Colours; the Gate of his own Lodgings and Chamber-Door were mark'd with the White-Croſs; and Songs were every where ſung of the ſtrict Amity between King *Lewis* and *Warwick*. This alter'd *Comines*'s Meaſures, and caus'd him to aſſure *Vauclere*, That the Duke of *Burgundy* had made no Perſonal Alliance with *Edward*; ſince the Articles of the Contract only mention'd *England* and the King thereof; that therefore the Amity between *England* and *Burgundy* ſhould ſtill continue the ſame, the Name of *Henry* being put in inſtead of *Edward*. The Duke was not diſpleas'd at this Agreement, tho' it was not altogether to his Deſire; for by this he might ſecretly act as he pleas'd, while he was free from being ſuſpected by King *Henry*'s Party. In the mean Time *Edward* *Comines. &c.*

King Edward's Endeavours for his Reſtoration.

The cautious Management of the Duke of Burgundy.

ward us'd all poſſible Arguments and Perſuaſions to his Brother *Burgundy*, which at firſt were but coldly entertain'd by him; for the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* had ſhown him what was owing to his Birth, he himſelf coming from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and had promis'd what he could deſire againſt *Warwick*, to whom they were both irreconcilable Enemies. *Edward* was not pleas'd to be nouriſh'd with Hopes, while his Brother made him believe that his Diſſembling was neceſſary for them both; for himſelf, becauſe he was not to fight with two Kingdoms at the ſame Time; and for his Brother, becauſe Opportunity might render his Succour more effectual.

Comines. Holling. &c.

At length, *Edward* reſolving not to bear any longer Delays, the Duke caus'd four Ships to be made ready for him at *Vere* in *Holland*, which being a free Port, the Ships might ſeem to be ſet out by *Edward* himſelf; and hir'd fourteen more for him of the *Eaſterlings*, bargaining that they ſhould tranſport him into *England*, and ſerve him fifteen Days after his Landing. He alſo caus'd fifty thouſand Florins to be ſecretly deliver'd to him, and that this Aid might not ſeem to be given by him, he by Proclamation forbad all Men to aſſiſt *Edward*; by which he freed himſelf from giving Suſpicion to *England*, and whatever the Succeſs was, he remain'd Friends to both Sides. And now the Seaſon ſerving, King *Edward* being two thouſand ſtrong, beſides his Mariners, took Shipping for his former Kingdom of *England*, attempting firſt to land in *Norfolk*; but theſe Coaſts being ſtrongly guarded, he hover'd more Northwards, and entring *Humber*, landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*; the ſame Place where King *Henry* the Fourth landed, when he came to deprive *Richard* the Second of the Crown, and uſurp it to himſelf. Then imitating the ſame Perſon, but much more his own Father, who upon the like Occaſion thrice forſwore himſelf, he laid aſide all Claim to the Crown, and by Oath declar'd he came only to recover his Inheritance, the Dutchy of *York*. He ſhew'd the rude Multitude, that flock'd in to his Army, the Letters and Seal of the Earl of *Northumberland*, which as he affirm'd, and caus'd them to believe, was ſent for his ſafe Conduct to enjoy the ſame; and in every Place where he came, he proclaim'd King *Henry* himſelf, wearing an *Eſtrich* Feather, his Son Prince *Edward's* Livery. In the Practice of theſe popular and plauſible Pretenſions he approach'd the City of *York*, which was prepar'd to oppoſe him; but by his inſinuating Behaviour and Affability towards the Magiſtrates, he obtain'd leave to enter upon his ancient Patrimony, upon Condition he ſwore to two Particulars; Firſt that he would treat the Citizens according to his proffer'd Articles, and Secondly that he would be faithful to all King *Henry*'s Commands. To both which he ſolemnly ſwore; but immediately after broke the Firſt by ſeizing the City into his own Hands, and ſoon after the latter by reaſſuming his former Title to the Crown. In which may be obſerv'd both the Forbearance and Juſtice of Heav'n; the one in not immediately puniſhing him, the other in extending the Puniſhment to his Family; manifeſting, that the deferring of Vengeance is oftentimes the rendring of it more ſignal.

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11.

He ſecretly aſſiſts King Edward.

King Edward *lands in* Yorkſhire.

His falſe Pretences.

He ſeizes York

Holling. &c.

The Earl of *Warwick*, now hearing that *Edward* was landed, before he had march'd many Miles, ſent ſtrict Commands to his Brother the Marqueſs *Montague*, then reſiding at *Pontfract* with an Army ſufficient to ſecure thoſe Parts, that he ſhould not ſuffer his Entrance into *York*; whilſt himſelf was preparing what Forces he could procure to join him. But whether the Marqueſs purpoſely conniv'd, or rather wholly ſhut his Eyes, it is certain he made no haſte to intercept his Paſſage to *York*; nor indeed did he give him any Impediment, when ſhortly after he in a more hoſtile Manner march'd from thence towards *Nottingham*, paſſing quietly near *Pontfract* through the Midſt of his Enemies: Which incourag'd many to favour his Deſigns, juſtly believing that *Montague* was either a real Friend, or afraid to meet with ſuch a powerful Enemy. At *Nottingham Edward* was proclaim'd King, contrary to the Tenure of his firſt Pretenſions, and his Oath at *York*. People flock'd to him every

He is proclaimed at Nottingham.

ry Hour; and thus without Fear he paſs'd on to *Leiceſter*, that he might approach his Enemy who lay then at *Warwick*, under the Command of the Earl of that Name, accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, reſolving either to give him Battel, or elſe to find Means to join with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*. The Earl was not well ſatisfy'd with the Marqueſs his Brother, who by not oppoſing him had incourag'd and ſtrengthen'd the Enemy: He levy'd Soldiers with all Speed that he might come to Battel, and ſent to the Duke of *Clarence* to haſten his March towards him; but apprehending the Danger of his temporizing, he reſolv'd to fight alone himſelf with thoſe Troops he had, and with this Deſign repair'd to *Coventry*. *Edward*, who ſoon after his Departure from *Warwick* came thither, follow'd him the ſame Way; which much perplex'd the Earl, who was ſure of nothing but Battel, his Safety depending much upon the Will of Fortune, ſince he had reaſon to fear that both his Son-in-Law and Brother were corrupted. Having intrench'd himſelf, he waited the Arrival of the Duke of *Clarence*, who he underſtood was not far diſtant. In the mean Time *Edward* broke up his Camp, as if he deſign'd to give his Brother *Clarence* Battel by himſelf, and drew up in Battalia before him. But as ſoon as they were in Sight of each other, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ran into *Clarence*'s Camp, without ſo much as demanding the uſual ſafe Conduct, and they ſeem'd to treat of what long before they had concluded between themſelves. Peace was immediately publiſh'd, and *Edward* proclaim'd King, and the two Brothers joyfully embrac'd each other, as tho' there had never been any Conteſt between them.

The Duke of Clarence *comes over to him.*

The Duke of *Clarence* immediately ſent Meſſengers to excuſe his Proceedings to the Earl of *Warwick*, offering him alſo very honourable and advantagious Conditions with the King his Brother, if he would ſubmit, and prevent the Effuſion of ſo much Blood. But *Warwick* had a Spirit too ſtubborn to incline to any Conditions but thoſe of his own propoſing, much leſs from One who had directly betray'd him; therefore with Indignation he rejected all Offers of Courteſie, and ſpoke thus to the Meſſengers, *Go tell your Maſter, I had rather be an Earl, and like my ſelf, than a falſe and perjur'd Duke; and before I falſifie my Oath, like him, I will lay down my Life at my Enemies Feet, which I doubt not but will be dearly purchas'd.* This bold Reſolution caus'd *Edward* to be more wary, and to reſolve firſt to ſecure *Henry*, and gain the City of *London*; whoſe Citizens hearing of his Approach, and the Encreaſe of his Army, and conſidering that *Henry* was unable to oppoſe him, they thought it moſt ſafe to ſail with the faireſt Wind, therefore ſet open their Gates, and with publick Applauſe cry'd out King *Edward!* Upon which the Duke of *Somerſet* and others, left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, fled from the City; ſo that *Henry* was abandon'd, void of Help, Dexterity or Reſolution. And *Edward* entring ſix Months after the Loſs of his Kingdom, put *Henry* again into the ſame Priſon, from whence he had been taken by the Earl of *Warwick*, in which, if unmoleſted, he might have been more happy, according to his Inclinations, than at Liberty and Governing among ſo many Viciſſitudes of Fortune, above which his Piety had already ſet him. *Edward* in a publick Oration commended thoſe Citizens who had been loyal to him, but ſo ſeverely threaten'd ſuch Merchants and others as had aſſiſted King *Henry* with Monies, that he made the reſt to tremble. But he who had not his Equal in captivating Mens Minds, after he had held them in a long and dreadful Suſpence, encourag'd them by expreſſing his laſt Words with as much Clemency, as he had done his former with Terror: Which not being procur'd by the Importunity of Officers, or Supplications, but from his own meer Motion, did ſo win the Hearts of thoſe that were diſintereſted, that for the future they did that out of Love, which formerly nothing but Fear could have produc'd. And it is probable that it was his inſinuating Behaviour that gave him ſuch an eaſie Entrance into *London*. Tho' *Comines* alledges three Reaſons, of which the Reader muſt be

Warwick's *Anger and Reſolution.*

Edward *enters* London *and again impriſons* Henry.

Holling. Speed. Comines.

be left to judge: Firſt the Gentlemen that were in the Sanctuaries, and the young Prince lately born: Secondly *Edward*'s great Debts in the City, which gain'd him the Merchants good Wiſhes, ſince the Payment of his Debts depended upon his Succeſs: Thirdly the Love of many of the chief Citizens Wives, who having been familiar with him, drew their Husbands and Friends to favour him.

Hall. Holling. Habing. So ſoon as *Edward* had ſetled his Affairs in *London*, he led forth his Army to oppoſe the Earl of *Warwick*, who having re-united his ſcatter'd Forces, by eaſie Marches was come to St. *Albans*; in hopes that his Reputation among the Inhabitants of *London* would draw over many to his Side, or at leaſt ſo divide them as to render them of little Advantage to his Enemy. But *Edward* jealous of their Levity, which he had often found, interpos'd his Army between the City and the Earl of *Warwick*, to cut off all Means of Communication and Intelligence; and that the Preſence of King *Henry* might occaſion no Diſturbance in *London*, he took him into his Camp; by which the poor diſtreſſed King, whatever Side prevail'd, was morally certain of Deſtruction. King *Edward* encamp'd upon *Gladmore* near *Barnet*; his Van was commanded by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Rere by the Lord *Haſtings*, and the main Battel by himſelf. On the other Side the Earl of *Warwick* with great Reſolution prepar'd his Forces; the right Wing conſiſting of Horſe he committed to the Earl of *Oxford*, with whom was join'd the Marqueſs *Montague*; the Left to the Duke of *Exeter*, and the main Battel, compos'd of Bills and Bows, to the Duke of *Somerſet*. He himſelf with invincible Courage gave Directions in every Quarter; and when he had ſurvey'd his whole Army, and lik'd both their Order and Behaviour, he ſent away his Horſe, reſolving to fight on Foot, and try the utmoſt of his Fortune, prefixing in his Thoughts no Medium between Death and Victory. Then he affectionately embrac'd all his great Commanders, in each of whom appear'd a Reſolution equal to the Cauſe; and having by many Proteſtations declar'd their ſincere Faith and Forwardneſs to the preſent Service, every Man betook himſelf to his reſpective Charge.

King Edward *marches againſt the Earl of* Warwick, *&c.*

Hall. Fabian. Holling. &c. It was *Eaſter Sunday* in the Morning, a Day remarkable for that it was ſtain'd with ſo much Blood, when both Armies approach'd each other for Battel. That for King *Edward* took Courage from the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and the Fortune of their Prince: That for the Earl, from the mighty Valour of their Commander, and from the Piety of him for whoſe Redemption they now hazarded their Lives. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd, and acknowledg'd by ſeveral Parliaments; and indeed the Queſtion was ſo nice and ſubtle, that even among Divines it had continu'd long, and at that Day remain'd not abſolutely decided. No wonder then if the common Soldiers on both Sides had the ſame Aſſurance of Truth, and with equal Juſtice began a Battel which was one of the fierceſt that had ever been fought by inrag'd Men; the Kingdom and Life being the Queſtion on one Side, and Life and the Kingdom on the other. For ſix Hours the Victory continu'd doubtful, tho' it often tended to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Side; 'till at length Error alone brought Diſorder upon his Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of *Oxford* giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Device, rais'd a Miſtake in the Army that they were Part of the Enemy whoſe Badge was the Sun, which was occaſion'd by the Miſtineſs of the Weather: Wherefore when they were ſucceſsfully preſſing forwards, they were thought to be King *Edward*'s Men flying, which caus'd their own main Battel to attack them fiercely on the Back. Upon which Error, *Oxford* ſuſpecting Treaſon in *Warwick*, immediately fled with eight hundred Men; and King *Edward* with certain freſh Troops in Reſerve ſoon took the Advantage of this Diſorder, and forc'd them all to ſhrink back. *Warwick* us'd all Methods both of Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail he furiouſly ruſh'd into the thickeſt of his Enemies, hoping either that his Men would bravely follow, or that Death would prevent to the Miſery of a Defeat. *Montague* ſeeing to what Danger his Brother was reduc'd,

The eleventh Battel at Barnet, *called* Barnet-Field.

The Yorkiſts *prevail.*

Warwick and his Brother ſlain

ran violently in to his Reſcue; and both ſoon oppreſs'd with Numbers fell, and with them the Spirit of the whole Army. In their Deaths they both clear'd thoſe Calumnies with which they were blemiſh'd; *Warwick* with having a ſwift Horſe in Readineſs for Flight; and *Montague* with holding Intelligence with King *Edward*. Soon after their Fall, King *Edward* obtain'd a compleat Victory with the Death of ten thouſand of his Adverſaries, and fifteen hundred of his own Men; among whom were none of Note, beſides Sir *Humphry Bourchier*, Son to the Lord *Barnes*. The Duke of *Somerſet* and Earl of *Oxford* fled towards *Scotland*; but fearing Danger by the Length of the Way, they repair'd to *Wales* to find out the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter*, who was left half ſlain among the dead Bodies, with great Difficulty eſcap'd, and took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*. The great Slaughter of the common People is attributed to this: That whereas *Edward* in his other Battels was wont to cry out *Kill the Lords and Commanders, and ſpare the reſt*; he acted contrary at this Time, being highly offended that they more eſteem'd the Earl of *Warwick* than himſelf.

This was the End of the mighty *Warwick*'s worldly Glory, the greateſt and buſieſt Subject of theſe Times, whoſe Ambition was to make and unmake Kings; and it could not be expected, that ſuch a ſtormy Life ſhould be concluded by a calmer Death. His Ruin took its Riſe from his Father, who being Couſin-German to *Henry* the Fifth, forſook his Reſpect to Conſanguinity, for that of Affinity with *Richard* Duke of *York*, who marry'd his Siſter *Cicily* Mother to the preſent King *Edward*. Treading in his Father's Steps, by which he ruin'd innocent King *Henry*, he proceeded like an indiſcreet Builder, ſo delighted to pull down and ſet up, that at length Part of the Frame he had erected himſelf, fell upon him and cruſh'd him to Death. When by the moſt powerful Engines of Policy and Valour he had rais'd up his Thoughts to the Higheſt, by making himſelf King in Authority, and cauſing the Crown to be entail'd upon the two Princes who had marry'd his Daughters, Providence in one Overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sons-in-Law with their Wives not long after to be extinguiſh'd by ſtrange Deaths, none anſwering his Hopes but the younger Daughter, and that prepoſterouſly to his Deſign. For ſhe indeed by marrying the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Murderer of her Husband Prince *Edward*, became Queen to an Uſurper; and ſoon after by Poiſon, as it was juſtly believ'd, put a Period to her Glory. His Grandchildren by the Duke of *Clarence*, who arriv'd to any Age, dy'd by the Ax upon a Scaffold; and all that Greatneſs he ſo violently labour'd to confirm in his Poſterity, by unnatural Deaths was reduc'd to nothing. His Brother *Montague* was unhappily involv'd in the ſame Ruins; and both were thought ſo conſiderable in the Eye of the Nation, that when King *Edward* return'd triumphantly into *London*, he caus'd their dead Bodies to be expos'd three Days together to all Comers, that every one might be ſatisfy'd in the Reality of their Deaths. After which they were permitted to be convey'd to *Bilſam* Abby, and interr'd in that Priory among their Anceſtors.

Their Glory extinguiſh'd.

Their Bodies expos'd.

While King *Edward*'s Affairs thus far proſper'd at *London*, the Winds that had ſtopp'd King *Henry*'s Queen *Margaret* at *France* came favourably about to fill her Sails for *England*, and indeed to accompliſh the Decree which Heav'n had prefix'd. She and her Son Prince *Edward*, with their *French* Followers, being landed at *Weymouth*, were ſoon entertain'd with the melancholy News of the Loſs at *Barnet* Field; which ſo affected the unfortunate Queen, that at firſt ſhe fell into a Swound, and after a little Recovery withdrew her ſelf to the Abby of *Ceerne*. Here the chief of her Party reſorted to her, as *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, with the Lord *John* his Brother, *John Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, *John* Lord *Wenlock*, and *John Longſtrother* Prior of St. *John*'s. Theſe with many promiſing Expreſſions comforted the ſorrowful Queen, and offer'd their Aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh her Son *Edward*, tho' it were with the Loſs of their Lives, deſiring her only to undertake the Authority

Hall. &c.

Queen Margaret lands with her Forces at Weymouth.

rity of the War, and they would ſuſtain the Charge and Burden of it, by whoſe Power and Valour they did not doubt but to abate the Pride of *Edward* the Uſurper; who holding himſelf ſecure, began to relapſe into his former Negligence. To theſe Reſolutions the warlike Queen conſented, and us'd all Diligence in her Proceedings; when conſidering what Methods to follow, her Care was moſt fix'd upon the Life and Safety of her Son: And therefore, as well for their Advantage, as for the reſtraining of the *Yorkiſts*, ſhe thought it beſt to ſend him back again into *France*; from whence he might ſupply them with new Forces, or at leaſt over-awe *Edward* from tyrannizing too far. But on the contrary the Lords alledg'd, that Prince *Edward*, being the ſole Hopes of the *Lancaſtrians*, ought to be preſent in the Field, the Sight of whom would add Courage to his own Soldiers, and cauſe many of the contrary Side to come over to him. Which Opinion prevailing, every Perſon departed to make what Preparations he could, and the Queen with her *French* repair'd to *Bath*, where the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Devonſhire* were high in Reputation, and by whoſe Authority new Forces daily came in to the Prince's Service.

Sped. Habing. King *Edward* had hardly Time to breath after the Battel at *Barnet* when he heard Queen *Margaret* was landed, and of the Confluence of People out of *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire* and the Weſtern Parts, which hourly flew to her Aſſiſtance: Wherefore committing King *Henry* and *George* Arch-Biſhop of *York* to the Tower, with a ſelect Company of Men he march'd out to meet them, deſigning to deſtroy thoſe many Springs before they could have time to join in the Body of a River which might prove dangerous to his Safety. Therefore from *Windſor*, *Abington*, *Chicheſter* and *Malmesbury* he continu'd his Progreſs, ſeeking out and urging his Enemies to Battel. But the Queen and her Forces fearing to continue in *Bath*, remov'd to *Briſtol*, to *Berkley*, to *Gloceſter*, and at laſt to *Tewkesbury*; where the Duke of *Somerſet* encamp'd his Forces, without ſtaying for the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Arrival. Here he haſtily drew up in three Battels, of which himſelf and his Brother *John* Lord *Somerſet* commanded the firſt, the Middle was led by *Edward* the young Prince, under the Conduct of the Lords *St. John* and *Wenlock*; and the Rere was commanded by *John* Earl of *Devonſhire*, a mortal Enemy to the Houſe of *York*. The Queen finding King *Edward* to approach, and that her Soldiers ought to have the Advantage in Valour to equal their Enemies who had it in Numbers, took the Prince with her, and rod about the Army. In her Looks appear'd nothing but Life and Reſolution, and in her Language almoſt an Aſſurance of Victory; ſo ſubtilly ſhe conceal'd the Wound her Deſpair had given her, and ſuffer'd it only to bleed inwardly.

King Edward marches againſt them.

Hall. Grafton. Holling. &c. King *Edward* being come within Sight of his Enemies likewiſe drew up in three Lines of Battel, committing the firſt to his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*; the ſecond he undertook himſelf, and the Rere was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain. The Armies thus drawn up, and a Signal given, an obſtinate Battel began. The King had planted his Ordnance to great Advantage, which *Gloceſter* employ'd againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Men; and they being lodg'd between Ditches, Buſhes and Hedges, with their Showers of Arrows ſo gaul'd *Gloceſter*'s Line, that he commanded them to give back, as tho' they had fled. Which *Somerſet* perceiving, with too much Raſhneſs he left his beſt Places of Strength to purſue them, and advanc'd as far as King *Edward*'s Quarter; expecting to be follow'd and ſupported by the Lord *Wenlock*, who ſeem'd to have had no ſuch Deſign. *Gloceſter* ſpying the Advantage, made good his Retreat, and with freſh Supplies of Spears ſo charg'd *Somerſet*'s Battalion, that his Men were ſoon put to Flight. He himſelf recovering the middle Line found the Lord *Wenlock* idle, and without Action, whom he moſt opprobriouſly revil'd with the Name of a Traitor, and with his Battel-Ax clove his Head in Pieces: When immediately the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and after him King *Edward* enter'd the Trenches, and ſoon put an End to the Battel by defeating all the Queen's Party. For there were ſlain on her Side *John* Lord *Somerſet*, the

The twelfth Battel, at Tewkesbury.

The Yorkiſts *prevail.*

the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Wenlock*, Sir *John Delves*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *John Lewkener*, with no less than three thousand Men besides. This was the twelfth Battel fought between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, and the sixth and last that was fought in King *Edward*'s Reign; in which, or soon after, both the Queen and her Son Prince *Edward* were taken Prisoners. But the Duke of *Somerset*, the Prior of St. *John*'s, with many Knights and Esquires took Sanctuary in the Abby, and other Places in the Town; notwithstanding which, they were violently taken out and arraign'd before the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who that Day sate Constable of *England*, where they were without Mercy or Regard to Blood condemn'd to Death, which they immediately suffer'd upon a Scaffold erected in the Town. With these Lords dy'd twelve worthy Knights, besides others of inferior Note. By this Violation of the Sanctuary King *Edward* made good the Opinion the World had before conceiv'd of him; that Religion could never so far prevail upon his Conscience as to be any Bar either to his Pleasures or Revenge.

Young Prince *Edward* fell into the Hands of Sir *Richard Crofts*, who intended to have conceal'd him; but King *Edward* having promis'd a Pension of a hundred Pounds *per Annum* to whosoever should bring him alive or dead, and Life to the Prince if he was not already dead; *Crofts* believing he would not falsifie his Promise, presented him to him. King *Edward* fixing his Eyes upon him, and admiring the Sweetness of his Youth and Disposition, demanded of him, *How he durst come with flying Colours into his Kingdom, and raise his People against him?* To which he couragiously answer'd, *That he came to recover his Father's Kingdom, his proper and natural Inheritance, descended to him by several Generations.* King *Edward* highly offended at these Words, thrust him disdainfully away with his Gantlet, and some say struck him on the Mouth: Upon which Incouragement the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Marques *Dorset* and the Lord *Hastings*, seiz'd suddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards most barbarously murder'd him; contrary to the Laws of God, Nature and Nations, whose Blood was afterwards reveng'd upon every one of them in particular. His Body was bury'd without any Solemnity among other poor and mean Persons in the Church of the Monastery of the *Black-Friars* in *Tewksbury*.

Hall. &c.

King Henry's *Son brought before King* Edward.

and murder'd in his Presence.

Shortly after this last Battel, King *Edward* had notice that the Northern Men were in Arms, and design'd to hazard themselves for the Queen's Liberty; upon which he march'd towards *Coventry* with such a Power, that they were soon discourag'd, and came thronging in to offer him Subjection. Yet all the *Lancastrians* were not so determin'd, but rather design'd once more to try whether Fortune would favour them. They had one fit Instrument to promote the Enterprize, the Bastard *Fauconbridge*, Son to the Earl of *Kent*, a great Supporter of King *Edward*'s Interest. However this Son, being a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and bold and active, the Earl of *Warwick* had made him his Admiral to secure the narrow Seas against King *Edward*'s Power; which Office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a Terror to all Merchants. Having got three hundred Male-contents from *Calais*, he resolv'd to try his Fortunes at Land; and putting in at *Dover*, great Numbers of loose Persons, most of them the Dregs of former Rebellions, daily repair'd to him, so that his Forces came to be seventeen thousand strong. With these he march'd to *London*, and in a hostile Manner demanded Admission into the City, and the Releasement of King *Henry* out of Prison; but was resisted by the Mayor and Citizens on one side, and the Lieutenant of the Tower on the other. Upon which he brought up his Shipping to St. *Catharine*'s, and leaving in them Men sufficient to receive the Booty brought, with the rest he march'd to *Kingston* Bridge; promising his Soldiers by the way, to give them the Plundering of *Westminster* for their Dinners, and of the Suburbs of *London* for their Suppers, but *London* it self should be their Breakfast the next Morning. But being disappointed at

Hollingſ. &c.

The Bastard Fauconbridge *attacks* London.

at *Kingſton*, and hearing of King *Edward*'s March towards *London*, he turn'd back to *Southwark*; when to open his Way into *London*, he caus'd the Bridge to be fir'd; and three thouſand of his Men being by his Veſſels ſent over the *Thames*, divided themſelves into two Parties, one attempting to enter at *Algate*, and the other at *Biſhopſgate*. Both theſe they ſet on fire, ſo that the City was in three Places both fir'd and aſſaulted at the ſame Time; but by the Care and Valour of ſome Noblemen and Citizens, the bold *Fauconbridge* was at laſt driven to his Ships with the Loſs of ſeven hundred of his Men; and not long after his Forces were diſpers'd, and himſelf beheaded. *He is repuls'd.*

Hall. Holling. &c. On the twenty firſt Day of *May*, King *Edward* with the chief Lords of *England*, and a Body of thirty thouſand Men came to *London*, where he was triumphantly receiv'd, which he as gratefully requited, giving the Order of Knighthood to the Mayor and ſome others who had bravely repuls'd the late Rebels, commending both the Valour and Loyalty, and promiſing to reward the meaneſt of his good Citizens Loves with ample Satisfaction, as ſoon as the Common-wealth had recover'd its former Quiet. In the mean Time the cruel Duke of *Gloceſter* took an Occaſion to viſit King *Henry* in the Tower, where obſerving his unmov'd Behaviour, either out of Pity of his unbounded Injuries, or of Envy at his unparallel'd Patience, or out of Jealouſie of the Life of one idoliz'd by many Thouſands in the Nation, he ſtabb'd him to the Heart with his own Hands, or at leaſt commanded it to be done in his own Preſence. The Body of this murder'd King was with Guards, and ſome ſhow of Funeral Rites, brought into St. *Paul*'s Church, where with the Face uncover'd it was expos'd to the Curioſity of every Eye; for the King was reſolv'd rather to endure the Scandal of his Murther, than to hazard the Queſtion of his Life. Here it bled again afreſh, and became a melancholy Spectacle to moſt of the Beholders. From thence it was carry'd to the *Black-Friars* Church, where being laid bare-fac'd, it bled as before, to the great Amazement of the ſorrowful Spectators; who look'd upon it as a miraculous way of demanding Juſtice from Heaven, when it was not to be had on Earth. At length it was put into a Boat, without Prieſt, Clerk, Torch or Taper, Singing or Saying, and was ferry'd into the Abby of *Chertſey* in *Surry*, and there without any Pomp interr'd.

King Edward *returns to* London.

King Henry *murder'd in the Tower.*

Thus dy'd the juſt and innocent King in near the Fiftieth Year of his Age, who had been proclaim'd in the Cradle, crown'd in his Infancy, and again at more Age in the City of *Paris*, living in all Piety, and loving his Subjects, and reigning thirty eight Years, was in that Time toſs'd with infinite Variety and Mutations: For he was twice impriſon'd and depriv'd of his Crown, betray'd, ſmitten, and wounded, and in all things became a memorable Example of Fortune's Inconſtancy. His diſconſolate Wife *Margaret*, who twenty ſix Years before, had with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence been crown'd Queen of *England*, and had rul'd over all, was now become a poor Priſoner in Want and Diſtreſs, and wore out her Time in Tears and Lamentations: Which being known to Duke *Reyner* her Father, he afterwards offer'd Terms of Ranſom to King *Edward*, which prov'd ſo burthenſom to that Prince, that he was conſtrain'd to pawn and ſell the greateſt Part of his Dominions to purchaſe her Liberty: So that the beſt of her future Condition was only the Return of a miſerable Daughter to an indigent Father. Her Marriage with King *Henry* was both contrary to Policy and Juſtice on his Side; and as ſoon as ſhe found her Husband's Weakneſs, ſhe us'd all Machinations to reduce him to her ſole Command, with the Deſtruction of his moſt faithful Friends; ſo that ſhe was both unfortunate to her ſelf, and ruinous to the Kingdom. Her proſperous Fortune preſents her in her worſt Colours, a factious, buſie and imperious Queen; her Adverſe in the Beſt, an induſtrious Woman to recover what her Folly had loſt, an excellent Wife, and indulgent Mother; ſo that had ſhe never acted but when Misfortunes had compell'd her, ſhe had been rank'd among the beſt Examples of her Sex. Her Life was the Diſcourſe of the preſent and ſuc-

The Miſeries of his Queen.

Her Character.

ſucceeding Times, becauſe it occaſion'd the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, then the moſt conſiderable in the Chriſtian World; but her Death was ſo obſcure, that we do not find it in Hiſtory when ſhe left this World.

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12.

King Edward's *Care for his future Safety.*

IV. The victorious *Edward* being thus ſucceſsful, and having deſtroy'd the very Root of the *Lancaſtrian* Party, he proceeded to ſettle the Nation, and to lop off all ſuch Branches as might diſturb the Peace of that, or his own Security. And firſt, under a Pretence of Treaſon, he ſecur'd the Arch-Biſhop of *York* Brother to the late Earl of *Warwick*, and ſeiz'd all his Goods, Lands and Lordſhips, and got Poſſeſſion of his rich Plate and Jewels, of which one in his Miter was of ſuch a Value, that the King caus'd it to be ſet in his own Crown. After this he ſent him over to the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, where he continu'd a Priſoner, with leſs courteous Uſage than himſelf had ſhown to King *Edward* when he was his Priſoner. In which Times of Fear and Danger, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, fled into *Bretaign*, where they were honourably receiv'd and entertain'd by the Duke of that Province. Their Eſcape created ſuch a Jealouſie in King *Edward*, that he offer'd large Sums of Mony to that Duke, if he would deliver them up to his Power: To which the Duke reply'd, *That he could not in Honour deliver up thoſe diſtreſſed Princes that had implor'd his Protection; but for his ſake, he would take ſuch Care of them, that he ſhould have no Cauſe of Apprehenſions from them:* And to that End he remov'd their own Servants from them, and appointed *Bretaigns* to attend upon them. *John* Earl of *Oxford*, after *Barnet* Field, for a while ſecur'd himſelf in St. *Michael*'s Mount in *Cornwall*, but afterwards yielding himſelf to King *Edward*, had his Life pardon'd: But yet he was ſent over Sea to the Caſtle of *Hammes*, where for the Space of twelve Years, 'till the Death of King *Richard* the Third, he was kept a cloſe Priſoner. His Counteſs, who was Siſter to the late Earl of *Warwick*, was never permitted to come to him, nor had any Thing allow'd for her Subſiſtance, but was compell'd to live upon the Charities of others, and what ſhe could get by her Needle or other Work. But ſtill more deplorable was the Condition of *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Huntington*, who after he had made ſo mighty a Figure for many Years, was reduc'd to ſuch Wants, as may be an Example to all Men of the Uncertainty of Secular Grandeur. For *Comines* tells us, That he himſelf ſaw the Duke of *Exeter* running bare-leg'd after the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Train, begging his Bread for God's ſake; but he declar'd not his Name, being neareſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and Brother-in-Law to King *Edward* himſelf; but afterwards his Quality being known, *Burgundy* gave him a ſmall Penſion to maintain him. Not long after he was found dead upon the Shore of *Dover*, quite ſtripp'd and naked; but how he came by that Death, no Diſcovery could be made.

Hall. Speed. Comines.

The Earl of Richmond *flies to* Bretaign.

The Misfortunes of great Perſons.

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

All Things being brought to a reaſonable Quietneſs, and *Edward* reigning without any Competitor or dangerous Diſturber, caus'd a Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, in which he re-eſtabliſh'd thoſe Acts which King *Henry* had abrogated, and annull'd thoſe that were made againſt his Friends and Favourites, at the ſame Time pardoning all former Offences. During this Seſſion the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent his Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt the *French* King, which was the more readily heard and granted, as well for the Favours receiv'd of the Duke, in the Time of his Neceſſities, as for his Reſentment againſt *Lewis*, who had furniſh'd *Warwick* to diſpoſſeſs him of his Crown. And indeed this was a Spark that would probably ſet the *Engliſh* Hearts on Fire to recover *France*, which was loſt by *Henry* the laſt King. But Mony being wanting for ſo great an Enterprize, the King having expended what had been given him the laſt Year, he proceeded to a new Invention, which was to cauſe a Liſt to be made of the richeſt and ableſt Men of the Kingdom; who being ſummon'd before him, he by his inſinuating Arts of Perſuaſion ſo far prevail'd

Holling. &c.

The Duke of Burgundy *deſires Aid of King* Edward.

An Invention to raiſe Mony.

vail'd upon them, as they all willingly ſuffer'd themſelves to be aſſeſs'd, ſome to gratifie him, ſome for Example, and ſome for Fear. By this Means he rais'd vaſt Sums of Mony, which he call'd by the new Name of *Benevolence*; in the raiſing of which, we are told of a rich old Widow, who being by the King courteouſly demanded what ſhe would contribute upon ſuch an urgent Occaſion, ſhe anſwer'd, *For your Majeſty's Royal and Amiable Countenance I will contribute twenty Pounds Sterling.* This Anſwer and Gift ſo pleas'd the King, that he teſtify'd his Gratitude by giving her a hearty Kiſs; which ſo tranſported the Gentlewoman, that ſhe immediately doubled her Sum, and added twenty Pounds more. By which ſlight Paſſage, a Judgment is eaſie to be made of the King's Temper; either of it ſelf full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the loweſt Courteſie, when it any ways concern'd the Advancement of his Profit.

Comines, &c. All Things being in a Readineſs, King *Edward* repair'd to *Dover*, and there embark'd himſelf for *Calais* with an Army more formidable than any that hitherto had invaded *France:* For he had almoſt all the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, fifteen hundred Men at Arms compleatly accouter'd, fifteen thouſand Archers on Horſeback, beſides a great Number of Footmen, Pioneers and others; which was the more ſurprizing and remarkable, becauſe ſo much Blood and Mony had been ſpent in the late Civil Wars. This Army was about twenty Days in paſſing between *Dover* and *Calais*; but before their Landing, King *Edward* ſent a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King, in which he demanded no leſs than the whole Realm of *France*, threatning if he refus'd to invade his Dominions with Fire and Sword. King *Lewis* receiving the Letter, which *Comines* ſays was excellently well penn'd, he privately conferr'd with the Herald that brought it, and in Subſtance return'd this Anſwer: *It is far better and wiſer for the new King your Maſter to truſt us an old Adverſary, than to rely upon two ſuch new Deceivers as the Duke of* Burgundy *and the Earl of St.* Paul *will prove, if he complies with them: And ſo commend me to your Maſter.* Which the Herald promiſing to do, he was graciouſly diſmiſs'd with an honourable Reward of three hundred Crowns, and thirty Ells of Crimſon Velvet, with a Promiſe of greater Acknowledgments, if a Peace was concluded; as alſo with a Preſent of a ſtately Horſe, a wild Boar and a Wolf for King *Edward.*

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

The King embarks for France *with a mighty Army.*

He defies the French *King.*

His Anſwer.

Ibid. And now to make good the *French* King's Allegation to the Herald, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had promis'd upon the Word of a Prince to bring to *Calais* two thouſand Lances, and four thouſand Light-Horſe, fail'd to come. Upon which the Lord *Scales* was ſent by King *Edward* to the Duke, to remind him of his Agreement, and to haſten his Arrival with his promis'd Forces. But his Journey was to no great Effect, only occaſioning the Duke with a ſmall Troop of Horſe to come to the King, formally to excuſe himſelf for his Backwardneſs; alledging this Reaſon, that having been employ'd in the Siege of *Nuz*, he could not leave the Place without infinite Diſgrace, if either Compoſition or Submiſſion were enforc'd; for that Reaſon he was compell'd too much to treſpaſs upon his Patience by the Obſtinacy of the Beſieg'd; but promis'd to ſupply all Defects, both with his Preſence and Power, and that with all Speed. The Earl of St. *Paul* likewiſe by his Letter perſuaded King *Edward* to proceed in the Enterprize, and not to doubt of any Accommodations both from the Duke and himſelf. Upon this Aſſurance and Incouragement King *Edward* advanc'd forwards, but in his Paſſage found no Performance of Promiſes, either from one or the other; for the Duke did not accommodate his Soldiers at *Peronne* with Victuals or Lodging, as was requiſite and expected; and the Earl inſtead of ſurrendring up St. *Quintin*'s according to Agreement, ſally'd out upon ſuch as were ſent from King *Edward* to take Poſſeſſion, and play'd upon them with the Canon of the Town. This caus'd King *Edward* to ſuſpect the Truth of the *French* King's Character of the Duke and Earl; and from thence-

The Duke of Burgundy *fails King* Edward.

He ſuſpects him and his Friend.

thenceforward ſtood upon his own Guard, giving no further Credit to their Proteſtations: Which being reſented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, he pretended extraordinary Occaſions, and promiſing a ſpeedy Return with his Forces, he took his leave and departed, which did not a little encreaſe the King of *England*'s Suſpicions.

The *French* King having Intelligence of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Departure, and foreſeeing the Danger if they ſhould unite their Powers, he reſolv'd with himſelf to make a Trial to mediate a Peace in the Duke's Abſence; and yet to treat in ſuch a Manner, that if it took not Effect, he might diſclaim the Knowledge of the Overture. Whereupon he privately diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, in Appearance a Herald, but in Reality a Perſon of no Office or Eſtimation, and not known to any of the King's Houſhold, but to *Villiers* the Maſter of the Horſe, who only was acquainted with the Project and Party. This counterfit Purſivant at Arms, cloath'd with a Trumpet's Banner-roll, addreſs'd himſelf to the King of *England*, and upon Admiſſion into his Preſence, he firſt ſhew'd the great Deſire the King his Maſter had for Peace, whoſe Amity for *England* he had ever eſteem'd; excuſing his Reception of the Earl of *Warwick* with the Neceſſity of the Times, whom he aſſiſted not againſt King *Edward* but the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had drawn the *Engliſh* to theſe exceſſive Charges only to repair his own broken Fortunes, and to make a good Compoſition for himſelf. Laſtly, he deſir'd that the King of *England* would grant a ſafe Conduct to the Ambaſſadors of the *French* King his Maſter, who ſhould fully inform his Majeſty, and give his ſafe Conduct for a further Conference in theſe Affairs. This Meſſage being deliver'd in a ſubmiſſive Tone, expreſſing much Humility, and ever yielding to the King's Greatneſs of Spirit and the Nation's Glory, together with a Promiſe of ſuch Conditions as ſhould be honourable and profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Revenues at home, were as ready as the King to harken to Peace, and forſake unneceſſary Dangers abroad. Nor did the greateſt Stateſmen diſlike a Treaty, conſidering that almoſt all the *Engliſh* Wars in *France* had rather purchas'd Fame than Treaſure to the Kingdom; and when the Soldiers return'd home, their Scars were uſually greater than their Spoils. Upon theſe Conſiderations King *Edward* granted a ſafe Conduct, and ſent with this Meſſenger an *Engliſh* Herald, to receive the like and other Aſſignments from the *French* King.

Ibid.

The French *King ſends a Meſſenger to* Edward,

who yields to an Accommodation.

But when the Duke of *Burgundy* underſtood that a Peace was negotiating between the two Kings, he in haſte poſted to the *Engliſh* Camp, attended only by ſixteen Horſemen. The Diſtraction of his Look and Geſtures expreſs'd the Wildneſs of his Thoughts; ſo that the whole Army diſcover'd his Diſcontent before he declar'd it. At his firſt Appearance before King *Edward*, he broke into a moſt paſſionate fierce Language, upbraiding him with inglorious Sloth, and the indefatigable Courage of the former Kings of *England*, upon whoſe Attempts ever attended the nobleſt Victories. He made a ſcornful Repetition of the Mirth his Enemies would make at his Return, as if he had come over with ſuch a numerous Army, Merchant-like to traffick for a little Mony; and the deſpicable Appearance of his People, when they ſaw the mighty Conqueſts their Contributions had procur'd. King *Edward* charg'd him with Neglect and other Miſcarriages, and the Earl of St. *Paul*'s with ſomething worſe; and when he intimated that he and the Duke would ſtill be included in the Peace, *Burgundy* diſdainfully rejected it; proteſting the Love he bore to the *Engliſh* Name, not Care of his own Safety, had inclin'd him to this Enterprize. And to ſhow how little Dependancy his Fortune had on any other, and how without any Mediation he was able to make his own Peace, he vow'd to conclude none with *France*, 'till the *Engliſh* Forces had been three Months retir'd. After he had thrown out theſe diſorder'd Speeches, in much Diſcontent he left King *Edward*; who not a little admir'd to hear himſelf ſo diſdainfully treated, having rarely

Hall. Haking.

The Duke of Burgundy's *Reſentments.*

But to no Effect.

rarely been accuſtomed to any Language, but what was ſoften'd and poliſh'd by Compliment and Flattery.

Comines. &c. The Peace being reſolv'd between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the Place appointed for Conference was near *Amiens*; and the Parties aſſign'd from the *French*, were the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, the Lord St. *Pierre*, and the Biſhop of *Eureux*. For the *Engliſh*, were the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, and Doctor *Morton* Lord Chancellor of *England*. All theſe meeting, they ſoon concluded a Peace, the Subſtance of which Articles were as following: 'That the *French* King ſhould immediately pay to the King 'of *England* ſeventy five thouſand Crowns of the Sun; and annually fifty thou- 'ſand Crowns at *London* during King *Edward*'s Life. That *Charles* the *Dau- 'phine* ſhould marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward*, 'and they two to have for their Maintenance the whole Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, 'or elſe fifty thouſand Crowns yearly to be paid in the Tower of *London* for 'the Space of nine Years; and at the End of that Term the *Dauphine* and his 'Lady was to have *Gaſcony*, of the Charge of which the *French* King was to 'be acquitted. That the Lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheyney* Maſter of the 'Horſe, ſhould remain in Hoſtage 'till the *Engliſh* Army had quitted *France*, 'and a general Peace for nine Years concluded; in which the Dukes of *Bur- 'gundy* and *Bretaign* were alſo to be included, if they thought fit. This was ſo acceptable to the *French* King, that he gave great Preſents of Plate, Mony and Jewels to the *Engliſh*; and beſides he made moſt magnificent Entertainments for all of that Nation at the City of *Amiens*, of which *Comines* gives us a very particular Account. The Duke of *Gloceſter* ſolely oppos'd this Agreement, as not honourable, or rather not ſuiting with his Deſigns; however it met with no great Delay: And to compleat all, it was agreed that the two Kings ſhould have a perſonal Enterview at *Picquigny*, a Town three Miles from *Amiens*, ſeated in a Bottom upon the River *Somme*. Over this River a ſtrong Bridge was purpoſely built, and in the midſt of it a Grate made with Croſs Barrs, no wider than was ſufficient for Men to thruſt in their Arms; cover'd with Boards above to avoid the Rain, and the Bridge ſo broad, that twelve might ſtand in a Rank on both Sides.

A Peace concluded.

Ibid. The Day approach'd, and the two Kings repair'd to the Place in great Splendor; he of *France* came firſt to the Grate, accompany'd with twelve Perſons, according to Appointment; of whom *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Cardinal his Brother, and *Comines* Lord of *Argenton*, were the Principal. King *Edward* enter'd the Bridge on the other End, with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, and the Lord Chancellor with eight more; being himſelf glorioufly adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, and wearing a black Velvet Cap richly beſet with Diamonds. *Comines* ſays that his very Preſence ſpoke him a King; and that both gracefully approaching the Grate, with a reverend Bow and Bending of the Knee, the two Monarchs embrac'd through the Partition with mutual Courteſie. *Lewis* firſt broke Silence, and declar'd, *That he never coveted any Sight ſo much as This; and that he bleſs'd God who had brought them together to ſo glorious an End.* After this the Biſhop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor of *England*, made an eloquent and learned Oration; and then read the Articles of Peace, and demanded of the two Kings whether they were done with their full Conſents. Which being acknowledg'd, each of them laying one Hand upon the Miſſal, and the other upon the Holy-Croſs, took their ſolemn Oaths to obſerve the ſame. And then falling into a more familiar Converſation, *Lewis* with a pleaſanter Air told King *Edward*, *That he would one Day invite him to* Paris *to viſit and court the fair Ladies of that City; and if he ſhould chance to make any falſe Steps with them, he would aſſign the Cardinal of* Bourbon *for his Confeſſor*; by which he at once handſomly touch'd upon the Infirmities of both Perſons. After ſome Compliments, and more private Diſcourſes, both Kings parted with

An Interview between the Kings of England and France.

great Satisfaction; only *Lewis* began to be under ſome Fears that *Edward*'s Curioſity might carry him to *Paris*, the Delicacies of which City had invited too many *Engliſh* Princes before.

Many of King *Edward*'s Servants were diſpleas'd with this Agreement, believing he had not conſulted his own Honour; particularly one of them nam'd *Lewis de Bretailles*, who being with *Comines*, and demanded by him in how many Battels *Edward* had been preſent, he anſwer'd *In nine, and was victorious in all, but in this you have made him loſe, for his Return into* England *without Fighting or Danger, will redound more to his Diſhonour, than all his Victories have done to his Honour.* *Lewis* being inform'd of this Anſwer, ſwore according to his Cuſtom *That this Man's Mouth muſt of neceſſity be bridled*; and immediately caus'd him to be ſent for to dine with him, making great Offers to draw him to his Service; which being refus'd, he gave him a thouſand Crowns, with particular Promiſes to him and his Relations, if he would cultivate the Amity between *England* and *France*. Such Artifices was *Lewis* obliged to uſe; and there were few *Engliſh* Lords, great in the Opinion of the State, but ſhar'd proportionably of his Bounty; even the ſcrupulous Duke of *Gloceſter* return'd not home without a large Preſent both of Plate and Horſes. The Affection of the Lords was generally bought up, according to the ordinary Courſe in Markets; as they were worth more in King *Edward*'s Eſtimation, ſo was their Price rais'd. The principal Men of Name who were in Penſion, were the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*. Among theſe, beſides the preſent Gifts, he annually diſtributed ſixteen thouſand Crowns, and exacted from every Man an Acquittance; which none refus'd to give but the Lord *Haſtings*, who declar'd *His Hand ſhould not be ſeen among the King's Accounts at* Paris; but ſtill receiv'd the Penſion, which without that Formality was continu'd. At what rate King *Lewis* valu'd his Amity with *England* is eaſily to be judg'd by his profuſe Liberality; but how lawful it was in the Receivers, we will not ſtrictly determine. For tho' in this King's Reign, as likewiſe in that of *Henry* the Seventh, many of the great Counſellors were in Penſion to *Lewis* and his Son *Charles*, yet it is hard to judge how it could agree with their Dignity; it being beneath a noble Mind to owe any Revenues to a Prince, whoſe Safety muſt never be in the firſt Place of their Care.

Ibid.

The Artifices of the French *King.*

King Edward *returns into* England.

King *Edward* having receiv'd the Mony agreed by Articles, and given his Hoſtages, march'd to *Calais* in order to paſs over into *England*. It ſeem'd very ſtrange to many, that after he had enter'd *France* with the nobleſt Army that any King of *England* had before, ſo ſmall a Sum ſhould cauſe him to return. Writers have had different Apprehenſions as to this Matter; but after all, conſidering King *Edward*'s former Condition and Circumſtances, it was thought Wiſdom in him, after he had been fail'd by the Duke of *Burgundy*, deluded by the Earl of St. *Paul*, allur'd by *Lewis* with Monies, Penſions, and chiefly with the Promiſe of ſo honourable and advantagious a Match, to withdraw himſelf; avoiding thereby ſuch Snares into which the Contingencies of War might throw him, as well at home as abroad. And ſuch the Generality of his Friends accounted it; and when he return'd to *London*, he was receiv'd with the Acclamations and Triumphs of a Conqueror.

A. D. 1475. Reg. 15.

V. The Remainder of this Reign, which continu'd about ſeven Years longer, was without any extraordinary Actions, and for the moſt part calm and undiſturb'd. The King enjoy'd his Dominions without any Moleſtation from Foreign Enemies by means of the late Treaty with *France*: *Burgundy*'s Enmity did no ways trouble him, which was ſoon diverted another Way, to the Loſs of that Prince's Life: *Scotland* was in a ſafe Condition, by reaſon of the Truce, the Quality of her preſent Government, and the Want of Incouragement from *France*: And at home he found himſelf freed from all dangerous Oppoſers,

Hall. Holling. &c.

Oppoſers, who were come to their Ends either from the Sword in the Field, or the Ax on the Scaffold; of neither of which he was ſparing. The Liſe of young *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* now in *Bretaign*, was what alone could give him real Trouble: He could not poſſibly live at Eaſe, and attend ſuch Pleaſures to which he was naturally addicted, ſo long as this Worm did gnaw upon his Heart; that Earl being the only Relict of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who might probably deprive him of his Quiet and Kingdom, if he was not remov'd out of the World. In order to this he ſent Doctor *Stillington* and others, Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bretaign*, with large Sums and fair Promiſes, That he deſign'd to marry his eldeſt Daughter *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Richmond*, by which all unhappy Cauſes of Diſſentions might be intirely extinguiſh'd. The Ambaſſadors ſo far prevail'd upon the Duke, that he deliver'd the Earl to them, who conducted him to St. *Malo*'s; where while they ſtay'd for a fair Wind, the young Earl, by the ſubtle Contrivances of *Peter Landoes* the Duke's Treaſurer, who had not been well gratify'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, made his Eſcape, and fled to a Sanctuary; from whence neither Intreaties nor Promiſes could allure him. Nevertheleſs upon *Landoes*'s Promiſe that he ſhould be ſafely kept and confin'd to that Place, the Ambaſſadors return'd home, and acquainted King *Edward* with the Duke of *Bretaign*'s Courteſie in delivering him, and their own Negligence in ſuffering him to eſcape; affording no other Satisfaction than *Landoes*'s Promiſes. King *Edward* diſſembled his Concern, and the better to ſecure his Family, he created his eldeſt Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, &c. and his Second Son Duke of *York*; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He alſo created twenty four Knights of the *Bath*, of whom *Brian* Chief-Juſtice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common-Pleas were two.

The King fears the Earl of Richmond,

but to no purpoſe.

Holling. Stow. Moore.

King *Edward* being now in a great meaſure free from all Apprehenſions of Danger, the better to give Luſtre to that Peace he had ſetled, began to addict himſelf to a profuſe Hoſpitality; a way of Greatneſs in which the Monarchs of *England* have in all Ages exceeded the other Princes of *Europe*. And upon all ſolemn Times, when Ceſſation from Labour licens'd the Vulgar to admire the glorious Outſide of a State, he ſhew'd a particular Grandeur to the Eye, by preſenting as well martial Exerciſes in Juſts, Tiltings, Tournaments, and the like, as the ſofter Entertainments of Wit and Ingenuity. Never any Prince was more familiar with his Subjects than King *Edward*; for now all Things ſucceeding without Interruption, he ſet his Heart upon Pleaſures, which had hitherto been afflicted with continual Troubles; and frequently laying aſide the State of a Prince, he often would freely converſe with the inferior Part of his People. At *Windſor* he ſent for the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with others, upon no other Occaſion than to hunt in his Company; and himſelf to eat, drink and be merry with them. As alſo another Time he did the like at *Waltham*, where he gave them a moſt friendly and familiar Entertainment, and ſent to their Wives two Harts, ſix Bucks, and a Tun of Wine; which gain'd a nearer Affection than many greater Favours. He was wont often to court and converſe with beautiful Women, which Fault by King *Lewis* was noted and prevented as to the *French* Ladies; but in *England* he ſeem'd to take his full Scope of Liberty: For beſides the Lady *Lucy*, formerly mention'd, and ſome others, by whom he had Iſſue, he kept three Concubines, who, according to his own Words, all excell'd in very different Qualifications; *One the merrieſt, another the wiſeſt, and the third the holieſt Harlot in the Kingdom, as one whom no Man could get out of the Church, unleſs it were to his Bed.* The merrieſt was *Jane Shore*, Wife to a Citizen of *London*, in whom he took extraordinary Pleaſure; the other two were greater Perſons, but in their Humility were content to be nameleſs, and to forbear the Praiſe of thoſe Properties.

A. D. 1476. Reg. 16.

His way of living in Time of Peace.

His Concubines.

Holling. Speed.

In theſe Times of Eaſe and Pleaſure, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* began to ſhew his Ambition and Malice, which he chiefly levell'd againſt his own Bro-

A. D. 1477. Reg. 17.

Designs against the Duke of Clarence.

ther the Duke of *Clarence*, a Prince of greater Spirit than did become a Brother and a Subject. As his Ruin was long design'd, so there were three Things that concur'd to the bringing it about; the King's Suspicion, the Queen's Hatred, and his own Mismanagement; which latter would not have effected it without the other two. His former Rebellion and Alliance with the Earl of *Warwick* were Faults long forgiven; yet still there remain'd a Fear that these old Inclinations, laid aside for a present Advantage, might be reassum'd; especially when he had the Pretence of an Agreement in Parliament, that he should succeed to the Crown, upon the Failure of King *Henry*'s Heirs. This Consideration wounded the Queen to the Soul; she thought that if her Husband dy'd first, her Children would never succeed their Father; and she was confirm'd in this Opinion by the Rumor of a Prophecy, That *G* should be the first Letter of his Name that succeeded King *Edward*; and this Duke's Name being *George*, it was thought he should be the Murderer of *Edward*'s Sons, which *Gloceſter* afterwards really was. To these, other Reasons were added which render'd the former more suspicious; his attempting to marry *Mary* only Daughter to the late Duke of *Burgundy*; in which the Queen oppos'd him, endeavouring to have marry'd her to her Brother the Earl of *Rivers*; so that their Disgusts and the King's Jealousies were continually augmented. But the Imputations which gave some Colour to the Justification of his Condemnation, were, That he caus'd a Report to be rais'd among the People that *Thomas Burdet* was unjustly put to Death, who had lately been executed only for wishing in a Passion that the Horns of a Deer had been in the King's Belly: That the King us'd Negromancy and Poison, to bring such as he hated to their Ends; That *Edward* was illegitimate, and not begotten by the Duke of *York*; That he had procur'd many to swear to him and his Heirs, without reserving due Obedience to his Brother; and That he had pretended to the Crown by Virtue of the Contract made with *Henry* the Sixth.

Accusations against him.

A. D. 1478. Reg. 18.

These several Accusations were brought publickly upon the Stage, and into open Parliament, where he was found guilty, and sent close Prisoner to the Tower of *London*. Here upon the eleventh of *March* he was secretly put to Death; the manner, as it is generally receiv'd, was by thrusting his Head into a Butt of Malmesey Wine, by which he was suffocated. His Body was first expos'd, and then bury'd at *Tewkesbury* in *Glocesterſhire*, by that of his Dutchess *Isabel* Countess of *Warwick*, who being with Child, dy'd of Poison not long before. The Death of this Prince, which may modestly be accounted the Vengeance of Heav'n, every where begot an extraordinary Censure; the unnatural Severity taking away all Excuse from those who most favour'd the King. It was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water upon dry Land; and of the Quality of the Person, he being the first Brother to any King of *England* that ever was attainted. King *Edward*, who had consented to it, was afterwards so afflicted with the Remembrance of it, that when any su'd for the Life of a condemn'd Man, he usually cry'd out, *Oh unfortunate Brother, who had no Man to intercede for him!* This Prince left Issue behind him, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* afterwards Countess of *Salisbury*, both Infants, and Followers of their Father's Misfortunes; He a continual Prisoner, at twenty four Years of Age, beheaded under *Henry* the Seventh; and She, at sixty two, lost hers in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, which put a full Period to the famous Name of the *Plantagenets*. The same Year in which the Duke of *Clarence* was murder'd, the Nation was punish'd with such a raging Pestilence, that the Sword in fifteen Years before devour'd not so many as this did in four Months.

He is drowned in a Butt of Malmesey.

The Misfortunes of his Family.

Ibid.

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19.

After the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edward* soon began to give another Face to his Temper and Disposition; and from being affable and liberal, he became austere and covetous, to the great Wonder and Dissatisfaction of his People. For whereas the Laws of *England* granted many Things in Favour of

Hollingſ. Biondi.

King Edward's Severities.

of their Kings, which the Kings themſelves ſeldom put in Execution, as being too full of Rigour; he by virtue of thoſe Laws took ſuch Penalties as they who were rich incurr'd for want of punctual Obſervance of them; and making no Difference in reſpect of Blood, Quality or Title, he made all ſorts of Men apprehend that he would become formidable to the whole Nation: For having abated the Courage of other Men by his Brother's Death, there were none that dar'd contradict him. But the greedy heaping up of Mony was ſo much the more monſtrous to him, becauſe it was contrary to his natural Temper; ſo that ſuch a Change ſeem'd to foreſhew approaching Death. In theſe Times Ambaſſadors were frequently ſent from *England* to *France*, and from *France* to *England*; the Former, that according to their Obligation, the *French* might ſend for the contracted Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter to King *Edward*; and the Latter to excuſe their Delays, charging it upon the Wars of *Burgundy* and the *Low-Countries*, in which all the chief Men in the Kingdom being employ'd, ſhe could not be ſent for in a manner becoming the Dignity and Greatneſs of both the Crowns. So as he who earneſtly deſires a Thing, is by nothing more eaſily deceiv'd than by the Confirmation of new Promiſes; *Edward* was eaſie to believe, and *Lewis* made Advantage of his Falſhood, and brought about his Purpoſes of marrying his Son another Way; which if he had carry'd more openly, he could not have effected them. And King *Edward* being grown groſs in Body, and more unactive in Mind, ſeem'd to reſt ſatisfy'd with the Fame of his former Victories, and the preſent Enjoyment of his annual Tribute from *France*, which was duely paid into his Exchequer. So that they are not much miſtaken who ſay that the *Engliſh* have generally won more Honour by Fighting than by Treaties.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20. *His Miſtakes.*

In theſe Times, *James* the Third of that Name, King of *Scotland*, ſent his Ambaſſadors into *England*, to move and treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Cicely*, King *Edward*'s ſecond Daughter, and his eldeſt Son *James* Prince of *Scotland*. King *Edward* and his Council thinking this Affinity might be both honourable and profitable for *England*, did not only readily grant his Suit, but alſo furniſh'd him with certain Sums of Mony, that the Marriage ſhould not hereafter be interrupted; upon this Condition, that if the intended Marriage ſhould by any Accident be broken off, either on the *Scotch* or *Engliſh* Side, that then the Provoſt and Merchants of *Edinburgh* ſhould be bound for the Repayment of the Mony. All Hiſtories repreſent King *James* as a Man much addicted to his own Will, and to deſpiſe the good Advice of his ancient Nobility, and his grave and faithful Counſellors; and that none might reprehend his Actions, he entertain'd and preferr'd Men of mean Birth and worſe Conditions; by whoſe evil Counſel he ſo afflicted his Nobility with Exactions and Impriſonments, and ſome with Death, that divers of them choſe a voluntary Exile and liv'd in foreign Countries. Others he himſelf baniſh'd, particularly his ſecond Brother *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, who was entertain'd by King *Edward*; and moreover caus'd the Veins of *John* his third Brother to be open'd, ſo that he bled to Death. Beſides this his Carriage towards his Brothers, Friends and Nobility, by the Inſtigation of the *French* King, who repin'd at this laſt League and Alliance, he neglected his Promiſe and Affinity made with King *Edward*, and caus'd an Army to be rais'd in order to invade the Kingdom of *England*. And relying upon his own Valour and the Aſſiſtance of *France*, he ſent a peremptory Meſſage to King *Edward*, That he ſhould not dare to aid his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* againſt King *Lewis*, who was the *Scots* Ally; and alſo with Threats of War he commanded him to deliver to his Ambaſſadors the Duke of *Albany*, then reſiding in the *Engliſh* Court; and laſtly to make full Satisfaction for all Damages done upon the *Scotch* Borders.

A. D. 1481. Reg. 21. *A Treaty with* Scotland.

The King of the Scots *breaks with King* Edward.

King *Edward* not a little inrag'd at theſe falſe and diſhonourable Dealings, even in the Winter Seaſon muſter'd his Men, prepar'd his Artillery, and fitted out his Navy, that nothing might be wanting in the following Spring: Which was no

A. D. 1482. Reg. 22. *A War commences.*

no ſooner advanc'd, but he appointed for his Lieutenant his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who with the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Stanley*, *Lovell*, *Greiſtock* and others, with the Duke of *Albany* himſelf, march'd into the North with an Army of above twenty thouſand ſtrong. And firſt *Gloceſter* beſieg'd the important Town of *Berwick*, and then marching forwards with great Terror and Devaſtations, he enter'd the chief City *Edinburgh*, urging King *James* to perform his Covenants concerning the Marriage between Prince *James* his Son and the Lady *Cicely*, before agreed upon, and threatning Ruin and Deſtruction, if the Match was not conſummated. The *Scotch* Nobility reflecting upon their own imminent Danger, put to Death the King's wicked Counſellors, ordain'd the Duke of *Albany* Vicegerent of *Scotland*, and promis'd to repay the Mony receiv'd according to Covenants. After which, with the Surrender of the ſtrong Town of *Berwick*, which had been out of the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſion for twenty one Years, a general Peace was concluded between the two Nations. Whereupon not long after, *Garter* King at Arms was ſent into *Scotland*, with a formal Inſtrument in Writing to the Provoſt and Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, who had undertaken to diſburſe the Mony, to ſignifie King *Edward*'s Mind touching the Marriage intended, and to demand the ſaid Sum by a fix'd Day, which was accordingly repaid.

A Peace concluded.

A. D. 1483. Reg. 23. As King *Edward* was greatly diſappointed in the Marriage of his ſecond Daughter to *Scotland*, ſo he met with a greater as to that of his eldeſt Daughter to *France*. For the *French* King finding the Daughter of *Auſtria* more proper for his Son's preſent Intereſt, deluded *Edward* with Shows of firm Faith, 'till he had effected his Purpoſe. The naming of this ſounded ſo harſhly in King *Edward*'s Ears, that he would never ſuffer that String to be touch'd in his Preſence, but ever believ'd that the *French* deſign'd honourably, tho' the Truth of their Deſigns was confirm'd by the Duke of *Auſtria*'s Ambaſſadors reſiding in *England*. Yet ſtill *Edward* would not ſo much as entertain a Suſpicion againſt the *French* King, and therefore ſuffer'd him to incroach upon thoſe Parts of *Picardy* that join'd to *Calais*, and to gain Time 'till it was paſt recalling. For then the Lord *Howard* returning from *France*, confidently told him, That he was preſent, and ſaw the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, receiv'd into *France* with great Pomp and Splendor, and at *Ambois* contracted and eſpous'd to the *Dauphine*. The King became ſo nicely ſenſible of this Abuſe, that he immediately reſolv'd upon a Revenge; and every one with Chearfulneſs provided for War, the Clergy ſupplying in Monies what they could not do in Perſon. But while he was paſſionately endeavouring to call *Lewis* to an Account for his Crimes, he was ſummon'd by Death to give a full Account of all his own. Being ſeiz'd by a melancholy Fit, or as others ſay a Surfeit, and finding little Hopes of Recovery, he began to conſider the Vanity of all his Victories, which he had purchas'd with the Expence of ſo much *Engliſh* Blood; and to reflect upon the deceitful Beauty of his ſenſual Pleaſures, which now appear'd with all the Marks of Horror and Deformity. Then cauſing his Lords, which were then numerous in Court, to be ſent for, he upon his Bed pathetically recommended to them the Care of the young Princes his Sons; ſhewing them, *That they being ſo young they ſtood in need of extraordinary Counſellors, which in the Diſtraction of private Contentions could hardly be found: That they having all a Relation to him, ſome by Blood, ſome by Affinity, all by Love and Duty, they were to join in a reciprocal Affection to each other, that the Conformity of their Minds might beget the like in their Actions, and in their Ends neceſſarily conducing to the Service of an Infant King, and the general Good of the Kingdom.* Then reminding them of the innumerable Evils ariſing from Civil Wars and Diſſentions, he heartily begg'd of God *that out of his particular Goodneſs no ſuch might hereafter happen; but as this Favour was never to be expected without the forgetting of paſt Injuries, it caus'd him in the Name of the ſame*

King Edward deluded by France.

His laſt Sickneſs.

Marr. &c.

ſame God, and as the laſt Comfort he ſhould receive, to deſire of them all a ſincere Forgiveneſs of any Injuries done by him. All that were preſent fell into Tears; and thoſe who had born greateſt Hatred freely ſhook Hands in Token of their laſt Obedience to the dying King; who being pleas'd with theſe outward Expreſſions of Love, ſoon after expired in the forty ſecond Year of his Age, upon the ninth Day of *April*, after a tumultuous, great and various Reign of twenty two Years, one Month, and five Days. *His Death.*

Sandford. The Manner of his Interment was thus: Firſt, the Corps was cover'd from the Navel to the Knees, and ſo laid naked upon a Board for ten or twelve Hours, to be view'd by all the Lords in *London*, as well as the Lord Mayor and his Brethren; and then he was ſeared. The next Day he was brought into St. *Stephen*'s Chappel, where three Maſſes were ſung over him in the Morning, and *Dirige* and *Commendam* in the Afternoon; at Night he was well watch'd by the Nobles and his Servants. In this manner he reſted eight Days, and on the ninth was convey'd to *Weſtminſter* Abby, born by ſeveral Knights and Eſquires, cover'd over by a large black Cloath of Gold, with a Croſs of Cloth of Silver, and above that a rich Canopy of Cloth Imperial fring'd with Gold and black Silk, born by four Knights, having at the Corners four Banners born by four other Knights, the firſt of the *Trinity*, the ſecond of our *Lady*, the third of St. *George*, and the fourth of St. *Edward*. The Lord *Howard* bore the King's Banner before the Body, and the Officers of Arms about him on every Side. In the Herſe in *Weſtminſter* Abby, above the Body and Cloath of Gold, was a Perſonage in the Similitude of a King, in Royal Robes, and a Crown on his Head, a Scepter in one Hand, and a gilt Ball of Silver on the other, with a Croſs *patee*. After many Solemnities perform'd, the Body was plac'd in a Chariot drawn by ſix Horſes, and ſo with great Pomp went to *Charing-croſs*, where the Chariot was cens'd, and from thence to *Syon*, and ſo to *Eaton*, where it was met by the Proceſſion of *Windſor*. At the Caſtle Gate the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* cenſed the Corps; and from thence they paſs'd to the new Church, where in the Quire was appointed an admirable wrought Herſe, being that Night watch'd by many Nobles and Eſquires of the Body, and was there bury'd with all Solemnities bentting ſo great and victorious a King. *His Interment.*

To ſay ſomething of his Perſon and Character, *Comines* tells us That he was the goodlieſt Gentleman that ever his Eyes beheld, tall of Stature, fair of Complexion, and of a moſt noble Preſence; yet too much inclining to Fat and Groſsneſs in his latter Days. Yet the Gifts of his Mind ſeem'd to ſtrive for Priority with thoſe of his Body, having a moſt couragious Heart, and a magnanimous Diſpoſition, being politick in Counſel, witty in Converſation, and in Adverſity undaunted. In Battel he was bold and adventurous, being preſent in nine ſeveral Engagements, in which to his great Renown he always fought on Foot, and was ever victorious. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and to gain his Ends, no Man was Maſter of more inſinuating Methods than himſelf. In the midſt of all his ſhining Qualifications he could ſet no Bounds to his Luſt or his Ambition, in both of which he was remarkably puniſh'd. As to the former, it was obſerv'd that never Man was fram'd by Nature more apt to the Exerciſe of it, and whom amorous Courtſhip did leſs misbecome: Yet this Sin, tho' black in the Eye of Heav'n, by Politicians is too often excus'd in a Prince, as not generally injurious to his Subjects. But notwithſtanding that Opinion, beſides the fatal Example, if we obſerve the Revolution of Kingdoms, we find no Iniquity in Princes ſo commonly puniſh'd: The Diſhonour of one Lady abus'd often cauſes the Diſgrace of ſeveral Families, and mighty Factions joining for Revenge; for no Injuries like theſe are ſo cruel to human Nature, and with ſo little Patience diſſembled. For this King *Edward* was peculiarly puniſh'd in his Sons, who were both depriv'd of all Things by their unnatural Uncle; *His Perſon and Character.*

Uncle; and there was ſo much Appearance of Right in that Uſurper, by their Father's Incontinency, that even an Act of Parliament was made to baſtardize them both. As to his Ambition, tho' according to the exact Rules of lineal Succeſſion he had the neareſt Right to the Crown, yet conſidering the innumerable Perjuries, Treaſons, Bloodſheds, and other Calamities that brought him and ſecur'd him in the Throne, his and his Father's Actions were leſs juſtifiable than thoſe of many real Uſurpers: And all thoſe Victories he obtain'd, were againſt his own Nation, and his greateſt Adverſaries were in Conſanguinity with him; ſo that he may more properly be ſaid to have let himſelf Blood, than his Enemies; or rather for the Preſervation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and moſt neceſſary Limbs. The Hand of Heav'n lay heavy upon his Generation, and notwithſtanding all his Succeſs he was deſcended from a moſt unfortunate Family, he being the only Male of all his Houſe, except a Child of *Richard* the Third, that dy'd a natural Death, after it claim'd the Crown. His Grand-Father the Earl of *Cambridge* was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York* his Father ſlain before *Sandall*; of his three Brothers, the Earl of *Rutland* was ſlain in cold Blood, the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of *Malmeſey*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, after he had ſtrangled his Nephews, loſt his Kingdom and Life in Battel. So that we meet with no Tragedy, whether true or fabulous, where we find ſo many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family. Beſides two Sons, King *Edward* left ſeven Daughters, of whom *Elizabeth* the Eldeſt met with good Fortune, and was marry'd to King *Henry* the Seventh: *Cicely* was marry'd to Vicount *Wells*, and after that to another, but had Iſſue by neither: *Anne* marry'd to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, whoſe Children dy'd all young: *Bridget* was a Nun in *Dartford*: *Mary* promis'd to the King of *Denmark*, but dy'd before Marriage: *Margaret* dy'd young: *Catharine* was marry'd to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and he had *Edward* Earl of *Devonſhire*, who dy'd without Iſſue in *Padua* in the Year 1556.

The Misfortunes of his Family.

Learned Men. In this Reign flouriſh'd ſeveral Men eminent for Arts and Learning, as well as Valour, as *Thomas Littleton* a famous Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great Part of the Law into Method which before was confus'dly diſpers'd: *John Forteſcue* a Judge, and Chancellor of *England*, who was famous for underſtanding the Laws and Conſtitution of *England*: *John Harding* and *William Caxton*, both Writers of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory: *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student of *Oxford*, who for his pleaſant Wit and jocular Conceits was call'd to Court. And that which now began to give new Incouragement to Learning was the famous Art of Printing, which was firſt found out in *Germany* by *John Gutterberghen* about the Year 1440, or ſomewhat later, and was brought into *England* by *William Caxton*, a Mercer of *London*, and probably the ſame with the Hiſtorian, who firſt practis'd the ſame in the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, *Anno Dom.* 1571, and the eleventh of this Reign.

The Art of Printing.

SECT.

SECT II.

The Hiſtory of King EDWARD *the Fifth.*

Containing two Months, and twelve Days.

I. KING *Edward* the Fourth left two Sons behind him, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, twelve Years and five Months old, and *Richard* Duke of *York*, about nine Years of Age. The firſt of theſe by all Writers is call'd by the Name of King *Edward* the Fifth, as being lawful and rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*, and was accordingly proclaim'd King. But if we conſider the Nature of his Reign, it may rather be call'd an *Inter-regnum*, or perhaps more properly the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third, who from the Death of King *Edward* the Fourth, both rul'd as a King, and rag'd as a Tyrant. Of this Man, who was now Duke of *Gloceſter*, we are told ſtrange Stories, as to his monſtrous Birth, his deformed Perſon, and his barbarous Diſpoſition; of all which we have not ſo much Certainty, as that his Ambition had long prompted him to uſurp the Crown of *England*. This was in part diſcover'd by means of one *Miſtlebroke*, who in the ſame Night that King *Edward* dy'd, haſtily went to one of the Duke's Friends in the City call'd *Potter*, and rouſing him out of his Bed, declar'd that King *Edward* was departed. To whom the other with great Satisfaction reply'd, *Then will my Maſter the Duke of* Gloceſter *be King*. This ſoon appear'd in the Event; tho' at that Time the Duke was in the North of *England*; for which Reaſon the Lord *Haſtings*, then Lord Chamberlain, ſent an immediate Expreſs to him of the King his Brother's Death; acquainting him withal, that he had committed the young King, the Queen, and his other Children, to his Care and Government; and likewiſe putting him in mind, how neceſſary it was for him ſpeedily to repair to *London*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* needed no Spur to ſet him forwards, who was already in a full Career; and as he had long projected how he might attain to the Crown, he now found the Way more open than ever. A. D. 1483. Reg. 0. *Young* Edward *proclaim'd King*

Moore. Young Prince *Edward*, now call'd King, was at *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire* when his Father dy'd, where he had liv'd for a conſiderable Space, in Order to awe the *Welſh*. Here he had many of his Mother's Relations about him; but Sir *Anthony Woodvile* the Lord *Rivers* was appointed his chief Counſellor and Director. This placing ſo many of the Queen's Friends about the young Prince was thought to be good Policy in her; but the Duke of *Gloceſter* turn'd it to their Deſtruction, and upon that Ground laid the Foundation of all his unhappy Fabrick. For whomſoever he found either diſpleas'd at them, or Friends to himſelf, he diſcover'd his Thoughts to them, ſome by Words, and ſome by Writings and ſecret Meſſengers, *That it was not to be ſuffer'd either in Reaſon or Policy, that the young King their Maſter ſhould be in the Hands and Cuſtody of his Mother's Relations, ſequeſter'd in a manner from their Company and Attendance, who were far ſuperior to them both in Birth and Merits.* With theſe and the like Inſinuations, he ſoon ſet ſeveral on Fire who were but too apt to kindle into a Flame; eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord Chamberlain *Haſtings*, both of great Power and Authority. Theſe two, not having ſo much Affection for each other, as Hatred to the Queen's Party, agreed in this Point with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, That they would intirely remove from the King's Society all his Mother's Friends, under the Name of Enemies to the Publick. This firſt Step gain'd, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, underſtanding that the Lords then about the King deſign'd to bring him to be crown'd at *London*, accompany'd with ſuch a Power of their Friends, that it would be difficult for him to effect his Purpoſe, without ſuch Numbers as would raiſe the Appearance of a Rebel-

The Duke of Gloceſter *deſigns to uſurp the Crown.*

His Policy.

lion; he therefore ſecretly and by various Methods caus'd the Queen to be perſuaded That if her Son came to *London* with ſuch a numerous Retinue, it would cauſe many Miſchiefs, and adminiſter Matter of Suſpicion and Jealouſies to ſeveral who were but lately reconcil'd. Upon this the Queen ignorantly in all Haſte ſent to her Son, and her Brother; earneſtly requiring them, for ſome Cauſes known to her ſelf, to diſmiſs their Guard; which was the ſooner obey'd, becauſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* himſelf, and other Lords of his Party, wrot to the King ſo reverently, and the reſt ſo lovingly, that without any great Suſpicion the King mov'd forwards with an inconſiderable Train.

He goes to meet young Edward *at* Northampton.

This ſecond Work effected, *Gloceſter*, *Buckingham*, and ſeveral Lords, reſolv'd to meet the King in his Paſſage; and coming to *Northampton*, where the King was arriv'd, pretending it was incommodious for ſo many to lodge in the ſame Place, they caus'd the King to go to *Stony-Stratford*, twelve Miles further. But the two Dukes ſtay'd behind; and under Pretence of Honour kept the Earl *Rivers* with them, and feaſted him with ſuch Demonſtrations of Joy, and ſo unuſual, that if Opinion had not blinded him, he might have eaſily diſcover'd the Deceit. Upon his going to his Lodgings, the two Dukes caus'd the Keys of the Gates to be brought to them, to ſecure any from going out; and ſpending the greateſt part of the Night in Counſel and Advice, early in the Morning they ſent to all the neighbouring Villages where their Servants were billetted, ordering them to be ready on Horſeback, and ſecure the Way to *Stony-Stratford* from all Paſſengers going thither. A ſtrange Diligence, which yet wrought no Impreſſion in ſuch as obſerv'd it; believing it to be done that none might come to the King before themſelves. But *Rivers* was of another Opinion, and after ſeveral Conjectures, he reſolv'd to go himſelf, and diſcover the Bottom of the Deſign; but upon his firſt Appearance, they roughly charg'd him with endeavouring to keep them from the King and ruin them, which he ſhould not be able to effect; and tumultuouſly interrupting him when he was making a Reply, they committed him to the Cuſtody of ſome of their own Servants. Then haſtning to *Stony-Stratford*, they found the King juſt mounting his Horſe, to whom they addreſs'd themſelves with the utmoſt Reverence, and he as lovingly receiv'd them, without conceiving their Deſigns. Then coming up to the Lord *Richard Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and half-Brother to the King, they immediately accus'd him of joining with his Brother the Marqueſs and his Uncle *Rivers* to get the Government of the King and Kingdom into their own Hands, and ſowing Diviſions among the Nobility: In order to which the Marqueſs had taken out of the Tower of *London* all the Royal Treaſure, and had ſent Men to Sea for dangerous Deſigns. To which the young King calmly made Anſwer, *That for what concern'd the Marqueſs, he was ignorant, becauſe of his Abſence; but for his Uncle* Rivers *and his Brother* Richard, *he was ſure they could not be guilty, becauſe they had always been in his Company.* To this *Buckingham* reply'd, *His Majeſty was deceiv'd; that their Deſigns were conceal'd from him; and that they did not deſerve to be excus'd by ſo good a Prince.* And immediately they arreſted the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawte* in the King's Preſence; and the King inſtead of going forwards was brought back with his Company to *Northampton*. Such of his Attendants as *Gloceſter* durſt not truſt were remov'd, and others put in their Place; at which the poor King could not refrain from Tears; having only the Name of a King, and wanting Age and Power to defend himſelf, as well as his Kindred and Servants. And that Diſſimulation might not be wanting, even where there was no Occaſion, the Duke of *Gloceſter* the next Day ſent a Diſh of Meat from his own Table to the Earl *Rivers*, deſiring him *to be at Eaſe, for all ſhould be well with him.* The Earl handſomly baulking the former Injury, return'd Thanks for the Honour done to him, and deſir'd the Meſſenger that he would carry it to his Nephew *Richard*, *For he being young, and unaccuſtom'd to Adverſity,*

Ibid.

He ſeizes upon the Earl Rivers

and ſeveral others.

ſtood

ſtood more in need of this Favour. This feign'd Courteſie was like the Lightning that foreruns Thunders; for after many Change of Priſons, they were all brought to *Pontfract*, and afterwards loſt their Heads.

The News of theſe Tranſactions was brought to the Queen in the Night, who immediately gueſs'd at the Duke's Deſign: She too late repented the Counſel given to her Brother to disband his Forces; and apparently ſaw her own Danger, but much more that of her ſecond Son the Duke of *York*, and her Daughters. At the ſame Hour ſhe fled with her Children from her Palace, and took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*, to the great Compaſſion of all that ſaw ſo much Hurry and Precipitation at that unſeaſonable Time. The Lord *Haſtings* had receiv'd the like Advice, but with contrary Sentiments: He could but rejoice at the Queen's Sufferings; but loving King *Edward* and his Children, he after Midnight diſpatch'd a Gentleman to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, who with Difficulty being brought in, acquainted him with what had been done to the young King and his Friends; not concealing the Queen's flying to Sanctuary, but at the ſame Time aſſuring him, *All would be well.* The Arch-Biſhop haſtily anſwer'd, *Be it as well as it will, it will never be ſo well as we have ſeen it*; and as ſoon as the Gentleman departed he aroſe from his Bed, and cauſing all his Family to do the ſame, and to arm themſelves, he took the Great Seal, and went with them to the Queen. There he found nothing but Haſte and Confuſion, People juſtling each other, ſome carrying in Goods, others going out to fetch more; and Sighs and Lamentations every where. The Queen her ſelf was ſeated by her Children in the moſt diſconſolate Manner upon the Ground; whom the Chancellor comforted with ſuch Reaſons as Hope then could ſuggeſt, acquainting her with what the Chamberlain *Haſtings* had let him know; conceiving that he who had been oblig'd to the late King would join with his Children and Family. But the Queen loathing to hear that Name, reply'd *That he was the Man that endeavour'd the utter Extirpation of her Blood.* The Arch-Biſhop not able to diſſuade her from that Opinion, diſcourſing from the leaſt Dangers to the greateſt, aſſur'd her *That if any other King ſhould be crown'd but her eldeſt Son, they would crown the Duke of* York, *who was now in her Poſſeſſion:* Upon which he deliver'd to her the Great Seal of *England*, for the Uſe and Benefit of that Son, and ſo departed about Day-light, not then weighing the Importance of this Delivery, nor how prejudicial it might be to him. But being return'd home, and ſeeing from his Window the *Thames* cover'd with Boats fill'd with *Gloceſter*'s Servants, watching if any went by Water to Sanctuary; and hearing that there were Tumults and Cabals in the City, Lords and others appearing in Arms, he conſider'd that he had been too raſh in parting with the Great Seal to the Queen, who could reap no Advantage by it; and thereupon privately ſent for it again, and after that carry'd it, according to Cuſtom, openly in the Sight of all Men.

The Queen-Mother takes Sanctuary.

The Arch-Biſhop of York *comforts her.*

In the mean Time the Commotions in the City encreas'd; moſt believing that the Proceedings at *Northampton* were caus'd to hinder the Coronation, and more Troubles might have follow'd, had not the Lord *Haſtings* at a publick Aſſembly aſſur'd them, *That* Rivers, Gray *and the reſt were impriſon'd for certain Conſpiracies againſt the Dukes of* Gloceſter *and* Buckingham, *as would appear by due Proceſs of Law. That no Doubt was to be made of the Duke of* Gloceſter, *ſince he had always continu'd faithful to the King; but to ſuſpect it might prove of dangerous Conſequence, and if they did not lay down their Arms with the ſame Facility they had taken them up.* This Aſſurance quieted the greateſt Part of the People, eſpecially when they underſtood the King was coming, attended by the Duke his Uncle with all manner of Reſpect; as alſo that among *Rivers*'s Carriages certain Barrels full of Arms were found; which tho' not much regarded by the wiſer Sort, yet *Gloceſter*'s Adherents inſiſting much upon it, it rais'd Doubts in ſome who otherwiſe would not have

The young King enters London. been perſuaded to it. The King, met by the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, all in Scarlet, accompany'd with five hundred Citizens on Horſeback, cloath'd all in Purple, enter'd the City the fourth Day of *May*, in the firſt and laſt Year of his Reign. The ſubtle Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhew'd ſuch Appearance of Reverence and Affection to the King his Nephew, that he chang'd their former Suſpicions into a high Eſteem for him. Inſomuch that when a Protector was to be choſen in Council, as was uſual in the Minority of Kings, he without any Contradiction was nominated for the Perſon; not only as a Relation and a Friend, but as moſt loyal, affectionate, and fitteſt for that great Charge. At this Council many were remov'd from their Offices; particularly the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and not without ſharp Reproof for having left the Great Seal with the Queen. He was ſucceeded by Doctor *Ruſſel* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Man wiſe and experienc'd, and one of the moſt learned in the Nation. Divers Lords and Knights were appointed to fill up Vacancies; but the Lord Chamberlain and ſome others ſtill retain'd their Places.

The Duke of Gloceſter *made Protector of the Land.*

II. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, now Protector, having gain'd ſo much Advantage, reſolv'd to proceed to the utmoſt; but his main Difficulty was that he could not free himſelf from one Brother without the other; and if the Elder was deſtroy'd, the Duke of *York* the Younger would ſtill ſucceed. In this he was to uſe his beſt Policy; for the Queen being ſuſpicious of him, and the young Duke in a Place not to be violated, he could reach him only by Deceit or Sacrilege. Therefore at the next Meeting of the Lords in Council he repreſented the Queen as highly culpable in detaining the Duke of *York* in Sanctuary, *when the Honour, the Health and Conveniency of the King his Brother requir'd his Preſence and Company with him in his Palace.* After ſome further Allegations and Aggravations, he declar'd, *That the Coronation could not be compleated without Scandal, while the Duke of* York, *who was to be next the King in that Solemnity, continu'd in a Sanctuary, a Shelter only for Criminals and Delinquents; affording Matter to the common People to judge according to their Ignorance, and to Foreign Princes according to the Appearance of falſe Suppoſitions; which muſt redound to the Diſhonour and Prejudice of them all. Therefore in his Opinion, ſome Perſon ſhould be ſent to the Queen, whom ſhe did not miſtruſt, yet ſuch as would be zealous of the Honour of the King and Council, who might rectifie her, and let her know what Injury ſhe did to all. And if this did not prevail, the Duke of* York *ought by regal Power to be taken from his Priſon, and brought to the King his Brother.* He propos'd the Cardinal Arch-Biſhop of *York* for this Deſign, remitting himſelf to their Pleaſure, if they ſhould not approve of him, from which he profeſs'd *he would not diſſent*. They all commended his Opinion, and agreed with him, that if the Duke was not remov'd, Inconveniencies might enſue. But the Cardinal, with ſome Eccleſiaſticks there preſent, was of another Opinion, ſo far as related to taking him by Force, alledging, *That the Sanctity of the Place was inviolable upon many Accounts; but he hop'd that Force would be needleſs, ſince the Queen in Reaſon would deliver him up; which if ſhe ſhould not do, the Fault was not to be attributed to her, nor him: Not to him, becauſe he would not be failing in his Duty; nor to her, ſhe being excuſable in reſpect of her Maternal Affection, and the Weakneſs of her Sex.* But the Duke of *Buckingham* not approving theſe Circumſpections, with an Oath cry'd out, *That the Queen well knew ſhe had no Cauſe of Fear; that her Fears were merely fictitious, and of Malice; and if ſhe would be believ'd becauſe her Kindred were hated according to their Deſerts, ſhe ſhould diſtinguiſh between thoſe who were of Kin to her, and thoſe ſo to the Royal Blood. That her Kindred had given Cauſe for Hatred, as ſhe her ſelf had done through her own Malignity; but in her extending it to the Duke of* York, *the Diſtribution was too large and odious. That he likewiſe had the Honour to be of*

Mort.

His Endeavours to get the King's Brother into his Poſſeſſion.

The Duke of Buckingham *joins with him.*

of Kin to him, nor would he in his Zeal for his Service give way to any Perſon, no not to his own Mother; who ſince ſhe deſir'd to keep him, not without Danger and Scandal, his Opinion was that he ought to be taken from thence. Then he diſcours'd largely of the Uſe and Abuſe of Sanctuaries, concluding *That the Duke of* York *was incapable of the Uſe of them; and it was no Abuſe to take any Perſon from thence when it was with a Deſign to do him good.* All the Council joining with him in this Opinion, it was reſolv'd That if the Cardinal could not prevail with his Perſuaſions, he ſhould be taken by Force, and brought to them. This being concluded, they all remov'd to the Star-Chamber, as the neareſt Place, there to expect what would be the Iſſue.

Ibid. The Cardinal went with ſeveral Lords, either becauſe the Protector would not truſt a Matter of that Weight to a ſingle Man, or becauſe the Appearance of ſo many might make the Queen perceive it was not he alone that deſir'd the Delivery of her Son, and that ſhe might ſee her Danger if ſhe refus'd. The Cardinal firſt told her, *That he was ſent by the Protector and the Privy-Council to let her know how much her detaining of the Duke of* York *in that Place had given Offence to them and others; as if one Brother liv'd in Danger, and could not be preſerv'd but by the other's Life. Therefore they deſir'd and expected to have the Duke ſet at Liberty, and to have him brought to his Brother, where he might live anſwerable to his Condition and Quality.* After further Diſcourſe, finding her altogether averſe to any Compliance, he proceeded to Perſuaſions and Arguments drawn from Nature and Affection, as well as Prudence and Policy, and to inform her, *That ſhe neither ought nor could keep him in Sanctuary, and that taking of him by Force would be no Violation of it.* To all theſe ſhe gave diſtinct and rational Anſwers, and began freely to declare the Apprehenſions ſhe had from the Protector; which became uneaſie to the Cardinal who had a better Opinion of him. So that growing warm, in ſome Paſſion he told her, *He was not come to argue with her, but to demand the Duke; and if ſhe would deliver him up, he would pawn both his Body and Soul for his Safety. If ſhe refus'd, he would leave her to her ſelf, finding her fix'd in a Belief that they all wanted Underſtanding or Fidelity; the former, in being ſo dull as not to perceive the Protector's Deſigns, and the latter, in procuring her Son to be deliver'd into the Hands of one who would deſtroy him.*

The Arch-Biſhop of York *goes to the Queen.*

He perſuades her to deliver up her Son.

The poor Queen was now reduc'd to great Perplexities, haſtily weighing within her ſelf the divers Hazards ſhe ran whether ſhe deliver'd him or not. By delivering him, ſhe conſider'd the Miſchiefs that might happen both to him and his Brother: In detaining him, ſhe fear'd that the Protector would immediately come in Perſon and take him; and ſhe wanted Time to provide againſt this; many Things were requir'd in ſending him elſewhere, none of which were like to ſucceed. And not having thought of it before, ſhe knew not whether to ſend him; ſhe had not appointed People to conduct him; ſhe had not Time enough to keep the Secret undiſcover'd, and him from being intercepted. Finding the Miſchief greater in letting him go by Force, than by Choice, ſhe began to hope her Suſpicions might be falſe: She did not doubt the Cardinal's good Intentions, nor yet theirs who were with him; ſhe was ſatisfy'd they were not corrupted, but not ſure they might not be deceiv'd; therefore her appearing to believe them would oblige them. Wherefore taking the young Duke by the Hand in the Preſence of all ſhe ſpoke thus, *My Lord, and all my Lords; I am neither ſo unthinking as to doubt your Underſtanding, nor ſo ſuſpicious as to miſtruſt your Fidelity; of which I deſign to make you ſuch a Proof, that if either were wanting in you, would bring me to infinite Sorrow, the Realm to incurable Damage, and you all to indelable Reproach. For I here preſent to you the Perſon, whom I doubt not but I could have kept beyond Oppoſition; tho' at the ſame Time I am ſure there are ſome ſuch mortal Enemies to my Blood, that if they thought there was any of it in their own Bodies, they*

She unwillingly conſents to deliver him.

they would open their Veins to let it out. We have alſo Experience that the Thirſt of Government knows no Kindred; and if Brothers have not been ſpar'd, much leſs ſhall Nephews eſcape. Each of my dear Children is the other's Defence, while they are aſunder, and each of their Lives lye in the other's Body: Notwithſtanding this moſt tender Point, I here reſign one into your Hands, and the other in him, that I may at all Times redemand them of you both before God and all the World. Then aſſuring them of her Confidence in their Abilities and Loyalty, ſhe concluded thus, *One Thing I conjure you, by the Truſt his Father ever had of you, and by the Truſt I now put into your Hands, that as far as you think my Fears too great, you would be as cautious that your own be not too ſmall.* After which, turning to the young Duke, with the moſt ardent Affection ſhe cry'd, *Farewel my dear ſweet Son, the Lord be thy Protector! let me kiſs thee now, leſt I never kiſs thee more.* Then with Kiſſes, Bleſſings, and a mingling of Tears, ſhe deliver'd him to the Lords; who immediately brought him to the Star-Chamber, where with longing Expectations, and the kindeſt Careſſes he was receiv'd by his Uncle. He brought him to the King his Brother, who was lodg'd in the Biſhop's Palace near St. *Paul's*; from whence, with great Pomp and Shew of Honour, they were both convey'd to the fatal Tower, from whence they never departed.

The King and him convey'd to the Tower.

III. The Protector having gain'd ſuch a ſignal Advantage, ſtill wanted the Aſſiſtance of ſome particular Men, eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham*, who 'till now probably did not know the Bottom of his Deſigns. There were great Inducements for him to join with the Protector; particularly he had ſo offended the young King in impriſoning his Relations, that in due Time he could expect nothing leſs than a ſevere Revenge, whether he liv'd, or they eſcap'd. The Protector had provided himſelf of a Guard, and arm'd himſelf while no Man thought of it; truſting the Management of his Affairs to none but thoſe whoſe Fortunes totally depended upon him. He ſet Spies about *Buckingham*, thinking it impoſſible he ſhould be equally wicked with himſelf, not having the like Deſigns; and was reſolv'd, if he found him defective, to be his immediate Ruin. He made uſe of his moſt profeſs'd Friends; and no Wonder if they were Traitors, ſince the Conformity of evil Inclinations had caus'd the Friendſhips between them and their Maſter. Yet had not *Buckingham* join'd heartily, but upon very advantagious Conditions; for when he oblig'd himſelf to make the Protector King, the other oblig'd himſelf to take the Duke's Daughter in Marriage to his only Son, promiſing with this the Earldom of *Hartford*, claim'd by him as his Inheritance; which being deny'd him by the late King was the firſt Cauſe of his Defection, by that revenging himſelf upon his Children. Moreover of his free Motion he promis'd him a great Part of the Treaſure left by King *Edward*, together with a large Proportion of the Wardrobe. Theſe Things being fix'd, they erected a new Council, conſiſting of the greateſt Men, to treat of Matters belonging to the Coronation, that they and the People at preſent might be amus'd with a Belief of the Reality of it; and to that End they commanded the abſent Lords to repair to *London*, and aſſiſt at the Solemnity. Beſides this they had a private Council conſiſting of certain ſelect Perſons, who treated of the Means how to bring the Protector to the Throne; ſo that while both the Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley* and *Haſtings*, with others, were buſying themſelves about an unneceſſary Ceremony to eſtabliſh a lawful King, they treated how to eſtabliſh in his Place an unlawful Tyrant and Uſurper. The firſt Council was compos'd of many of the beſt Rank. The ſecond of few, and thoſe of the worſt Condition; but the Protector's Dealings not being eaſily penetrated, the People began to murmur, tho' they could not gueſs at the real Miſchief intended. It was impoſſible from ſo many Circumſtances and vain Delays as were by this Council propos'd to the other, but Jealouſies would ariſe. All which were encreas'd by the Protector's taking from

An Alliance between the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham.

Two diſtinct Councils.

from the Tower all the King's Servants, and placing his own in their Room; ſo that the King was ſoon left deſtitute of all Manner of Company, Magnificene and Regal Splendor; all which were in reality convey'd over to the Houſe and Perſon of the Protector.

Ibid. Among thoſe who were admitted into the ſecret Council there was one *Cateſby*, a Man well skill'd in the Laws of the Land; who being imploy'd by the Lord Chamberlain *Haſtings* in all his Affairs, and by his Favour advanc'd in the Court, had won ſuch Credit with all Men, eſpecially in *Leiceſterſhire*, where the ſaid Lord was very powerful, as nothing was tranſacted without him: So that being a Creature of his, and by his Means highly in favour, the Chamberlain thought he would never fail to inform him of any thing of moment done in that Council, eſpecially if it might be prejudicial to him. But Gratitude having forſaken him who had loſt all Loyalty, he was the Original of many enſuing Evils. For the Lord *Stanley* juſtly doubting this Cabinet Council, had endeavour'd to croſs it, by the Favour and Aſſiſtance of many who likewiſe fear'd it, had not the Lord Chamberlain prevented him, relying wholly upon *Catesby*'s Fidelity. The Protector naturally lov'd the Chamberlain, he having always been his Friend, and one from whom he had receiv'd Kindneſſes, in the King his Brother's Time; nor had he reſolv'd upon his Ruin, had he not fear'd to have met with Oppoſition, if he ſhould diſcover his Secrets to him. He therefore imploy'd *Catesby* to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to bring him intirely to his Side. But *Catesby* either perform'd it not at all, or if he did, he gave the Protector ſuch a ſiniſter Account, that changing his Love into Hatred, he reſolv'd to have his Life; yet treating him with his uſual Confidence, he by that gain'd two Advantages. He caus'd him to be ſlower in executing ſuch Reſolutions as he might have done againſt him; and he the more dextrouſly brought about his own Deſigns to the other's Ruin, while he leaſt thought of it. Inſomuch that when the Chamberlain acquainted *Catesby* with the Jealouſies this ſecret Council had rais'd in many, thinking to gain from him ſome Aſſurance, he not only gave him no Satisfaction, but perſuaded the Protector to diſpatch him as ſoon as he could, as if his Life was fatal to his Deſigns. An Advice politickly taken by the Protector, tho' not given out of Zeal to his Service, as it ſeem'd to be; but that by his Death *Catesby* might enter into the plenary Authority, which the Chamberlain ſolely had in his Country.

A Deſign againſt the Lord Haſtings.

The Protector having fix'd his Reſolution, upon the thirteenth Day of *June*, three Hours before Noon, he came into the Tower to the Lords in Council, who were ſetling the approaching Coronation. At his firſt Entrance he civilly ſaluted all the Lords preſent, excuſing himſelf for coming ſo late; and diverting his Diſcourſe he deſir'd the Biſhop of *Ely* to ſend for a Diſh of Strawberries from his Garden at *Holborn*, ſaying *he had never eaten better*. The Biſhop taking it for a Favour, immediately ſent for them; while he ſoon after riſing up, deſir'd the Lords to diſpence with his Abſence for a ſhort Space. Within leſs than an Hour he return'd with ſuch a ſevere and fierce Countenance as made them all amaz'd; and being ſate down, with angry Eyes, and frowning Looks, and biting his Lips, he for a while kept Silence. At laſt he demanded of them, *What Puniſhment they deſerv'd who had plotted his Deſtruction, who was next in Blood to the King, and by Office his and the Kingdom's Protector?* This Queſtion ſtartled the Council, not knowing for whom it was intended, tho' each was ſatisfy'd with his own Innocence. The Chamberlain finding all ſilent, very readily made Anſwer, *That they ought without Exception to be puniſh'd as Traitors.* To which the reſt aſſenting, the Protector ſaid, *It was his Brother's Wife, and others with her*; at which thoſe who favour'd the Queen were much concern'd. But the Chamberlain, who fear'd it was ſome of his own Friends, was overjoy'd when he heard the Queen nam'd; tho' he was ill pleas'd, that he was not before made privy to this Matter, as he had been to the taking off her Relations, who were by his own Conſent before appointed

The Protector quarrels with him.

pointed to be beheaded at *Pontfract* this very Day; little imagining that his own Execution ſhould be the ſame Day at *London*. The Protector continuing his Complaints, ſtripp'd his Arm bare, and ſhow'd it to be dry'd and wither'd, very unlike the other, declaring *That the Queen and* Shore's *Wife, her Counſellor and Coadjutor in this Wickedneſs, had by their Sorceries and Witchcraft thus waſted his Fleſh.* The Lords, who knew this Arm had never been otherwiſe, immediately conceiv'd he had now ſome impious Deſign; eſpecially ſince it was ſo improbable that the Queen ſhould aſſociate with *Shore*'s Wife, whom ſhe moſt hated, as the Concubine moſt doated on by her Husband. The Chamberlain had unfortunately and fooliſhly given the Protector this Advantage by taking this Woman, whom he had long lov'd, and keeping her for his own Miſtreſs; therefore with ſome Extenuation he anſwer'd, *If they have been thus guilty, they deſerve heinous Puniſhment.* At which the Protector cry'd *What, doſt thou anſwer me with Ifs and Ands? I tell thee they are thus guilty, and that I'll make good on thy Body, Traitor.* Then giving a great Blow upon the Table, as an appointed Signal, a Cry of Treaſon was heard from without, the Door was forc'd open, and the Chamber immediately fill'd with armed Men; and one of them ſtriking at the Lord *Stanley*, had undoubtedly cleft his Head, had he not haſtily ſhrunk beneath the Table, yet not ſo ſuddenly but he receiv'd a terrible Wound. Immediately the Protector arreſted the Chamberlain by the Name of *Traitor*; and being by him in all Humbleneſs demanded whether he ſpoke to him or no; he reply'd, *Yes, to thee, Traitor.* And ſecuring all the reſt in other Rooms, the Protector ſwore by St. *Paul, That he would not dine before he ſaw his Head taken off.* It avail'd nothing to ask Queſtions and beg for Mercy, but heavily taking the next Prieſt that was ready, he made a ſhort Confeſſion, ſince a longer would not be permitted; and being led to the Green before the Tower Chappel, he had his Head ſtruck off upon a Log of Timber; being afterwards bury'd at *Windſor*, near King *Edward*'s Tomb.

and then cuts off his Head.

Beſides a remarkable Dream of the Lord *Stanley*, which occaſion'd his Adviſing him to fly from Danger, and other ominous Preſages of this ſudden Execution, we may well take notice of a particular Paſſage that happen'd the Morning before he went to Council. Being come to the Tower, he met a Purſivant near the Place where he was beheaded; and recollecting that he had met him in that very Place, when by Procurement of the Earl of *Rivers* he formerly was made Priſoner for a ſhort Space, and much doubted his Life; he ask'd him *Whether he remember'd that he had met him in that Place, at a Time when he was in great Danger?* The Purſivant reply'd, *Yes, my Lord, I well remember it; but, Thanks to Heav'n, the Authors got no Advantage, nor you no Damage.* The Chamberlain knowing that *Rivers* and the reſt were that Day to loſe their Heads, with a chearful Air anſwer'd, *You would ſay more, if you knew as much as I do: I never was ſo afraid as then; but Times are happily chang'd, and my Enemies are now as much in Danger as I was before, as you will ſoon know; ſo that I never was more joyful and ſecure than at preſent.* Now this Lord having formerly imbru'd his Hands in the innocent Blood of King *Henry*'s Son Prince *Edward*, and lately by his Advice join'd to the taking off the Heads of *Rivers* and others without any Proceſs upon this very Day, the Vengeance of Heav'n became more conſpicuous and ſignal in his own extraordinary Execution. So that the great *Ralegh* upon this Occaſion declares, 'That a greater Judgment of God, than this upon *Haſtings*, 'he had never obſerv'd in any Story. And we may truly obſerve, that ſcarcely any State Homicide ever eſcapes a natural and proper temporal Puniſhment, either in his Perſon or Family.

Ibid. &c.

A remarkable Inſtance of God's Vengeance.

To colour over this open Violence, the Protector immediately after Dinner ſent for many of the principal Citizens to the Tower; at whoſe coming himſelf and *Buckingham* ſtood harneſs'd in old ruſty Armour, which was to ſhow

the

the greatneſs of their Surpriſe and Danger, as having no Time to procure better. And after having inſiſted upon the Mercy of Heav'n in their Eſcape from the Treaſon of *Haſtings* and others, a Herald of Arms was diſpatch'd into the City with a formal Proclamation in the King's Name, implying, 'That the 'Lord *Haſtings* and ſome others had conſpir'd the ſame Day to have ſlain the 'Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* as they ſat in Council; and af- 'ter that to have aſſum'd the Government of the King and Kingdom at their 'own Pleaſures; inſiſting likewiſe upon many Crimes of the Lord *Haſtings*, 'as well as thoſe of *Shore*'s Wife. This Proclamation, which was publiſh'd within two Hours after the Lord Chamberlain's Execution, was ſo curiouſly indicted, ſo long, and ſo fairly ingroſs'd on Parchment, that the weakeſt Perſon alive might perceive it was prepar'd before: Which occaſion'd various Diſcourſes, ſome venturing to ſay *It was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy.* The Protector having accus'd *Shore*'s Wife, as an Acceſſary and Adviſer, ſent the Sheriffs of *London* to her Houſe, and caus'd her to be plunder'd of all her Eſtate, which was above three thouſand Marks, not out of Avarice, but Malice and Deſign; and then being impriſon'd, ſhe was charg'd with many treaſonable, as well as improbable Practices, tho' ſhe was convicted of none but Incontinency, which ſhe did not deny. For this laſt Crime, the Protector deliver'd her over to the Biſhop of *London*, to do Penance after the moſt publick Manner; which ſhe did the following *Sunday*, being led in ſolemn Proceſſion, with a Wax Taper in her Hand, and the Croſs born before her: In which Action, tho' ſhe was deſtitute of all manner of Ornament, yet ſhe appear'd ſo lovely and decent, that, her Bluſhes adding to her Beauty, all the Spectators did not only blame the Severity, but were charm'd with her comely Aſpect, which was the Cauſe of their Compaſſion, as well as her own Ignominy. This remarkable Woman was well born, and civilly educated; but her Ruin was her being unequally marry'd as to Years, which made it eaſie for King *Edward* to win her, and to break through all the Obligations of Duty. Beſides her extraordinary Beauty, Wit, Eloquence and good Humour, ſhe had ſome Qualifications not uſual to Perſons of her Life and Converſation; as particularly ſhe ſeem'd to be born to do Good, and no Harm to any one: She reſtor'd many who had unjuſtly fallen from the King's Favour, and caus'd many confiſcated Eſtates to be return'd without any Degree of Avarice. She was more deſirous to oblige others, than to inrich her ſelf; deſiring rather to do good Turns than to receive them; always affable, never inſolent; and all her Ambition was to be eſteem'd. Yet now being reduc'd to Poverty, and afterwards to old Age, her Beauty quite loſt, and her numerous good Turns as much fotgotten, ſhe was forc'd to beg of thoſe, who if they had not formerly begg'd of her, might have been greater Beggars than her ſelf.

The Protector's Vindication.

Jane Shore *does Penance.*

Her Character.

The Protector had given Orders, that on the ſame Day in which the Lord Chamberlain was beheaded at *London*, the Earl *Rivers* and Lord *Gray*, the one Brother the other Son to the Queen, ſhould loſe their Heads at *Pontfract*; and the two Knights, ſeiz'd with them at *Northampton*, bore them Company in the Puniſhment. The Execution was committed to the Care of Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, a Favourite of the Protector's, and privy to all his Deſigns; who being of a fierce and mercileſs Temper, was judg'd moſt proper to manage ſuch an odious Affair. He caus'd them to be brought out of Priſon, and being expos'd to publick View as Traitors, they were beheaded without any manner of Proceſs or Juſtice. He would not ſuffer them to ſpeak, leſt their Innocence being made known, and commiſerated, might make the Author of this Tyranny more deteſtable. Thus theſe unfortunate Men ſuffer'd without being guilty of any Crime in this Reign; but ſo far as they might contribute to the Injuſtice and Bloodſhed committed againſt the laſt King *Henry*, and his Family, it was more the Hand of Heav'n than the Puniſhment of Men.

The Earl of Rivers and others beheaded at Pontfract.

IV. The Protector had now remov'd all Obſtacles, and hop'd ſhortly to compleat his Deſign; but as the Succeſs of Things cannot be repreſented upon a Theatre without the Concourſe of ſeveral Perſonages requiſite to the Compoſure of the Plot, ſo it was neceſſary for him to make uſe of many others to the forming of this Treaſon. Among the reſt Sir *Edmund Shaw* Lord Mayor of *London*, his Brother *John Shaw*, and *Pinker*, Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Friars, were ſome. The firſt was to draw the City to the Protector's Will, and to ſuppreſs Tumults; the other two were Doctors of Divinity, and by the People eſteem'd famous Preachers, and were choſen to give Authority and Fervor, as is uſual in ſuch like Actions. The Knot of this Buſineſs lay in finding out ſpecious Pretexts to exclude the Heirs of *Edward* the Fourth; for which purpoſe they were to inſiſt upon two in a ſpecial Manner, The firſt was, That King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence* were both the Iſſue of Adultery; that they were not Sons to the Duke of *York*, whoſe only legitimate Heir the Protector was. The ſecond was, That *Edward*'s Children were not only ſpurious upon that Account, but as born in an illegitimate Marriage, he being firſt ingag'd to the Lady *Lucy* before he marry'd their Mother: For both which Reaſons the Protector muſt be the only true Heir to the Crown. Thoſe Preachers were to make theſe two Points the Subject of their Sermons; but becauſe the firſt was horribly ſcandalous, and highly reflecting upon the whole Houſe of *York*, and the Protector's Mother in particular; they reſolv'd not to treat of it in downright Terms, but by oblique Inſinuation: But in the ſecond Point they were to be open and barefac'd without Reſerve. *Pinker* was appointed to preach at the *Spittal*, and *Shaw* at *Paul's-Croſs*; but the former loſt his Voice, ſo that he was forc'd to leave off in the Midſt of his Diſcourſe. *Shaw* took for his Subject this Sentence out of the *Wiſdom of* Solomon, *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep Root*; and after many Proofs of his Poſition, and an odious Diſcourſe againſt the Legitimacy of King *Edward*'s Family, he proceeded to make a long Panegyrick upon the Protector, declaring him to be the only Image of his Father, for Valour and all other good Qualifications. It was alſo further deſign'd, that when he enter'd into this Encomium, the Protector ſhould appear, that the People might think the Preacher inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, and be ready to cry *King* Richard! But the Protector coming ſomewhat too late, *Shaw* in a diſorderly manner reaſſum'd his Subject, and carry'd it on after ſuch a fulſom way before his Face, that the People were amaz'd at his nauſeous Flattery, and ſtood like Statues. So that both the Protector and Preacher being utterly out of Countenance, the one return'd confus'd to his Palace, and the other to his Houſe, where underſtanding by his Friends how much he was condemn'd, he a few Days after dy'd out of Grief and Shame.

Mort.

The Protector's laſt Projects.

The Protector, reſolving not to be diſcourag'd at this Failure, upon *Tueſday* following he ſent the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompany'd with many Lords and Gentlemen, to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with whom were likewiſe the Common Council of the City, commanded purpoſely to attend at *Guild-Hall*. Here the Duke, who wanted neither Parts nor Aſſurance, made a long, plauſible and artificial Speech to the whole Aſſembly, highly aggravating all the Miſmanagements, Cruelties and Calamities of the laſt Reign, in order to bring an Odium upon King *Edward*'s Poſterity; inſiſting upon *Shaw*'s Sermon, as a clear Proof of the Illegitimacy of his Children; and that the Protector was the only undoubted Heir to the Crown; in which the Lords of the Kingdom were ſo well ſatisfy'd, that they agreed to accept of him for their King; and now himſelf was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their Conſents. Having ended his ſtudy'd Oration, and expecting the Applauſes of the People that they ſhould cry *King* Richard! he was amaz'd to find the contrary; and drawing near to the Lord Mayor, who was to have prepar'd them for it,

1483.

The Duke of Buckingham's *Management in his Favour.*

it, he as'd the Reaſon of their Reſerv'dneſs and Silence. Who not knowing what to ſay, anſwer'd, *That he thought he was not well underſtood.* Upon which the Duke in a louder Tone, and plainer Words, repeated all that he had ſaid before; but ſtill to no better Effect. Then the Duke whiſpering with the Mayor, it was judg'd that the Citizens being us'd to have ſuch Motions made to them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder was commanded to move the ſame Matter to them. But the Recorder, being lately come into the Place, and miſliking the Task, unwillingly repeated the Subſtance of the Duke's Speech, but carefully avoided any Addition of his own, that they might not believe his Vote went with it. The People ſtood ſtill more unmov'd than ever; at which the Duke told the Mayor, *That he never met with ſuch an obſtinate Silence.* Then ſtanding up a third Time he ſaid, *He was come thither to perſuade them to concur in an Affair, where their Aſſiſtance perhaps would not be neceſſary; for the Nobility and Commons of the other Provinces would do it without them: But bearing a particular Affection to that noble City, he deſir'd that they might have the firſt Share of the Honour: Therefore he deſir'd them to declare, whether in Conformity with the reſt of the Kingdom, they would nominate the preſent Protector for their King.* At which Words the People began to whiſper among themſelves ſecretly; but their Voice was neither diſtinct nor loud, 'till at laſt in the lower End of the Hall, ſome Servants belonging to the Protector and the Duke, with ſome Prentices gotten into the Croud, began to cry aloud *King* Richard, *King* Richard! and threw up their Hats for Joy; tho' the Citizens turning about kept their former Silence. The Duke wiſely making uſe of this Diſorder, declar'd *He was tranſported to find ſuch Unanimity in their Voices for making that noble Prince their King; with which he would acquaint him, ſo as to make it turn to their Advantage, deſiring them to be ready the next Morning to go with him to the Protector, in order to perſuade him to comply with a Matter, ſo much deſir'd by them and the whole Kingdom.* Upon this the Aſſembly was diſſolv'd, and moſt departed with a melancholy Countenance, and a more melancholy Heart.

His Succeſs.

The next Morning the Lord Mayor aſſembled the Aldermen and Common-Council-Men of the City, and repair'd with them to *Baynard*'s Caſtle in *Thames-ſtreet*, where the Protector then lodg'd; and there according to Appointment the Duke of *Buckingham* came accompany'd with a great Number of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who ſent a Meſſage to the Protector, *That an Aſſembly of honourable Perſons were come to wait upon his Grace in a Matter of great Importance.* The Protector ſeem'd amaz'd, and unwilling to appear before ſuch Numbers, unleſs he firſt knew the Deſign of their coming; which feign'd Ignorance *Buckingham* ſoon turn'd to the Advantage of the Protector's Honour and Integrity. He ſent a ſecond Meſſage, *That the Buſineſs was not to be imparted to any but himſelf*, and in ſuch a humble and ſubmiſſive way, as might have wrought Belief in any one who had really doubted. At length the Protector appear'd, in a Gallery above, with a Biſhop on each Side of him, as if he was ſtill apprehenſive of the worſt. The Duke of *Buckingham*, making a low Reverence, begg'd two Things of his Grace, *The one, that he would permit him to make a humble Supplication to him; the other, that he would pardon him, in caſe it ſhould prove unacceptable to him: For tho' he aim'd at nothing but his Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom, yet he fear'd his Modeſty might take it contrary to their Intentions.* The Protector anſwer'd, *He was ſo aſſur'd of their Integrity, that he hop'd they would propoſe nothing that would diſpleaſe him*, and ſo granted the Leave and Pardon they demanded. *Buckingham*, after a long Digreſſion of the Kingdom's Grievances, ſaid, *That they were expreſly come to Petition him, that conſidering the illegitimate Birth of King* Edward's *Children, he would in Commiſeration of the Neceſſities of the Publick, vouchſafe, together with the Government of the Kingdom, to accept*

He with the Citizens petitions the Protector to accept of the Crown.

accept of the Crown, to the Honour of God and Safety of the Realm; reſting aſſur'd that never any People would think themſelves more happy than under his plenary Protection. The Protector, as if offended at his Requeſt, with an angry Look anſwer'd, *That tho' there was much Truth in what he ſaid, yet his Love to his Brother* Edward, *his Affection to his Children, and the Regard to his own Honour, would not permit him to accept of ſuch a Burthen: For it was to be fear'd, that ſhould he depoſe his Nephews and make himſelf King, the Ignorant and Malignant would accuſe him to all the Princes of the World, as if it did not proceed from his own juſt Right, the Importunity of the People, and the Neceſſities of the Nation, but purely from his own Ambition. Yet notwithſtanding, he did not only pardon them, but return them Thanks, ſince he conceiv'd it proceeded from their Love and Affection; which he deſir'd might be turn'd to their King, whom he with his Perſon and beſt Advice would ſerve; hoping ſo to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom, that they ſhould have nothing to deſire; as he had already given ſome Proof, notwithſtanding the Malice of ſome, which had been rather ſuppreſs'd by Divine Providence than by Human Wiſdom.*

The Protector's Anſwer.

This Anſwer being given, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtepp'd aſide, as if he conſulted with the Noblemen, the Lord Mayor and the reſt; which being done, he again deſir'd Pardon; and having obtain'd it, he with a more exalted Voice declar'd, *That the Kingdom was abſolutely reſolv'd not to permit* Edward's *Children to reign; not ſo much becauſe they had proceeded beyond all Hopes of Pardon, as becauſe the publick Good requir'd it: That therefore he beſeech'd him to accept of the Crown, which if he deny'd, they ſhould be compell'd to offer it to one who would not refuſe it.* The Protector, affrighted, as it were, at theſe Threats, expreſs'd much Concern, *That they ſhould have ſo hard an Opinion of his Brother's Iſſue: He own'd he could not govern or reign without their Affections: Therefore ſince it was their Reſolution, and there was none to whom the Crown did of Right belong beſides himſelf; and that to his natural and legal Titles, they had added that of Election, the moſt valuable of all others; he yielded to their Intreaties and Requeſts, by taking upon him from that Time forwards the State and Regal Preheminence of the two Kingdoms of* England *and* France; *the former to be govern'd and defended by him and his Heirs, and the latter by God's Aſſiſtance and their Valour to be ſubdu'd, and for ever eſtabliſh'd in due Obedience to the Realm of* England, *of whoſe Grandeur and Honour he was ſo ambitious, that he deſir'd God to continue him no longer upon Earth than his Life might be ſerviceable to that End.* At this they all cry'd out *King* Richard, *King* Richard! and the Lords went up to him to kiſs his Hand, while the People departing, talk'd diverſely of the Matter, every one as his Fancy guided him. They were diſpleas'd at nothing more than the counterfeit Management of the Buſineſs, which tho' it had been plotted and reſolv'd before, there had been us'd ſo many Stage-like Actions, as if it had never been conceiv'd 'till then; and as if choice had been made of the Spectators as of the moſt ſenſeleſs and ſtupid People of the Land.

He complies.

Here all Hiſtorians conclude the imaginary Reign of King *Edward* the Fifth, which ended upon the eighteenth Day of *June* 1483, after it had continu'd only two Months and twelve Days, he being at that Time twelve Years and about ſeven Months old.

The End of King Edward's *Reign.*

SECT.

SECT III.

The Reign of King RICHARD *the Third.*

Containing 2 Years, 2 Months, and 4 Days.

Morr. &c.

I. *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* was the eighth and youngeſt Son of *Richard* Duke of *York* and *Cecily Nevil* his Wife, and was now leſs than thirty Years of Age when the Crown was thus tumultuouſly conferr'd upon him, which in a ſhort Time was more legally offer'd him in Parliament, with all the Marks of the vileſt Flattery. Being proclaim'd King upon the twenty ſecond Day of *June*, believing to eſtabliſh his Tyranny by reſting it upon unaccuſtom'd Circumſtances, he went into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſate down in the King's Bench, where in doubtful Caſes the Kings of *England* anciently us'd to ſit, and where he avow'd his Acceptance of the Crown; which he expreſs'd in a formal Oration, and ſo well compos'd, that thoſe who had not known him, would have believ'd *England* had never been bleſs'd with ſo good a King. And to begin himſelf with a pretended Clemency, he pronounc'd Pardon of all Offences committed againſt him; for Confirmation of which he ſent for one *Fogge* who had taken Sanctuary, and whom he mortally hated, and in the Sight of all the People took him by the Hand, and aſſur'd him of his future Love and Affection. By which Act he made a great Impreſſion upon the common Sort, but thoſe who were better adviſ'd took it for Artifice and Diſſimulation. In his Return to the Palace, he courteouſly ſaluted ſuch as he knew had no Affection for him, thinking by this ſervile Flattery to inſinuate into their Minds, and to eſtabliſh his Government. Yet ſtill he durſt not rely upon his preſent Fortune, but ſecur'd his Coronation with an unuſual Appearance of Forces, cauſing five thouſand Men to come from the North, where he was moſt favour'd, to aſſiſt at the Solemnity. Theſe Northern Men appear'd ſo ill cloath'd and accouter'd, that they became the Subject of Mens Deriſion; and it was believ'd that if he ſhould have Occaſion to uſe them, they would not have ſerv'd his Purpoſe; and that it was neither thoſe nor greater Forces, but a meer Fatality had precipitated the Nation into ſuch a miſerable Subjection.

A. D. 1483. Reg. 1.

Richard *proclaim'd King.*

He ſtrengthens himſelf.

Ibid.

Nothing now was wanting to his full Poſſeſſion of the Crown, but the Ceremony of his Coronation, for which all Things were ready, as having been before prepar'd for that of his Nephew. Two Days before he went with his Wife and young Son to the Tower; where he created the Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Thomas Howard* his Son Earl of *Surry*; he made *William Barkley* Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Francis Lovell* Vicount and Lord *Chamberlain*, and likewiſe made ſeventeen Knights of the *Bath*. The Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Lord *Stanley*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* had been Priſoners in the Tower ever ſince the Lord *Haſtings* loſt his Head: He ſet the firſt at Liberty, finding himſelf peaceably poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom, which otherwiſe he would not have done; for being an honeſt Man he would never have conſented to the depoſing of the true King: He freed the ſecond out of Fear; for his Son the Lord *Strange* was raiſing great Forces in *Lancaſhire*, ſo that it was neceſſary to appeaſe him. But he did not ſet the Biſhop of *Ely* at Liberty, who was a faithful Servant to King *Edward* the Fourth; for he was ſure he would never comply with his Childrens Deprivation, nor his unjuſt Uſurpations; of which he had made trial in the Councils held in the Tower, while by oblique means he was carrying on that Deſign. This celebrated Biſhop, *Morton* by Name, was of no great Birth; but having liv'd long in high Repute in *Oxford*, he was taken from thence, only a Doctor, and made a Privy-Counſellor by *Henry* the Sixth: *Edward* knowing his Integrity, kept him ſtill in that Condition, and choſe him at his Death to be one of his Executors.

He makes new Titles.

tors. *Richard* therefore fearing him, would have kept him ſtill in Priſon, had not the Univerſity of *Oxford* interceded for his Enlargement; ſo being deſirous to oblige that Body, he was content to remove him from the Tower, as being too publick a Priſon: But that he might not give him his full Liberty, he committed him to the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſent him to a Caſtle of his in *Brecknockſhire* in *Wales*, where they jointly laid the firſt Ground-Work of *Richard*'s Fall.

The following Day, with mighty Pomp and ſplendid Attendance of Noblemen, *Richard* rod through the City of *London*, having three Dukes, nine Earls, two Vicounts, twenty Barons, and ſeventy eight Knights, all moſt richly adorn'd. Among whom the proud Duke of *Buckingham* far exceeded the reſt in Appearance, having the Capariſons of his Horſe ſo charg'd with embroider'd Works of Gold, that it was born up by Footmen after an extraordinary manner. In the following Day, which was the Sixth of *July*, *Richard* with *Anne* his Wife was crowned at *Weſtminſter* with more than uſual Solemnity, as may be ſeen in *Hall*, *Grafton*, and others. His Wife was Daughter to the great Earl of *Warwick*, who had made and unmade two preceding Kings, and Widow to Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* the Sixth; to whom ſhe was marry'd, when *Edward* the Fourth's Ruin was determin'd in *France*. So being deſtin'd to be a Queen, it was her ill Fortune to be marry'd to one who had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's Death. The Solemnity being ended, King *Richard* diſmiſs'd all the Lords that they might return to their own Houſes; recommending to ſuch as were in Office, the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice without Extortion or Injury, the Execution of the Laws, and Liberty of the Subject; as being deſirous to have nothing ill done but by himſelf. He diſmiſs'd not the Lord *Stanley*, 'till ſuch Time as the Lord *Strange* his Son had disbanded the Forces he had rais'd. He alſo diſmiſs'd the five thouſand he had caus'd to come from the North both with Promiſes and Rewards; upon which they departed ſo well pleas'd, that becoming thereupon inſolent and tumultuous, they forc'd him to go in Perſon into thoſe Parts, to appeaſe the Diſturbances they had rais'd, which could not be effected without the Death of many of them. About this Time he ſent to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, concerning the Continuance of the League made with his Brother *Edward*, demanding the Tribute then ſetled; but his Ambaſſador arriving after the Death of his two Nephews, *Lewis* would not afford him Audience, judging his Friendſhip unworthy of any Human Correſpondence.

His Coronation.

He ſends Ambaſſadors to France.

In what concern'd their Deaths, he demean'd himſelf with great Caution. He firſt withdrew himſelf to *Gloceſter*, the Place of his former Patrimony and Title; his Conſcience not permitting him to ſtay in the Place where his Cruelty was to ſurpaſs that of all other Tyrants. He might have kept them Priſoners without any Danger, ſince they had no material Supporters; but he not accounting himſelf a King, while they were alive, ſent his truſty Servant *John Green* with Letters to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, Conſtable of the Tower, commanding him to put them to Death; who, abhorring the Act, return'd Anſwer, *He would rather die than obey that Command.* *Richard* at this being highly diſſatisfy'd, and ſtill reſtleſs, his Page who uſually lay in his Chamber, deſir'd his Majeſty *That he would be pleas'd to acquaint him with the Reaſon of his Diſquiet.* To whom he reply'd, *He was miſerable, in not having a Man he could truſt; that his Service was ungratefully deny'd by thoſe, who for what they had receiv'd ought to think themſelves happy when bleſt with an Occaſion of ſerving him.* The Page immediately judg'd the Cauſe to be of a deſperate Nature, ſince any one durſt decline it; and calling a Gentleman to mind who lay in the Ante-Chamber, he nam'd him to the King, aſſuring him *There was nothing ſo dangerous or difficult, which he would not undertake.* His Name was *James Tirrel*, a Man who might have deſerv'd a good Character, had he not been corrupted by diſhoneſt Ambition: He had left no Me-

He contrives the Murder of his two Nephews.

thods

thods untry'd to gain Preferment in Court; but was diſcontented by being held back by *Richard Ratcliffe* and *William Catesby*, who govern'd the King, and fear'd a third Perſon, who if he ſurpaſs'd them in Audacity, might ſurpaſs them in Fortune, and throw them from the Favour they poſſeſs'd. This Page was a Friend of his, and knowing his Diſcontents, thinking to do him a good Office, he propos'd him to King *Richard*; who being then warm with the Imagination, roſe out of his Bed to make Trial of him, awoke him, and acquainted him with what he deſir'd, urging him to a Compliance. This ambitious Man immediately undertook the execrable Deſign; and was next Day diſpatcht with Letters to *Brakenbury*, in which he was commanded to deliver up the Keys of the Tower for one Night to this *Tirrel*, that he might exactly perform his Orders: All which was punctually obey'd by the Conſtable.

James Tirrel employ'd in it,

The two innocent Youths had been more ſtrictly kept after their Uncle had quitted the Title of Protector, and aſſum'd that of King: They were not only debarr'd Viſits, but had their Servants taken from them, and others unknown to them appointed to attend them, rather in the Place of Guardians than Servants. *Edward* the Eldeſt was fully ſenſible he was no longer King, and that his Uncle was crown'd; and when the News was brought to him, he ſhew'd no Regard to the Loſs of his Crown, but with a tender Sigh ſaid, *I wiſh my Uncle would let me enjoy my Life, tho' I loſe all beſides.* After this Time he never put off his Cloaths, or ever went out of his Chamber; but being with his Brother full of melancholy Apprehenſions, he kept his Room 'till the Arrival of this miſerable Night. Of the four that attended him, *Tirrel* choſe *Miles Foreſt*, a Man from his Youth brought up in Blood, to whom he join'd for his Companion *John Dighton*, the Groom of his Stable, a ſtrong Man and fit for his Deſign. He caus'd them to go at Midnight into the Chamber where they ſlept; and there wrapping them up in their Bed-Cloaths, they ſtopp'd their Mouths with the Bolſter and Pillows, and ſo ſtifled them. The Buſineſs was ſoon diſpatch'd; and *Tirrel* immediately bury'd them under a Heap of Stones near the Stairs Bottom: Which being done he took Horſe, and acquainted King *Richard* with what had paſs'd, which ſo pleas'd him, that 'tis ſaid he gave him the Honour of Knighthood. But being inform'd in what obſcure Place the Bodies lay, he gave Command for their better Interment; whereupon a Prieſt belonging to Sir *Robert Brakenbury* removing them, and dying ſhortly after, it could never be known whither they were carry'd. 'Till in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, *Ann.* 1674, ſome Perſons, who were employ'd in Rebuilding ſeveral Offices in the Tower, and to clear the white Tower from all contiguous Edifices, as they dug down the Stairs leading from the King's Lodgings to the Chappel in the ſame Tower, diſcover'd a wooden Cheſt ten Foot in the Ground, in which they found the Bones of two Striplings, and from the Proportion judg'd to have been in their Ages they were concluded to be the Relicks of thoſe Royal Brothers, whereof one was about thirteen and the other eleven Years of Age. The Circumſtances from Story being fully conſider'd, upon good Preſumption that theſe were the Bones of the ſaid Princes, King *Charles* commanded them to be put into a Marble Urn, and depoſited among the Relicks of the Royal Family in *Weſtminſter* Abby.

who cauſes Edward *the Fifth and his Brother to be murder'd in the Tower.*

Sandford.

Their Bones diſcover'd in the Reign of King Charles *the Second.*

Both the Contrivers and Actors in this horrible Villany met with Rewards ſuitable to their Deſerts in no long Time after. King *Richard* himſelf, beſides his laſt Misfortunes, was both outwardly and inwardly tormented with Fears and Agonies; and according to the Relation of ſome moſt intimate with him, he after this execrable Fact enjoy'd not one Hour of Quiet: His Countenance was changed, his Eyes diſtracted and ghaſtly; he wore Coats of Mail underneath his Cloaths, and had almoſt always his Hand upon his Dagger ready to ſtrike, as if others were ſtriking at him. He ſpent whole Nights without Sleep; and if by chance he got a little Reſt, he waken'd with fearful Dreams, which forc'd him to quit his Bed, and ſo walk'd up and down his Room full of prodigious Fears. Sir *James Tirrel* ſuffer'd on Tower-Hill for Treaſon, in the Reign of *Henry*

God's Vengeance upon the Murderers.

Henry the Seventh, having firſt confeſs'd this Murder. The other two, tho' they eſcap'd human Juſtice, yet they were purſu'd by Divine Vengeance: For *Miles Foreſt* dy'd miſerably, having almoſt all his Members rotted and cut off: *Dighton* liv'd in daily Expectation of an ignominious End, and continu'd at *Calais* no leſs diſdain'd and hated, than pointed at by all Men.

King Richard *crown'd a ſecond time at* York.

A. D. 1484. Reg. 1.

II. King *Richard* had now a more unqueſtionable Title to the Crown than ever, but ſtill further to ſecure it, he firſt caus'd himſelf to be crown'd a ſecond Time in the City of *York* with extraordinary Magnificence, and inveſted his Son *Edward* in the Principality of *Wales*. Then, having made many good Ordinances worthy of a better Man, he procur'd a Parliament who declar'd and adjudg'd the Marriage between his Brother and the Lady *Gray* to be unlawful, by reaſon of a prior Contract, and their Children to be illegitimate and uncapable of the Crown. But before theſe Projects were compleated, beſides his continual Anxiety, he ſoon found himſelf diſappointed, firſt by the untimely Death of his Son, and then by the Revolt of his principal Supporter the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Cauſe of this laſt is not fully known; but it is ſuppos'd to ariſe from the Claim *Buckingham* had to the Duke of *Hertford*'s Lands; and he having done ſuch Services to King *Richard*, he concluded that he could deny him nothing. But theſe Lands having fallen from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and being now annexed to the Crown, the King fear'd that if the Duke were poſſeſs'd of them, his Thoughts might ſoon exceed the Condition of a Subject. Inſomuch that when *Buckingham* demanded them, he receiv'd ſuch a threatning and ſcornful Reply, that he could not bear it, but feign'd himſelf ſick that he might not attend at the Coronation; ſo that *Richard* ſent him Word *That if he would not come, he would force him to be brought thither.* At which he appear'd in that magnificent Manner before recited; but with ſuch Diſſatisfaction, that he was not able to behold the Crown upon *Richard*'s Head. However it was, Pride and Diſcontent ſoon widen'd the Breach; and having retir'd himſelf to his Caſtle at *Brecknock* in *Wales*, he there compleated his Reſolutions by the Council and Incouragement of his Priſoner Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*.

The Duke of Buckingham *diſcontented.*

Mors. Buck.

Here Sir *Thomas Moore* gives us the Particulars of a long and ſecret Debate between the Duke and this politick Prelate, which probably he learnt from the Biſhop's own Mouth. In which Conference, the Biſhop, after many Heſitations and Soundings of the Duke's Intentions, freely inveigh'd againſt the numerous Crimes and Enormities of the preſent King *Richard*, and laſtly urg'd the Duke, as being of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to take upon him the Title of King, and aſſume the Crown of *England*, to the Security of the Nation. On the other Side the Duke made a plauſible Apology for all the Aſſiſtances he had given to the preſent Uſurper, declaring that he had once an Intention to aſſume the Crown; but upon Reconſideration, he found the Earl of *Richmond* to be the neareſt Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the propereſt Perſon; who if he marry'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and the neareſt Heir of the Houſe of *York*, he might both deſtroy King *Richard*, and put a full Period to all the Troubles and Calamities of the Nation. This Concluſion was highly pleaſing to the Biſhop of *Ely*, who conſulting with the Duke where firſt to begin, it was reſolv'd immediately to treat with the Counteſs of *Richmond*, it being neceſſary firſt to know from her the Intentions of the Earl her Son, who was then in *Bretaign*. In order to this, the Biſhop offer'd to bring one *Reynold Gray*, a domeſtick Servant to the Counteſs, a wiſe and diſcreet Man, and well verſt in the Negotiation of great Affairs; and accordingly he wrot to him to come to *Brecknock* about a Buſineſs nearly concerning his Miſtreſs. Being arriv'd, the Inſtructions he receiv'd were theſe, 'That conſidering the Kingdom could not be reduc'd to Quiet, but by advan-'cing the Earl of *Richmond* to the Crown, and uniting the two Houſes of *Lan-'caſter* and *York* by Marriage; that the Counteſs of *Richmond* ſhould treat of

His Deſigns againſt King Richard.

Mors.

'that

'that Matter with Queen *Elizabeth*, and having obtain'd her eldeſt Daughter, 'ſhe ſhould ſend into *Bretaign* to her Son; who if he promis'd to marry her 'whenever he was crown'd, they ingag'd by joining the Forces of the Factions 'to make him King. *Bray* being diſpatch'd away with this Embaſſie, the Biſhop likewiſe took Leave of the Duke, who was extreamly unwilling to part with ſuch a wiſe Counſellor. However he reſolv'd to depart; and while the Duke fed him with Hopes, under Pretence of raiſing Men for his Journey, he ſtole away diſguis'd, and getting fortunately to *Ely*, he provided himſelf with Mony, and paſs'd over into *Flanders*, where he became more ſerviceable in this Matter than he could have been in *England*. Yet his Departure prov'd fatal to the Duke, for wanting his Advice, and meeting with unexpected Accidents, it caus'd his final Ruin.

The Duke of Buckingham *and Biſhop of* Ely *mutually engage to advance the Earl of* Richmond.

Ibid. In the mean Time *Bray* acquainted his Lady with the whole Affair, who immediately approv'd of it; but the Queen being ſtill in Sanctuary, the Counteſs thought it not proper to go in Perſon, therefore ſhe ſent her Phyſician *Lewis*, a learned *Welſhman*, who had a ſpecious Pretence of viſiting a Perſon not well in Health. Having gain'd Acceſs, and being well known to her, he handſomly open'd the Cauſe, as a Matter not digeſted and concluded, but as an Opinion of his own, not hard to be effected if ſhe would approve of it. The Queen well underſtood him, and was rightly ſenſible that if the Earl of *Richmond* was marry'd to her eldeſt Daughter, it might naturally produce the greateſt of all human Felicities to her Family; therefore ſhe promis'd if that could be effected, to aſſiſt by any Methods towards the Deſtruction of the Uſurper. The Phyſician having inform'd his Miſtreſs of the Queen's Intentions, ſhe immediately proceeded with all Vigour; and *Bray* ſecretly treated with ſuch as he knew faithful and fit for a Matter of ſuch Importance; while the Queen negotiated with all thoſe who hated King *Richard*, and wiſh'd for nothing more than an Opportunity of ſerving her. Thoſe employ'd for the Counteſs, beſides *Bray* and the Phyſician, were Sir *Giles Aubery*, Sir *John Cheiny*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, *Thomas Ramney*, and *Hugh Conway*. This laſt being ſent by the Counteſs to her Son with a conſiderable Sum of Mony, he took his Way by *Plimouth* through *Cornwall*; while *Thomas Ramney* was ſent through *Kent*, that if one ſhould unfortunately miſcarry, the other might effect the Work; but both were ſo ſucceſsful, that they did not differ many Hours in their Meeting at *Bretaign*. Their Embaſſie to the Earl was, 'That he was ſent for as 'King, nominated by the great Men, and deſir'd by all; That the Marriage 'was agreed by the Queen and the Duke of *Buckingham*; That he ſhould come 'with all Expedition and land in *Wales*, where he ſhould find Friends and Aſ'ſiſtance ſufficient for his Purpoſe. The Earl, form'd by Nature for a Throne, communicated the Affair to the Duke of *Bretaign*, who notwithſtanding King *Richard*'s Threats and Promiſes, had given him his Liberty, and now generouſly conſented to befriend him in this nice Conjuncture. So that confident of good Succeſs, the Earl ſent *Conway* and *Ramney* back to his Mother, with Anſwer *That he accepted of the Invitation, and that as ſoon as he could provide Neceſſaries he would come for* England; *in the mean Time Order might be taken for the Affairs there, that he might find the leſs Impediments at his Arrival.* Upon this Meſſage, his Adherents took Courage, and began their Preparations; they ſent into convenient Places Perſons fit to make them good, and diſpos'd ſeveral Commanders in other Parts, that they might be ready upon all Occaſions. Others privately ſollicited the People to prepare them for an Inſurrection; and the Biſhop of *Ely* wrot from *Flanders* to ſuch as he knew hated King *Richard*, promoting the Buſineſs by the ſole Authority of his Letters.

with the Queen's Concurrence.

Their Adherents.

Their Embaſſie to the Earl.

His Anſwer.

Tho' this Deſign was carry'd on with the utmoſt Caution and Secrecy, yet it could not be long conceal'd from the Jealouſies of the politick King; who placing his Spies in all Parts, betook himſelf to Arms; and ſoon concluding the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the prime Mover, he was of opinion that the main

Richard's *Preparations againſt 'em.*

Proviſions were to be made againſt him. But firſt he reſolv'd to try him with Offers, which if rejected, then to proceed to the ſevereſt Methods: Accordingly he ſent an expreſs Meſſenger to him with Letters full of Courteſie and the greateſt Promiſes; but the larger they were, they became ſo much the more ſuſpicious. He well knew the King's Temper, and that he had proceeded in the ſame manner with all thoſe he deſir'd to abuſe; therefore he deſir'd to be excuſed coming to him, alledging a great Indiſpoſition and Unfitneſs to travel. *Richard* not at all ſatisfy'd, wrot to him in contrary Terms, commanding him to appear immediately before him; to which the Duke, laying aſide all Artifices, gave Anſwer to the Meſſenger, ***That he would not come to One whom he accounted his mortal Enemy.*** Thus without further Diſſimulation they prepar'd for War; and the Rumour of it caus'd the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Son to the Queen-Dowager to quit his Sanctuary, and to go and raiſe Forces in *Yorkſhire*; in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* Sir *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Exeter* did the ſame; and Sir *Richard Guilford*, aſſiſted by many other Gentlemen, began the War in *Kent*. King *Richard* was not taken altogether unprovided; but uſing all Diligence he march'd towards *Salisbury*, while the Duke of *Buckingham* with an Army of *Welſhmen* advanced towards *Gloceſter*, there to paſs the *Severn*, and join with the two *Courtneys* and the reſt of their Adherents; which if effected, the King probably had been ruin'd. But here Providence, that deſign'd to puniſh the Duke for all his Crimes, interpos'd, and ſent ſuch a Deluge of Rain, that the *Severn* was not only impaſſable, but Men, Women and Children were carry'd away in their Beds by the Violence of it, and the Tops of Mountains were cover'd with Waters. This Flood continuing for ten Days, the Duke was forc'd to ſtay, while his Soldiers almoſt drown'd with Rain, famiſh'd for want of Victuals, and having no Pay, took a Reſolution to disband of themſelves; which they did, notwithſtanding all the Authority and Perſuaſions of the Duke to the contrary. Being all diſpers'd, and the Duke abandon'd, he retir'd near *Shrewsbury* to the Houſe of one *Humphry Baniſter*, a Servant of his, who being highly oblig'd to him upon all Accounts, he concluded he might remain in Safety, 'till ſuch Time as he could either gather new Forces, or paſs over into *Bretaign* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

Both Parties take Arms.

The Duke of Buckingham's Men disband.

The Diſbanding of the Duke's Army being publiſh'd abroad, and it not being known whether he was alive or dead, ſuch Fear poſſeſs'd thoſe of *Kent*, *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, that laying down their Arms, they fled ſome into Sanctuaries, and others beyond the Seas, and moſt of the chief of them particularly into *Bretaign*. King *Richard* hearing of the *Welſhmens* Retreat, the Duke's Flight, and the reſt of the Conſpirators Deſign to ſave themſelves, he immediately ſent to all the Ports, and order'd all Paſſengers of any ſort to be ſtopp'd; making Proclamation, That whoever ſhould diſcover or deliver up the Duke of *Buckingham* into his Hands, if he were under the Villenage, he ſhould be enfranchis'd; and if otherwiſe, together with a general Pardon he ſhould have a thouſand Pounds ready Mony given him. Together with this he made ſtrong Preparations at Sea, being aſſur'd by Sir *Thomas Hutton*, who had been Ambaſſador in *Bretaign*, that the Earl of *Richmond* was certainly to be aſſiſted by that Duke both with Men and Mony; he therefore ſent many Ships to the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, with Intention either to fight him, or hinder him from landing on the *Engliſh* Shore. In other Parts he left no Place unguarded, and none were permitted to land or take Shipping without the moſt diligent Search, that ſome News might be had of the Duke of *Buckingham*. *Baniſter*, into whoſe Hands the Duke had truſted his Life, hearing of the Proclamations and promis'd Rewards, out of Fear or Avarice, diſcover'd where he was to the Sheriff of *Shropſhire*; who coming to *Baniſter's* Houſe, found the Duke in the Habit of a Day-Labourer digging in a Garden; in which Apparel he was ſent well guarded to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then reſided. He deny'd not the Conſpiracy, hoping by his free Confeſſion to have gain'd Admittance into the King's

The Duke taken

King's Preſence; ſome think with an Intention to have begg'd for Mercy, others to have kill'd the King with a Dagger which he wore underneath his Cloaths. But ſtern *Richard* not ſuffering him to be brought to him, he was on the firſt Day of *November* beheaded in the Market-Place, without any manner of Proceſs, and after the ſame Manner he had caus'd many others to ſuffer. Here Sir *Thomas Moore* takes notice of the Puniſhments which God ſent upon *Baniſter* and all his Family afterwards; but the Vengeance of Heav'n was more conſpicuous againſt the Duke, who now juſtly fell into the Hands of a Tyrant, whom contrary to all Juſtice he had rais'd into the Throne. The Duke was in his Death accompany'd by ſeveral others, particularly Sir *George Brown*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Saintlieger*, who was the laſt Husband to the Dutcheſs of *Exeter* the King's Siſter.

and beheaded.

Moore. III. During theſe Tranſactions at home, the Earl of *Richmond*, aſſiſted by the Duke of *Bretaign*, had got together five thouſand Men, and forty furniſh'd Ships, in which he embark'd for *England*. But in the next Night he met with a dreadful Storm, which diſpers'd all his Ships, and threw him ſingly upon the Coaſt of *Dorſetſhire* near the Town of *Poole*; where he found the Shore all cover'd with Men to prevent his Landing. Here he caſt Anchor, expecting the Arrival of his other Ships; and then ſent a Boat near the Shore to diſcover whether they were Friends or not. Being come within Hearing, thoſe on the Shore ſaid, *They were ſent to conduct them to the Duke of* Buckingham, *who lay with a great Army not far diſtant, expecting the Landing of the Earl of* Richmond, *who might eaſily ruin King* Richard, *now abandon'd by moſt Men.* But the Earl ſoon diſcover'd this Deceit, and deſparing to meet with the reſt of the Fleet, he put to Sea and landed in *Normandy*, from whence he diſpatch'd a Gentleman to *Charles* the preſent King of *France* to deſire a ſafe Conduct into *Bretaign*; and he commiſerating the Earl's Misfortunes, did not only grant that, but alſo a conſiderable Sum of Mony. Being arriv'd in *Bretaign*, and his Ships return'd, he then learnt the ill Succeſs of his Affairs in *England*, how the Duke of *Buckingham* was executed, and the Queen's Son the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, with the reſt of his Companions, were come into *Bretaign*, which extreamly dejected him; yet he was comforted at the Arrival of his Friends, promiſing himſelf ſome Advantage from their Safeties. Here they again all reſolv'd to proceed in their firſt Deſign, and to make the Earl King, upon Condition he marry'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth. All this was ſworn to in the Cathedral Church of *Rennes*; where likewiſe the Marqueſs with all the reſt did Homage to the Earl, as their actual King. The Earl fail'd not to acquaint the Duke of *Bretaign* with all theſe Proceedings, and the Greatneſs of the Cauſe he undertook; and that he greatly ſtood in need of another Fleet and Supplies of Mony: To all which the Duke generouſly harkned and condeſcended.

The Earl of Richmond's *Fleet diſpers'd at Sea.*

Ibid. In the mean Time the Tyrant *Richard* proceeded with great Severity, and put many ſuſpected Perſons to Death; and being return'd to *London*, he call'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of *Richmond* and thoſe that had fled to him were declar'd Enemies to the Kingdom, and their Eſtates confiſcated. Tho' theſe Confiſcations amounted to large Sums, yet they were inſufficient for his Purpoſes, and did not hinder him from laying inſufferable Taxes upon his Subjects. Fearing to provoke the People too much, he was content to keep the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother only as a Priſoner, while the Lord *Stanley* her Husband paſs'd without any great Suſpicion. But for *William Collingburn*, who had been High Sheriff of *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, he caus'd him to be executed for writing this Rhime, *The Cat, the Rat, and* Lovell *the Dog, do govern* England *under a Hog*; alluding to *Catesby*, *Ratcliff*, and the Lord *Lovell*, who gave the Dog for his Arms, as *Richard* did the Boar for his; being all three prime Favourites. Then to keep himſelf ſecure from foreign Diſturbances,

The Earl and his Adherents declar'd publick Enemies in Parliament.

Truce with Scotland.

Richard ſent Commiſſioners to treat with the King of *Scotland*, with whom he made a Truce for three Years, each of them to keep what they poſſeſs'd, only the Caſtle of *Dunbarre* was to be reſtor'd to the *Scots*. And that he might have a double Tie upon them, he concluded a Marriage between the Duke of *Rothſay* Heir of *Scotland*, and his Neece *Anne* of *Poole*, Daughter to his Siſter *Anne* and *John* Duke of *Suffolk*. All theſe Precautions could not free his diſtracted Mind from thoſe Furies which had brought Hell into his Conſcience; and tho' *Buckingham* and many others were dead and baniſh'd, yet he could have no Peace or Security; his heinous Crimes, the Peoples Hatred, and the Earl of *Richmond* would not ſuffer him to enjoy an Hour's Reſt. He again endeavour'd to get the Earl into his Poſſeſſion, and loaded his Ambaſſadors with large Sums of Mony and other Gifts to preſent to the Duke of *Bretaign*; alſo offering him *Richmondſhire*, all the Earl's Revenues, and all the Eſtates of thoſe that had fled to him. But the Ambaſſadors could not have Acceſs to the Duke, being come when he was under a delirious Fit; whereupon they made their Addreſſes to *Peter Landois*, who had Power to diſpoſe of the Prince and State as he pleas'd. Theſe large Offers had ſuch Effects upon his baſe Mind, that he was ready to comply with them, but not in the manner they were propos'd; for he demanded *Richmondſhire* for himſelf; upon which Meſſengers were ſeveral Times diſpatch'd into *England*, which Delay of Time prov'd the Earl's Security. For theſe Deſigns being diſcover'd in *England*, and to the Biſhop of *Ely* in *Flanders*, that Prelate immediately gave notice to the Earl, adviſing him to fly with all Speed, or he would fall into the Enemy's Hands.

The Earl of Richmond *in great Danger.*

The Earl receiv'd this Advice at *Vennes*, from whence he immediately ſent for a ſafe Conduct from the *French* King, which being obtain'd, he left many *Engliſhmen* behind him, and with only five Followers in a Diſguiſe, fled out of *Bretaign* into *Anjou* ſo fortunately, that one Hour's Delay might have been his Ruin. The Duke of *Bretaign* having recover'd his perfect Senſes, was highly diſpleas'd at the vile Proceedings of *Landois*; and commanded that all the *Engliſh* might have Permiſſion to go to their Maſter, and their Charges honourably born by the Publick. He alſo ſent the Mony he had promis'd to the Earl by *Edward Woodvile* and *Edward Poinings*, two *Engliſh* Gentlemen; for which the Earl to ſhew his Gratitude declar'd, *That he could never be at Reſt, 'till Fortune had afforded him Means in ſome ſort to requite his infinite Obligations to the Duke, by whoſe Favour only he now liv'd.* The King of *France* was then at *Langres*, where the Earl repair'd to him, inform'd him of the Reaſon of his Flight from *Bretaign*, and begg'd his Aſſiſtance in this extraordinary Cauſe; which was not hard to obtain from ſo generous a Prince, againſt one whoſe Name began to be odious in all Nations. King *Charles* promis'd to aſſiſt him, and brought him on his Way to *Montargis*, treating the Lords that attended him with Hoſpitality becoming a King. While thus he was ordering his Affairs, Fortune, the better to incourage him, ſent him a Man forgotten, and in effect thought dead; *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had been impriſon'd in *Hammes* Caſtle by King *Edward* the Fourth not long after the Battel of *Barnet*. This Nobleman had ſo far prevail'd with Sir *James Blunt* Captain of that Caſtle, and Sir *John Forteſcue* Porter of *Calais*, that he did not only obtain his Liberty, but procur'd them to forſake their Commands, and go along with him under the Conduct of the Earl of *Richmond*. But *Blunt* having left his Lady and all his Goods in *Hammes*, he compleatly fortify'd it, and encreas'd his Garriſon, that if it ſhould be beſieg'd, they might defend themſelves 'till Fortune turn'd againſt King *Richard*. King *Charles* being return'd to *Paris*, the Earl's Retinue increas'd; all that were fled from *England*, as well as the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, either as Scholars in the Univerſities, or returning from their Travels, flock'd to him: Among whom was one *Richard Fox* a ſecular Prieſt, a Man of excellent Parts, who was ſhortly after advanc'd to great Places and Dignities.

King

King *Richard* all this Time was not wanting to himſelf; his Thoughts were bent upon his own Preſervation, and the Security of the Crown which he unworthily wore: And tho' he ſaw Heav'n and Earth conſpiring againſt him, yet he thought by his own Subtlety to make his Party good againſt both. But underſtanding the Earl's Flight out of *Bretaign* he ſtood amaz'd, and concluded that his main Remedy was to break the deſign'd Match between the Earl and his Neece *Elizabeth*. But barely to break it was not thought ſufficient; therefore he reſolv'd to break into the Laws of Nature, and marry his own Neece, whom formerly he had declar'd Illegitimate, and Inceſt would ſerve but as a Laurel to crown his other Abominations. His Conſcience was now ſo hardned, that he reſolv'd upon three Things, Deceit, Murder and Inceſt; the former, with Allurements and fair Promiſes was to mollifie the Queen Mother, and to make way for the other two, the Murder of his Wife, and the Marriage with his Neece. To effect all this, he choſe Perſons fit for his Purpoſe, who in the moſt obliging manner made plauſible Excuſes to the Queen Mother for all that was paſt, pretending *That his Majeſty was ſenſibly afflicted for his dear Neeces, that they ſhould make themſelves voluntary Priſoners, and miſtruſt the natural Affection of an Uncle, who like a Father thought of nothing but their Happineſs: That his great Deſire was to treat them according to their Birth, to have them to Court, and to provide them with worthy Husbands; and whenever the Death of his Wife ſhould happen (which muſt neceſſarily be in a ſhort Time, by reaſon of ſome extraordinary Indiſpoſitions) his Reſolution was to make the Princeſs* Elizabeth *his Queen; and would likewiſe prefer the Marqueſs* Dorſet *to the moſt honourable and profitable Places in the Nation, if he would leave the Earl of* Richmond *and return to* England. Theſe and many other Things, being dreſs'd up in all the Advantages of Honour and Profit, the Queen, through an unconſtancy of Reſolution, too often charg'd upon her Sex, at the firſt Onſet began to melt, and at the ſecond to yield to the King's Propoſals; at once forgetting the Murder of her two Sons, the Infamy thrown upon her Husband and ſelf by the preſent Poſſeſſor; and what was moſt material, the Oath that ſhe had given to the Counteſs of *Richmond* concerning the Marriage of her Daughter. Ambition ſo far prevail'd as to make her faulty to her own Honour, the Safety of her Daughters, the Generoſity of her paſt Actions, and her own Conſcience; ſo that nothing was thought equivalent to the Perſuaſions of her mortal Enemy. And thus abus'd, ſhe diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to her Son *Dorſet*, then in *France*, commanding him to leave the Earl and come for *England*; declaring, *That all paſt Injuries were forgotten, and were to be repair'd with Honours and Preferments; and that King* Richard *deſir'd nothing more than to give him full Satisfaction.* And being thus reconcil'd to the King, they all remov'd out of their Sanctuary, and the young Princeſſes were convey'd to Court with extraordinary Solemnity.

Richard's *Proceedings.*

He prevails upon the Queen Dowager.

who quits her Sanctuary.

Richard having obtain'd the firſt of his three Deſigns, proceeded towards the ſecond, which would be imperfect without the third, and the third impoſſible without the ſecond. He could not marry his Neece unleſs his Wife was dead; upon this therefore he wholly bent his Thoughts. He conſider'd that to put her to a violent Death would too much alienate his Peoples Affections, which he ſometimes could and had gain'd by his hypocritical Proceedings. For this he hit upon a Method unknown to common Sinners; That Grief, Melancholy and Fear might jointly produce that Effect with the Appearances of Nature, which neither Sword nor Poiſon could do without Scandal. He forbore her Bed, and refus'd to ſpeak to her, denying her both his Society and his Preſence: He began to bewail his ill Fortune in having a Wife that was now barren; and made known his great Affliction to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, whom he had ſet at Liberty, not doubting but he would declare it to his Wife, and hoping it might work the deſir'd Effect. The Arch-Biſhop, who was a wiſe Man, and well acquainted with the King's Diſpoſition, ſpoke of it to ſome of his intimate Friends,

Friends, judging the unfortunate Lady's Life to be of no long Continuance. Shortly after the King caus'd it to be reported that ſhe was dead, that whenever her Death ſhould happen, it might appear leſs ſurpriſing, and likewiſe caus'd this Rumour to be brought to her own Ears; that every thing might add to her Grief, or at leaſt take off the Horror of the Fact. The Queen, who was of a ſoft and tender Diſpoſition, and not able to ſtand againſt the Power of ſo many Machinations, was extreamly confounded and diſpirited; well knowing that a dreadful Tempeſt muſt needs follow ſuch portentous Thunderings. She ran with great Eagerneſs to him to know wherein ſhe had ſo highly offended him, as that he thought her not only worthy of Hatred, which was apparently ſeen, but of the Puniſhment that was to befal her, the World judging her to be dead already. His Anſwer was pleaſant in Words, but ſevere in Senſe, mingled with Smiles, which gave her more Cauſe of Suſpicion than Comfort. She re-

King Richard's *Queen dies.*

tir'd to her own Lodgings, where a few Days after ſhe departed this Life, uncertain whether out of Grief or Poiſon. And this was the End of a Lady, who out of Ambition and Intereſt marry'd to one who had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's Death.

A. D. 1485. Reg. 2/3.

IV. King *Richard* having obtain'd two of his Deſigns, he began to proceed towards the third, the Marriage of his Neece; but he was ſoon ſo interrupted and almoſt confounded with the Publick Affairs, that he could never bring it to Effect. He found many of the Prime Nobility fled into *France* to the Earl of *Richmond*, and ſaw himſelf ſo nauſeous to the People, that they were ready to vomit him out. He began now alſo to have greater Jealouſies againſt the Lord *Stanley* than any other Nobleman; ſo that when that Lord deſir'd leave to return to his Country Houſe, under Pretence of ſome Domeſtick Affairs, he would not permit him 'till he had left his eldeſt Son *George Stanley* in Court, as an Hoſtage for his Father's Loyalty. Underſtanding of *Blunt*'s Revolt, and the Earl of *Oxford*'s Eſcape from *Hammes* Caſtle, he order'd the Garriſon of *Calais* to beſiege and reduce that Place; which was done with a Succeſs greater than was expected. This inconſiderable Advantage, and ſome falſe Repreſentations of the Weakneſs of the Earl of *Richmond*, and the Backwardneſs of the *French* King to aſſiſt him, prov'd a vaſt Diſadvantage to King *Richard*, who being both puff'd up and deluded, recall'd his Ships and diſbanded his Army; judging that the Nobility inhabiting the Maritime Parts, eſpecially thoſe of *Wales*, were ſufficient to oppoſe any Deſcent his Enemy could make. *Mora. &c.*

The Earl of *Richmond* had really met with ſome Delays and Impediments in the Court of *France*, that caus'd the Marqueſs *Dorſet* ſecretly to fly from him; which might have been of great Damage to him, had he not been happily ſtopt in his Journey. Theſe Things made the Earl more diligent; and finding that Delays might be the Loſs or Ruin of his Friends, he judg'd it neceſſary to attempt that with a Few which he could not with Many. He borrow'd Mony of the King and many others, leaving the Marqueſs *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier* as Hoſtages; and having gather'd ſome Men, he repair'd to *Roan*, there waiting for the Ships from *Harfleur* that were to tranſport his Forces. Here he was inform'd of the Death of King *Richard*'s Queen, and of his Reſolution to marry his Neece, who by her Mother was promis'd to him. This extreamly diſcourag'd him and his Followers; who after a new Conſultation judg'd it a raſh Reſolution to undertake ſo dangerous an Enterprize with a Handful of Men; therefore they reſolv'd not to ſtir 'till they had receiv'd new Advices from *England*, and could gain over Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Gentleman of great Family and Power in *Wales*. But the Earl about the ſame Time receiving an Account that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Captain *Savage*, two Men of great Note in *Wales*, would declare for him, and that *Reynold Bray* had large Sums in Poſſeſſion to pay the Soldiers; he at length took Shipping on the fifteenth Day *Ibid.*

of

of *Auguſt*, with a few Veſſels, and two thouſand Soldiers. After ſeven Days he landed at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*; from whence paſſing on to *Dale*, he march'd to *Weſt-Hereford*, where he was receiv'd with all Satisfaction by the Inhabitants. Here he was diſcourag'd with the falſe News that *Thomas* and *Savage* had declar'd for King *Richard*, and ſoon after as much incourag'd by *Arnold Butler*, that the Inhabitants of *Pembrokeſhire* had join'd with his Uncle *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, their natural Lord; which caus'd him to march on to *Cardigan*, his Camp encreaſing every Hour. Here he heard News that Sir *Walter Herbert* was at *Caermarthen* with a Deſign to oppoſe him; but he ſoon underſtood by his Scouts that there was no Enemy to be ſeen; the Country being open and free for his March. This Satisfaction was augmented by the coming in of *Richard Griffith* and *John Morgan*, with a good Body of Men. Yet the Earl ſeeing himſelf reduc'd to the Neceſſity of meeting with Victory or Ruin, and that without further Aſſiſtance he could not ſubſiſt long, he wrote to his Mother, and the Lord *Stanley* with others, *That being by their Advice arriv'd in* England, *it was their Aſſiſtance that muſt ſupport him; for having but few Men, one Defeat would be his Ruin: That Temporizing would now be fatal; and if Diſſimulation was once advantagious, it would be now pernicious, and diſcourage all his real Friends.* This Diſpatch being ſent away by a faithful Servant, he took his March towards *Shrewsbury*, and met with *Rice ap Thomas*, who with a conſiderable Number of *Welſhmen* ſwore Fealty to him, the Earl having promis'd to make him Preſident of *Wales*, as ſoon as he ſhould be King. At *Shrewsbury* he receiv'd an Anſwer from his Mother and others, according to his Deſire. From thence he paſs'd on to *Newport*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with two thouſand Men came to meet him; as likewiſe did Sir *William Stanley* at *Stafford*, where he made ſome Stay to refreſh his People. After this he came to *Litchfield*, and was receiv'd by the Inhabitants as their lawful Prince. The Lord *Stanley* had been there two Days before with his Soldiers, and was remov'd from thence to make Way for the Earl, that he might not be ſeen in his Company; being extreamly cautious by reaſon of his Son's being an Hoſtage with King *Richard*, and ſo hourly in Danger of his Life.

The Earl lands in Wales.

His Progreſs.

King *Richard*, being now at *Nottingham*, heard of the Earl's Arrival; but with ſuch a Relation of his inconſiderable Forces, that he had no Regard to him. But afterwards well conſidering the Conſequences, he began to change his Mind, and his Affairs appear'd to be in a Condition not to be truſted to other Mens Directions, by reaſon of the general Hatred of the Nation. Therefore making a Scrutiny of ſuch as were moſt intereſted in the Preſervation of his Perſon and Dignity, he choſe *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Surry*, giving them Commiſſion to gather together what Friends and Forces they could; and he gave order to *Brakenbury* the Lieutenant of the Tower to do the ſame, and bring as Companions Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*; not that he expected any Service from them, but to prevent their Conſpiring againſt him. All theſe Precautions did not ſatisfie him, when he underſtood the Earl had paſs'd the *Severn*: He then began to miſtruſt his Affairs, and to complain of thoſe who had promis'd to defend that Paſſage; and now he found that his Buſineſs was not to be truſted to any third Party, and growing jealous of all Men, he went in Perſon at the Head of his Army to give his Enemy Battel, executing himſelf the Duty of a Serjeant-Major. He came by Night to *Leiceſter* upon a white Steed, ſurrounded by Guards and a great Number of Foot, with a wild Countenance, anſwerable to the Speeches he utter'd againſt ſuch as had abandon'd him, and diſown'd him for their King. The Earl hearing of his Approach, encamp'd near *Tamworth*, where he was met by Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, who fearing King *Richard*, had privately ſlipp'd from *Brakenbury*'s Forces. From other Parts divers Men of Quality repair'd to him, who probably would have

King Richard *at the Head of his Army.*

have been his Enemies, had not their Hatred to King *Richard* mov'd them to join with him: Only the Lord *Stanley* durſt not appear openly for him, by reaſon of his Son's being in *Richard*'s Poſſeſſion. Both Sides were equally inclinable to fight, being mov'd by ſeveral Fears; *Richard* of being abandon'd, and the Earl of wanting Mony and other Neceſſaries. But *Richard*'s Condition was apparently the worſe of the two, for Perſons daily deſerted from him; ſo that ſeeking out a fit Place for Battel, he encamp'd himſelf near a Village call'd *Boſworth*, not far from *Leiceſter*, where having refreſh'd his Men, he prepar'd to fight. Here we are told that the Night preceding the Battel, he in his Sleep had certain ſtrange and dreadful Apparitions that he believ'd to be Devils, which tormenting him, broke his Reſt, and left him in ſuch a Conſternation, that all that ſaw him were amaz'd.

The fatal Day being come which was to decide the Fortunes of a Kingdom, *Richard* drew out his Troops in ſuch a manner as might make the greateſt Appearance; committing the Van to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and commanding the ſecond Line himſelf, where were the choiceſt and beſt armed Men, being guarded on the Flanks by Horſe, and on the Front by Archers. But notwithſtanding all this Show his Numbers were but ſmall in reſpect of the Cauſe and Conſequence, yet ſtill much greater than the Earl had on the other Side. The Lord *Stanley* ſtood at a Diſtance almoſt between the two Armies with three thouſand Soldiers, affording Hopes and Fears to both Parties: For being deſir'd by the Earl that he would come and take care of the Ordering and Commanding his Men, his Anſwer was, ***That he might do that Office himſelf, he would come as he ſaw it convenient;*** and to *Richard*, who ſwore that if he did not come to him he would cut off his Son's Head before Dinner, he anſwer'd, ***Let him uſe his Pleaſure, for I have more Sons than he.*** This Ambiguity prov'd his Son's Security; for *Richard* having commanded he ſhould be beheaded, he ſuſpended the Order, not ſo much out of Pity as Fear that *Stanley*'s Cloud which threaten'd a Tempeſt ſhould diſcharge all its Fury upon him when he moſt needed his Aſſiſtance. The Earl of *Richmond*, taking Courage from his Father-in-Law's Anſwer, drew up his Men, placing the Archers in the Front under the Conduct of the Earl of *Oxford*; he gave Sir *Gilbert Talbot* charge over the Right Wing, Sir *John Savage* commanded the Left, and he kept for himſelf and his Uncle the Earl of *Pembroke* a conſiderable Proportion of Horſe and a few Foot, as a Reſerve, with Intention to join with the Troops as Occaſion ſhould require, All his Forces exceeded not five thouſand Men, and when join'd with the Lord *Stanley*, they ſcarcely amounted to half the Number that King *Richard* had.

The thirteenth and laſt Battel, at Boſworth.

Both Armies being drawn up, King *Richard* on one Side, and the Earl on the other, made long Speeches to their Soldiers, which Sir *Thomas Moore* has recited at large. At the joining together of the two Armies, their ſeveral Inclinations were ſoon diſcern'd; thoſe of the King's Side fought faintly, and others withdrew themſelves out of the Camp. The King had commanded thoſe in whom he moſt confided, to take care that all might be carry'd on without Diſorder, and that they would advertiſe him of any Danger that ſhould appear: Theſe ſeeing that ſome were negligent, and others retiring, advis'd him to ſave himſelf, concluding he was betray'd. But the Divine Juſtice would not ſuffer him to harken to ſuch Advice, not even when the Victory appear'd evidently on his Adverſaries Side; for a fleet Horſe being preſented to him to further his Eſcape, he declar'd ***That Day ſhould either determine the War or his Life.*** Underſtanding ſoon after that the Earl was not far from him, guarded but with a few Men, he ſpurr'd on towards him, and knowing him by ſome Marks, he ran furiouſly at him with his Lance. The Earl was not diſpleas'd at the Encounter, judging it the true Way to decide their Conteſt; but he could not meet him directly, being hinder'd by ſome of his own Men. *Richard* being diſappointed, puſh'd againſt the great Standard, and ſlew Sir *William Brandon* the Standard-

Standard-Bearer; then advancing forwards, Sir *John Cheney* endeavouring to meet him, *Richard* bore him to the Ground, tho' he was a Man of great Strength and Valour. The Earl with his Sword in Hand ſtopp'd his Fury, at the very Inſtant when the Lord *Stanley* inveſting the King's Squadrons afforded Occaſion for as many to run away as thought fit. *Richard* perceiving this, left the Earl, and thruſt himſelf into the thickeſt of the Battel, either to reunite his Men, or to meet Death the ſooner, which laſt ſoon happen'd to him; for fighting valiantly, he fell with the Sword in his Hand all over cover'd with Blood: So that he is ſaid to have gain'd more Honour in theſe two Hours by his Death, than he had done all the Time of his Life. This happen'd on the twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, in the Prime of his Years, after a deteſtable Reign of two Years, two Months, and four Days. His Body was carry'd to *Leiceſter* after a moſt ignominious Manner, like a ſlain Deer laid croſs a Horſe's Back, his Head and Arms hanging on one Side, his Legs on the other, ſcorn'd and ſtark naked, and beſmear'd with Blood, Dirt and Mire; and having lain two Days in this Manner, on the bare Earth, it was bury'd without any Solemnity or Funeral Rites. *King* Richard *ſlain.*

In this Battel were ſlain not much above a thouſand Men, among whom was the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Ferrers*. Sir *William Catesby*, who had betray'd the Lord *Haſtings*, was with ſome others beheaded at *Leiceſter* according to his Deſerts. This was the thirteenth and laſt Battel fought in the Civil Wars between the Houſe of *Lancaſter* and *York*, which had broken out about thirty Years before, fill'd the Nation with Blood and Deſolation, and taken away the Lives of near a hundred thouſand Men, and eighty Princes of the Blood, as *Comines* aſſures us. This prov'd the Ruin and Extirpation of the Males of both Families, and ſoon after put an End to the very Name of *Plantagenet*, which had continu'd near three hundred and fifty Years in Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *England*. As to the Houſe of *York* in particular, which in Strictneſs had the neareſt Right to the Crown, it was founded and rais'd upon ſuch Violations of the Laws of God and Man, that it could not laſt above twenty four Years; tho' it was ſupported by all the Powers of Human Strength and Policy. *Richard* may truly be ſaid to have deſcended from an unfortunate Houſe: The Earl of *Cambridge* his Grand-father was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York* his Father ſlain before *Sandal*; of his three Brothers the Earl of *Rutland* was ſlain in cold Blood, the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of Malmeſey, and his two Nephews ſtrangled in their Beds: So that we can meet with no Tragedy, true or fabulous, where we find ſo many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family. *Richard* himſelf, whoſe Character we need not give, was reſerv'd for the laſt Stroke of the Divine Vengeance: Yet in theſe Proceedings of Providence we find that God, who is the Rewarder of Good in thouſands, is the Puniſher of Evil even in the third and fourth Generations, when ſome of the more immediate Actors eſcape in this World. It has been obſerv'd That in *Richard* the Second he puniſh'd the Death of *Edward* the Second; in *Henry* the Sixth and his Son, the Death of *Richard* the Second; in *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother, the Death of *Henry* the Sixth and his Son; and in *Richard* the Third the Death of *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother: And yet he was pleas'd to ſuffer thoſe to die in Peace which were the real Authors. *Edward* the Third, whoſe Mother's Crime gives ſome Aſperſion of Parricide; *Henry* the Fourth, who murther'd *Richard* the Second; and *Edward* the Fourth, who murther'd *Henry* the Sixth, remain'd all unpuniſh'd. But to *Richard* the Third, whoſe Crimes were beyond Example, he deny'd Life, and perhaps Repentance, his Inhumanity neither deſerving Succeſſor nor Pardon.

The End of the Second Book.

History of England.

BOOK III.

The Union of the two Families, or two Roſes, *and the Royal Houſe of* TUDOR, *to the Conjunction of the two Kingdoms under King* James *the Firſt.*

Containing the Space of about 117 Years.

CHAP. I.

From the Death of Richard *the Third, and the Beginning of the Reign of Henry the Seventh, to the Death of* Edward *the Sixth.*

Containing the Space of about 68 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Seventh.*

Containing 23 Years, and 8 Months.

I. UPON the Death of King *Richard* the Third, at the Battel of *Boſworth*, *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, now about thirty Years of Age, both valiant and politick in all his Actions, directly enter'd upon the Crown of *England*; which he obtain'd more by Seiſure or Donation, than by any legal Inheritance. For having offer'd up his Thankſgivings for his Victory, granted the Spoils of the Field to his Soldiers, and honour'd many of them with Knighthood, they with great Acclamations cry'd

A. D. 1485. Reg. 1.

Henry *Earl of* Richmond *enters upon the Throne.*

out *King* Henry, *King* Henry! upon whoſe Forwardneſs the Lord *Stanley* took King *Richard*'s Crown, and ſet it upon the Earl's Head, by that Ceremony confirming the Election of the People; from which Time commenc'd the Reign of the new King with full Succeſs. But becauſe ſo great a Revolution happen'd in the Kingdom, as to transfer the Crown from one Family to another, it will be very proper to take notice of the Geneology of this King, with his politick Claims and Pretenſions.

His Pedigree. His Father *Edmund* of *Hadham* Earl of *Richmond*, was Son to *Owen Tudor* and Queen *Catharine*, Widow to King *Henry* the Fifth, whoſe Houſes had no Affinity nor Relation to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or to the Crown of *England*. So that his Claims by Deſcent muſt proceed all from his Mother, the Lady *Margaret*, only Daughter to the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, and Grand-Child to *John* of *Gaunt*, Father to King *Henry* the Fourth; which Lady pretended that in Caſe the then preſent Succeſſion ſhould fail, ſhe and her Son were to ſucceed, as rightly deſcended from the ſaid *John*, the Father of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, as well as *Lancaſter*. But upon a ſtrict Examination, it might eaſily be diſcover'd, that beſides the Deficiencies in the Houſe of *Lancaſter* it ſelf, the Houſe of *Somerſet* was deſtinct, and without thoſe Pretenſions the other had, as it thus appears. *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* had three Wives, *Blanche*, *Conſtance* and *Catharine*, the laſt of whom was Mother to the Houſe of *Somerſet*; and the due Claims of his Children he had by them were not the ſame, in reſpect of the ſeveral Dowries, and different Qualities of the three Mothers. *Blanche* brought with her the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; *Conſtance*, the Pretences to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; and *Catharine*, nothing at all being but a meer waiting Woman to the above nam'd *Blanche*: So that if *Henry* the Fourth, and his Siſters born of *Blanche*, could not pretend to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in prejudice to the Children of *Conſtance*; nor thoſe Children to the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, in prejudice to *Henry* the Fourth and his Siſters; much leſs could the Children of *Catharine* have any Pretence at all, in prejudice to the Children by the two former Wives. And they were excludable with the greater Juſtice, becauſe they were really Baſtards, and with this aggravating Circumſtance, on the Father's Side born in Adultery: And tho' after the Death of *Conſtance*, the Duke marry'd *Chatharine*, and had her Children made legitimate by Parliament; yet they not being of the whole Blood, the Houſe of *Somerſet* had nothing to do with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in what pertain'd to the Inheritance of the Crown. So that when *Henry* the Fourth was eſtabliſh'd in the Throne by Authority of Parliament, and by the ſame Authority his Sons and their Deſcendants declar'd his lawful Succeſſors; no Mention was then made of his half Brothers, in caſe his Succeſſion ſhould fail, or ſuch as ſhould deſcend from them. So that ſtrictly ſpeaking, King *Henry* the Seventh had no rightful Pretenſions to the Crown of *England*, not ſo much as the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had; but being Head of that Party, and endow'd with many excellent Qualifications, his great Succeſs was owing to the Wickedneſs of King *Richard*, and his Promiſe to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the neareſt Heir to the Kingdom. The Troubles that afterwards afflicted him, aroſe from hence; for he always ſhew'd himſelf but lukewarm in his Affections towards his Wife, being an irreconcileable Enemy to her Family; inſomuch that having gain'd the Victory and deſtroy'd his Oppoſer, he poſitively reſolv'd not to be King but by his own Title and Intereſt: He therefore deferr'd his Marriage and her Coronation, 'till ſuch Time as being crown'd himſelf, and eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, he had only accepted of the Title of *Lancaſter*, as the firſt and chiefeſt Fundamental; and of the other two, thoſe of Conqueſt and Marriage, but as Accidental, and as Supporters. All which was the leſs blameable, becauſe it did not proceed ſo much from any Hatred to the Houſe of *York*, as from the Love he bore to himſelf, and from a cautious Foreſight: For a Report being rais'd that the young Duke of *York* had eſcap'd from his

his deſign'd Murderers, his Claim by his Wife would have forbid him, if her Brother had been alive, who could not have been excluded but by the litigious Title of *Lancaſter*. And if this News were falſe, there ſtill remain'd other Scruples: As ſuppoſing ſhe ſhould die without Children, the bare Title of Marriage would not ſecure the Crown to him, which was to fall upon her Siſters; and if ſhe ſhould die with Children, the Crown would devolve upon them, to the Excluſion of himſelf. But if ſtill his Children and a Parliament ſhould be content to continue him in his Government, he knew there was a great Difference between reigning by Virtue of Birth and Law, by which he was oblig'd to no Man, and reigning by the Conſent of others, by which he was oblig'd to every Man. Then to make uſe of the Title of Conqueſt, was both odious and dangerous, which might alienate even thoſe that ſided with him. And tho' the Title of *Lancaſter* had been condemn'd in Parliament, and he himſelf arriv'd at the Crown not by the real Virtue of that, but that by marrying with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, all Diſputes between the two Houſes might be ended; yet mov'd by the foreſaid Conſiderations, and not valuing probable Inconveniencies, he declar'd himſelf King by Virtue of his own Birth, without naming the Princeſs *Elizabeth* in any Degree: Being willing to run the greateſt Hazard, rather than be King by the Courteſie of his Wife, while ſhe ſhould live; by the Good-will of his Children, if ſhe ſhould firſt die; or by the Permiſſion of a Parliament, if he ſhould have no Iſſue by her.

Polydor. Holling. Bacon.

With theſe nice Precautions this politick Prince began his Reign upon the twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*: And underſtanding that the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick* and Son to the Duke of *Clarence* were in *Sheriff-Hutton* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, there kept by King *Richard*'s Command; he order'd that the Princeſs ſhould be brought up to *London* to the Queen her Mother, whether ſhe was attended by ſeveral Lords and Ladies. But for the Earl of *Warwick*, he gave order that the Keeper of the Caſtle ſhould deliver him into the Cuſtody of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, to be by him brought Priſoner to the Tower of *London*; for tho' he was not fifteen Years of Age, yet he was a Perſon not thought fit to enjoy his Liberty in ſuch uncertain and litigious Times. The new King march'd from *Leiceſter* towards *London*, without any Oſtentation of Victory or Conqueſt: His Journey was peaceful; all Military Inſolencies were forbidden, and forborn: He paſs'd on more like an old than a new Soveraign, being receiv'd in all Places with the higheſt Acclamations of Joy. His taking up the Olive Branch, and laying aſide the Laurel, did highly incourage the People, who now promiſs'd themſelves that Quiet, which ſince *Henry* the Fourth's Time had only been enjoy'd by Intervals; being ſubject to ſo many Mutations, that the very Expectation and Apprehenſion of the enſuing Evils was as an intermitting Fever for the Space of fourſcore and ſix Years. In the like manner he made his Entrance into *London*: For tho' he was met by the Mayor, Magiſtrates and Citizens, and himſelf attended with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, yet diſpenſing with the Pomp uſually obſerv'd at the firſt Entrance of Kings into that City, he came in a cloſe Chariot; that it might not be imagin'd, that having recover'd his Country by the Favour of Arms, and gain'd his Crown by the Death of a King, he had any Deſign to triumph over the People. His Entry was upon *Saturday*, the Day of his Victory; which Day he always ſolemniz'd, as ever being the happieſt Day of the Week to him: He alighted out of his Chariot at St. *Paul*'s Church; where he caus'd *Te Deum* to be ſung, and the Colours taken from the Enemy to be hung up. He pretended to no other Trophies; nor did he own this as the Effects of his own Valour, or from Fortune, but as from God, the only Fortune to which Sacrifice ought to be made. He made all Preparations for his Coronation; and becauſe it was ſaid he had given his Promiſe to marry the Lady *Anne*, Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Bretaign*, which was by many believ'd to be true, he in an Aſſembly of the Chief Lords of

King Henry *impriſons the Earl of* Warwick.

He enters London.

of the Kingdom, call'd for that purpoſe, ratify'd his Promiſe to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; by which he put a Stop to the Whiſpers and Jealouſies of many. Yet ſtill he referr'd the Conſummation, without regard to Obloquy, 'till being crown'd, and in Poſſeſſion of all by his own Title, he might avoid being call'd King in the Right of his Wife.

Not long after his Arrival at *London*, towards the End of *September*, both the City and the Kingdom was afflicted with a Diſeaſe hitherto unknown, call'd the *Sweating Sickneſs*; which was prodigious in its Nature, both as to the ſwiftneſs of its Courſe, and the mortal Effects it produc'd. But it laſted not much above a Month; ſo that it was no Hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the laſt of *October*; nor to the holding of the Parliament, which begun ſeven Days after. In Order to the former, the King made his Entrance into the Tower on *Simon* and *Jude*'s Eeve, and on the Feaſt Day made twelve Knights Bannerets. After which *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, the King's Uncle, was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, the King's Father-in-law, Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*. Holling. Baco.

He is crown'd King. Two Days after he was crown'd in the Abby Church of *Weſtminſter* by Cardinal *Bourchier*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the accuſtom'd Solemnities; and joyful Acclamations both of the Nobility and People. Upon the ſame Day, as if the Crown upon his Head had infus'd Jealouſies into his Thoughts, for the Security of his Perſon he inſtituted a Guard of fifty Archers under a Captain to attend him, by the Name of *Yeomen of the Guard*. This being a new Thing in *England*, where the Kings were uſually guarded by the Laws and their Subjects Affections, to remove all cauſe of Suſpicions; he declar'd the Inſtitution to be perpetual; and that ſince the Kings of all other Nations had their Guards, Decency if not Neceſſity made the ſame requiſite here in *England*.

He inſtitutes a Guard.

Seven Days after a Parliament met, in which he annul'd all the Decrees for the Confiſcations of the Lives and Eſtates of ſuch as took part with him, and made the like Decree againſt the Principal of the other Side; and to remove all Jealouſies from the reſt, he granted out a general Pardon, which freed ſuch from Fear who had real Cauſe to be afraid. For having condemn'd thoſe whom he deſign'd not to pardon, it was a certain Sign he would pardon the reſt; ſo that quitting their Sanctuaries and Places of Retreat, they ſwore Fealty to him, and did their Homage anſwearable to the Tenure of the Declaration, and re-enter'd into their Poſſeſſions. Afterwards as concerning his Title, which was the cheifeſt Concernment, he govern'd himſelf by ſuch peculiar Caution and Management, that without ſo much as naming the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, he caus'd the Act that was made to contain a double Senſe: That the Inheritance of the Crown ſhould remain in him and his Children lawfully to be begotten, not declaring whether it was his by Nature, or by Conqueſt; he knowing that whatſoever Interpretation was made of it would turn to his Advantage. He avoided to preſcribe any Succeſſion in caſe he and thoſe that ſhould lawfully deſcend from him, ſhould fail, becauſe it ſhould not be thought to be alone purpoſely to exclude the Houſe of *York*; he therefore left the Deciſion of that to the Laws. He procur'd this Statute to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull, with particular Mention, by way of Recital, of his other Titles, both of Deſcent and Conqueſt. He in the ſame Parliament conferr'd new Honours upon ſeveral: He created Monſieur *de Chaudos*, a Gentleman of *Bretaign*, Earl of *Bath*; Sir *Giles Dawbeny* was made Lord *Dawbeny*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brooke*. He reſtor'd *Edward Stafford*, Eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to his Blood, Dignity and Eſtate, and tho' his Confiſcation was great, yet his Father having been the firſt Promoter of his Riſe with his own Ruin, he reſtor'd all to his Son; which won him the Reputation of being generous and grateful. And tho' Kings ſeldom call'd Parliaments without deſiring ſome Aids, and cloſing ſome Acts of Grace, he would not make any ſuch Demand at this Time, as not having any Grace to confer pro-

Bacon. &c.

A general Pardon granted.

The Crown ſettled by Parliament.

per

per to the Seaſon. For tho' the general Pardon was an Act of Grace, yet he would not pretend it to be ſuch, but rather a Correſpondency to the Satisfaction they had given him, in receiving him to be King by his own Title: Beſides, not having War with any at this Time, and having many Confiſcations fallen to him, he was willing to ſpare his Subjects Purſes.

Ibid. The Parliament being diſſolv'd, he did not forget that he had left the Marqueſs *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier* as Pledges in *France* for thoſe Sums he borrow'd to pay the Force he brought into *England*. Being deſirous therefore upon this Occaſion to try the Inclinations of the Citizens, he commanded the Lord Treaſurer to require from the Lord Mayor of *London* that the City might lend him ſix thouſand Marks; and after ſeveral Conſultations, the Matter was decided by a Loan of two thouſand Pounds Sterling; which tho' it came ſhort of the Sum deſir'd, he receiv'd with Courteſie, and ſupply'd the Remainder out of his own Coffers, that the Hoſtages might be wholly at Liberty. He forgot not the Service done to him by *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exeter*, for which he made them both of his Privy-Council, and gave to *Morton* the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which fell vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Bourchier*: He made *Fox* Lord Privy-Seal, promoting him through ſeveral Biſhopricks to that of *Wincheſter*, the richeſt of all the reſt. And now having no Impediment to hinder the Performance of his Promiſe, upon the eighteenth Day of *January* the long expected and deſir'd Marriage, between him and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was ſolemniz'd: Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonſtrations of the Peoples over-flowing Joy, than the Day of his Entry or Coronation; which was rather noted than approv'd of by the King. For during the eighteen Years the Lady *Elizabeth* liv'd, he ſhew'd himſelf no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' ſhe had all the Advantages of Beauty, Goodneſs and Fruitfulneſs. His Averſion towards the Houſe of *York* was too predominant in him, inſomuch that it found place, not only in his Wars and Councils, but alſo in his Chamber and Bed.

The King's Marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth.

Holling. Bacon. Speed. **II.** All Things having ſucceeded thus happily, King *Henry* reaſonably imagin'd that now he ſhould meet with no more Oppoſitions: He was King by his own Title, in his own Right; he had marry'd the Heir to the Crown; and by his general Pardon and Reſtitution of Goods, he had reconcil'd ſuch as were his profeſs'd Enemies. Yet after all, the Northern People, ſtill bearing a Love to the Houſe of *York*, and to the late King *Richard*, he thought it proper for himſelf to go into thoſe Parts; hoping by his Preſence to cure their infatuated Imaginations. He kept his *Eaſter* at the City of *Lincoln*; where ſhortly after he underſtood that the Lord *Lovel*, and the two Brothers, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford* had forſaken Sanctuary, but it was unknown to what Place they was retir'd: But arriving at *York*, he there underſtood that the Lord *Lovel* was not far from thence with a conſiderable Force; and that the *Staffords* having rais'd Men in *Worceſterſhire*, were marching towards *York* to attack him. This ſecond Information, tho' it did a little diſcompoſe him, yet he took it only for the Remainders of King *Richard*'s expiring Party at *Boſworth*: But he was more at a loſs to find that he was amongſt a People that did not affect him, that join'd with the Houſe of *York*, and upon whom he could not ſafely rely. Amidſt theſe Difficulties, he muſter'd out of his Followers, Tenants and Dependants in whom he might confide, three thouſand fighting Men; which being ill arm'd, but well aſſur'd, were deliver'd to the Duke of *Bedford*; giving him for his Van-Guard a general Pardon, which like Cannon Shot was to ruin the Enemy at a Diſtance. This prov'd effectual: For the Duke coming in Sight of the Lord *Lovel*, and the Heralds having publiſh'd the Pardon, he was ſo confounded, that fearing both to be abandon'd, and to be deliver'd up Priſoner, he fled the ſame Night towards *Lancaſter*, and from thence to *Flan-*

A. D. 1486. Reg. 1/2.

A Diſturbance in the North.

ders

ders to the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*; while the reſt laying down their
It is quell'd Arms yielded themſelves to the Duke. Upon which thoſe who had join'd with the *Staffords*, having loſt their chief Hopes, deſpers'd themſelves into ſeveral Places; and the two Brothers got into the Sanctuary at *Colnham* near *Abington*, where they found not the Safety they imagin'd; for the Privilege of the Place not extending to the Security of Traitors, they were taken from thence, and the eldeſt executed, the younger finding Mercy. This Rebellion quieted, the Northern People ſettled, and the King return'd to *London*, in *September* fol-
Prince Arthur *born.* lowing, the Queen was deliver'd of her firſt Son, whom the King nam'd *Arthur*, in Honour of the *Britiſh* Race from whom he was deſcended, and according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the *Britains*; in whoſe Acts, beſides what is fabulous, there is Truth ſufficient to render him famous. This to the moſt fortunate King was a new Happineſs, to the Queen a great Matter of Joy, to the Church a Soveraign Delight, to the Court an exceeding Pleaſure, and in Sum to the whole Kingdom an incredible Satisfaction.

Notwithſtanding all this, ſhortly after there follow'd a ſtrange Accident of *Holling. Bacon, &c.* State, of which the Relations that remain to us are ſo naked, that they leave it ſcarce credible, not ſo much for the Nature of it, but for the Manner and Circumſtances of it, eſpecially in the Beginning. There liv'd in *Oxford* a Subtle aſpiring Prieſt nam'd *Richard Simon*, of mean Birth and tolerable Education; who ventur'd to undertake what a far greater Man durſt not have attempted.
The firſt Impoſtor ſet up Lambert Symnel. This Man took upon him to educate a young Lad, nam'd *Lambert Symnel*; who, tho' only the Son of a *Baker*, had ſo ſweet and ingenious a Countenance, as he might readily be thought one of the higheſt Quality. The preſaging Aſpect of this Youth firſt gave *Simon* an Occaſion to take Advantage of two Rumours then ſpread abroad by the Enemies of King *Henry*: The one, that the Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, was ſtill alive; the other, that King *Henry* was reſolv'd ſecretly to put the young Earl of *Warwick* to Death, who was Priſoner in the Tower. The firſt was divulg'd to raiſe and nouriſh the Hopes of the Male-contents; the ſecond to blow up Hatred againſt the King, as if equally cruel with his Predeceſſor, he was ready to treat the Earl of *Warwick* as *Richard* had treated his Nephews. Upon theſe Reports, *Simon* firſt deſign'd to make *Lambert* perſonate the Duke of *York*; but ſoon changing his Opinion, he judg'd it more advantagious to have him perſonate the Priſoner the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that if his Endeavours ſhould ſucceed, and *Lambert* gain the Crown, he himſelf ſhould be rewarded with the chief Miter of *England*, and with the Government of King and Kingdom. Nor did he fear to meet with any fatal Obſtacles; ſince the Love to the Houſe of *York*, ſtill remaining in the Hearts of moſt Men, had occaſion'd a great Diſſatisfaction that the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who had now born the King a Son, ſhould yet want the Ceremony of a Coronation. Reſolving upon the Affair, he proceeded to give proper Inſtructions to *Lambert*, in whom he met with an Aptneſs anſwerable to his Deſigns: But conſidering afterwards that his Pupil was to repreſent a Perſon not known to many, and unknown to himſelf, he judg'd it impracticable without the Aſſiſtance of ſome converſant in the Court, who might be inform'd by thoſe that had ſerv'd the Earl, of his particular Converſation, and of all things that had befallen him ſince King *Edward*'s
The Queen Dowager favours him. Death. None being fitter for ſuch an Office than the Queen Dowager, ſhe was conceiv'd to be the main Inſtructer; as having too great a Cauſe of Reſentment againſt King *Henry*, for ſo cooly treating her Daughter either as a Wife or a Queen. Not that ſhe was willing to make *Lambert* King, but to uſe him as an Inſtrument to depoſe her Son-in-law, and to ſubſtitue the Infant Prince *Arthur* in his Place; and if that fail'd, *Warwick* or *Lincoln* might ſucceed, who were both of the Houſe of *York*. That which confirm'd this Opinion was the King's confining of her afterwards, upon no weighty Pretence; thinking it expedient to puniſh her under the Colour of a ſmall known Crime, for one more hainous not fitting to be known. How-

Bacon. Bondi. However it was, *Lambert* aſſum'd the Geſtures and Behaviour of a great Perſonage, with ſuch a fortunate Exactneſs, as being join'd to his natural Sweetneſs, a true Prince could not be enrich'd with more real Perfections, than thoſe that appear'd to be true in him. The Reaſons that caus'd *Simon* to chuſe to have his Pupil perſonate the Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, rather than the young Duke of *York*, was, That when the Report was rais'd of his being eſcap'd out of the Tower, he obſerv'd ſo great a Joy in the People, that he judg'd it more proper for his Deſign, and that it would be eaſier to inſinuate a Deluſion in the Perſon of this Man, falſely ſuppos'd to have made an Eſcape, than in that other whoſe Eſcape would with more Difficulty be believ'd. Now to act the Comedy with Applauſe, he did not think *England* a fit Scene, a proportionable Diſtance being requir'd in Things of this Nature. He reſolv'd therefore to go over into *Ireland*, a Kingdom affectionate to the Houſe of *York*, and where King *Henry* had yet made no Alterations either in Dignity, Counſellor nor Officer; but the ſame commanded there as were plac'd by King *Richard*. All which made for *Simon*'s Deſigns; who coming before *Fitz-Gerald* the Deputy, one well affected to the Houſe of *York*, preſented his pretended Prince to him, and *Lambert* acted his Part with ſo much Artifice, that the deluded Deputy believ'd him to be what his Maſters Speeches, and his ſtudy'd Nobility made him appear: Inſomuch that acquainting ſome of his trueſt Friends with this Secret, he found them and the People ſufficiently inclinable to a Revolution. They receiv'd this fancy'd Prince with great Honour; they gave him the Caſtle of *Dublin* for his Lodging; and ſhortly after proclaim'd him King, by the Name of *Edward* the Sixth. There was not any one Province that deny'd him Obedience, but all join'd in declaring War againſt King *Henry*; while on the other Side not one would draw a Sword in his Cauſe. But that Kingdom being bare of Mony and Arms, and meanly furniſh'd with Soldiers, they rely'd upon the Houſe of *York*'s Friends in *England*, and *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, to aſſiſt them with their Supplies; to whom they gave Intelligence that *Edward Plantagenet* was eſcap'd out of the Tower and come into *Ireland*, where he was proclaim'd King; that they deſign'd to bring him into *England* his hereditary Kingdom, if they would be ready to ſecure his Entrance, and that his Aunt of *Burgundy* would aſſiſt him with Mony, Soldiers and Commanders. This Dutcheſs *Margaret* was Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and third Wife to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who after her Husband's Death took ſuch honourable Care of *Mary*, his only Heir and her Poſterity, that ſhe was in great Eſteem among the *Flemings*, who honour'd her as their natural reigning Princeſs. Her Husband had left her a plentiful Dowry; ſo that having no great Occaſion for Expences, ſhe might, by the Mony ſhe had been gathering ſo many Years, eaſily undertake this remarkable Affair. She therefore willingly hearkned to the Embaſſie; not that ſhe was wholly ignorant of the Impoſture; but that ſhe might have an Occaſion to moleſt King *Henry* and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, againſt which ſhe had inſuperable Prejudices. The Marriage with her Neece, which ſhould have reconcil'd her to King *Henry*, did more incenſe her againſt him, ſince it eſtabliſh'd him in the Kingdom, and took it from her Houſe without Hopes of Recovery: For which Reaſon ſhe readily promis'd Aſſiſtance, and in due Time perform'd it.

Lambert goes into Ireland.

The Iriſh make him King.

Ibid. The King hearing of this Inſurrection in *Ireland*, was extreamly concern'd; being too late ſenſible that he had acted amiſs, in leaving that Nation under the Command of ſuch as depended upon his Predeceſſor. Hereupon he firſt call'd his Council together with great Secrecy; in which was propounded and concluded three Expedients: Firſt, That a general Pardon ſhould be proclaim'd to all who would diſcover their Crimes, and ſubmit by a Day prefix'd; which Pardon ſhould be deliver'd in ſuch a full and ample Manner, that no High-Treaſon, even againſt the King's own Perſon, ſhould be excepted. Which tho' it might ſeem

King Henry provides againſt him.

ſtrange, yet it was not ſo to a wiſe King who knew the moſt imminent Dangers aroſe not from the leaſt Treaſons, but from the greateſt: And this was deſign'd chiefly to bring in Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerful Oppoſer, of dangerous Intereſt. Secondly, That *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* ſhould be taken out of the Tower, and ſhown publickly to the People, that they might be aſſur'd of his being alive; and that the ſuppos'd Earl in *Ireland* was a meer *Chimæra*, fram'd only to diſturb the State. Thirdly, That the Queen's Mother ſhould be confin'd to a Nunnery, and have all her Goods confiſcated; becauſe ſhe had promiſs'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to the preſent King, when he was in *Bretaign*, and contrary to Articles of Agreement had deliver'd her, and the reſt of her Siſters, up to King *Richard*. The Iſſue of theſe three Revolutions were, That as to the firſt, Sir *Thomas Broughton* did not anſwer Expectation: As to the ſecond, the Earl of *Warwick* was led in Proceſſion from the Tower to St. *Paul*'s; being all the way diſcours'd withal by divers of the Nobility who knew him, eſpecially by ſuch of whom the King had any Suſpicion; that all might have full Conviction of his being alive. This prov'd ſucceſsful in *England*, but had no Effect in *Ireland*, where the Inhabitants turn'd the Impoſtor upon the King, and reported, That to defeat the true Inheriter, and to delude the World, he had dreſs'd up a Boy in the likeneſs of the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſhew'd him to the People, without ſparing to prophane the Solemn Ceremony of Proceſſion. The Reſolution concerning the Queen-Mother was what alone took effect, who was thruſt into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey*, and had all her Eſtate ſeiz'd into the King's Hands; but not without great Scandal and Obloquy againſt the Severity of his Proceedings. This Lady may be plac'd amongſt the greateſt Examples of Fortune's Inconſtancy; who being indu'd with rare Qualities, was ruin'd by her Abuſe in the Choice; and as Wiſdom and Wyline's have too near a Reſemblance, ſhe miſtook the latter for the former. From being Widow to a bare Knight, by an unreaſonable Riſe, and through a peculiar Breach of Faith, ſhe became Wife to a great King; who being fled away, depos'd and baniſh'd, ſhe was forc'd for the Secutity of her Perſon to take Sanctuary, where ſhe bore her unfortunate Son. Her Husband afterwards returning home victorious and triumphant, ſhe likewiſe ſhar'd in his good Fortune; but when he dy'd, ſhe was driven to the like Neceſſity of taking Sanctuary. Her Brother-in-law having uſurp'd the Kingdom from her Sons, declar'd them to be Baſtards, and barbarouſly murder'd them; and for her greater Affliction, her Brother and one of her former Sons, dy'd by the Hands of the Hangman; ſo that in leſs than three Months ſpace ſhe was diſmally wounded with the Deaths of three Sons and her Brother. Her eldeſt Daughter being marry'd to the preſent King, ſhe being mov'd by her Female Indignation to practice extravagent *Chimæras*, ſhe loſt her Honour, Eſtate and Liberty; and being abandon'd by her Friends, and not viſited by any, ſhe ſhortly after dy'd miſerably. She was buried by her Husband at *Windſor*; and it was ſhe that compleated the Foundation of Queen's-Colledge in *Cambridge*, which had been begun by *Margaret* Wife to King *Henry* the Seventh.

The Queen Dowager confin'd to a Monaſtery.

Her Death.

About this Time the Earl of *Lincoln* fled into *Flanders*, who was Son to *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Siſter to the two Kings *Edward* and *Richard*. The latter had declar'd him Succeſſor, in Caſe he ſhould die without Children; which juſtly rais'd his Hopes, having a Wit and Courage capable of attempting the greateſt Enterprizes. His Deſigns which were born to the Ground by his Uncle's Death, and *Henry*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, began to be reviv'd at this *Iriſh* News: For knowing the Falſhood of the pretended *Plantagenet*, he thought the Troubles likely to ariſe from thence, would bring him to what he deſir'd; for if *Henry* were once overcome, it would be eaſie for him to bear down the Impoſtor. The King had him oftentimes in his Thoughts; but the Earl of *Warwick*'s Impriſonment, at which the People was offended, was the Reaſon why he did not confine him. Which if he had, it

Bacon. &c.

it would have encreas'd the Odium; and he hop'd that tho' he were at Liberty, he could not hurt him ſo long as the other was in Priſon. In which if he was deceiv'd, it turn'd not to his Prejudice; for *Lincoln* being fled by the Advice of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, he repair'd to the Dutcheſs, his Aunt, who after divers Conſultations ſent him into *Ireland*, accompany'd by the Lord *Lovel* and other Fugitives, with a Regiment of two thouſand ſelect *Almains*, commanded by *Martin Swart* a valiant Captain. She thought this ready Succour would produce many good Effects; as the confirming the Rebels in their Proceedings, the ſecuring of the counterfeit King in Poſſeſſion, and the encouraging of his Party in *England* towards the Ruin of King *Henry*: For the Pretended *Edward* the Sixth was to be ſupported, as long as Occaſion requir'd, but not yet to be caſhier'd; and the true *Edward*, in the Tower, to be put in his Place, contrary to the Earl of *Lincoln*'s Expectations. King *Henry* underſtanding this Flight, was extreamly perplex'd; and found that the Dutcheſs having declar'd her ſelf in behalf of the Rebels, he muſt defend his Crown with the Sword. His firſt Care was to cauſe the Sea-Coaſts to be well guarded, that others might not follow *Lincoln*'s Example: He rais'd a powerful Army, and devided it under two Generals, the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; expecting to be attack'd at the ſame time both from *Ireland* and *Flanders*: And tho' he believ'd it would not be before the next Spring; yet he took a Journey almoſt in the midſt of Winter into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to take Order for neceſſary Proviſions. And underſtanding by the way, that the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was coming to him, to clear himſelf of ſome Imputations charg'd upon him, he diſpatch'd the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him upon the Road, with Orders to carry him to the Tower, and to let him know, *That it was not done for his Deſerts, or for any ill Opinion of the King's, but to free him from the Danger of being perſuaded to undertake any Thing to his Prejudice, deſiring him to take this Uſage patiently, and promiſing to make him honourable and ſatisfactory Reparation.* The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Norwich*; and went from thence by way of Devotion to our Lady of *Wolſingham*, and from thence return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*.

Lambert *aſſiſted by the Dutcheſs of* Burgundy.

King Henry *prepares againſt him.*

Bacon. Biondi.

The Earl of *Lincoln*'s Arrival in *Ireland*, with ſo good a Force added to the Rebels Hopes: They were proud to ſee themſelves favour'd by the Dutcheſs, who had ſo readily aſſiſted 'em with Forces, and placed two ſuch Lords as *Lincoln*, and *Lovel* at the Head of them. At their Appearance, *Lambert* who was formerly proclaim'd King, had now the Ceremony of Coronation; and after ſome time ſpent in Conſultations, they all embark'd with great Numbers of the poorer ſort of *Iriſhmen*, better furniſh'd with Hopes than with Weapons. They landed at *Fowdray* in *Lancaſhire*, with *Lambert* clad in Royal Apparel; and were conducted by the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, and Viſcount *Lovel*, follow'd by the *Dutchmen* under Colonel *Swart*. Sir *Thomas Broughton* met them at their Landing, but ſtill with a few Men: They march'd towards *York*, and paſſed in a peaceable manner, to ſhew that lawful Kings came to relieve, not oppreſs their Subjects. But ſhortly after their Hopes began to grow cool, when they ſaw not any come into them in their Solitary March; eſpecially ſince they had moſt reaſon to expect many to join with them in that Country which was ſo much inclin'd to the Houſe of *York* and King *Richard*. But Viſcount *Lovel* having found no Safety there, the Year before, they might believe they were not now likely to ſucceed better. Some were of Opinion, that the Alienation of theſe People proceeded from a Diſtaſte they took that two foreign Nations, the *Dutch* and *Iriſh*, ſhould pretend to preſent them with a King made by them: And tho' *Henry* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fourth, and the preſent King *Henry* had in like manner been preſented by Strangers, yet the caſe was different. The Firſt and the Laſt were call'd in by a Part of the Kingdom, to free them from the two *Richards*, the Second and the Third; the one by divers Reaſons more hated than the other; and *Edward* the Fourth came of himſelf, building upon

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Lambert *lands in* England.

the Love of the People. Neither had *Henry* the Seventh given any Occaſion of hatred, ſo as to cauſe him to be expell'd; rather the Opinion of his Worth, and his marrying with the Houſe of *York*, had eſtabliſh'd him. Moreover the Proceſſion was made to St. *Paul's*, wherein the true *Plantagenet* was expos'd to view, and had caus'd the People not to regard the Impeſtor.

The Earl of *Lincoln* being reduc'd to this Neceſſity, reſolv'd to hazard all upon the Iſſue of a Battel; and march'd towards *Newark*, with a Deſign firſt to make himſelf Maſter of that Place. In the mean time King *Henry* being ar-riv'd at *Nottingham*, a Council of War was held, in which it was debated whether it was better to protract time, or give Battel. The King was for the latter, being encourag'd by the Arrival of Six Thouſand fighting Men, moſt of them Volunteers, under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange*. And that the Enemy might not take the Advantage of *Newark*, the King encamp'd himſelf between them and the Town. *Lincoln* ſeeing himſelf cloſely perſu'd, retir'd to a Village call'd *Stroke*, planting himſelf upon the Side of a Hill, from whence he deſcended as ſoon as the King preſented him Battel; which was valiantly fought on both Sides, but for the Manner and Particulars, we have but an imperfect Account tranſmitted to us. It is related that of the King's three Battalions only the Vant-guard fought, and the other two mo'vd not at all; which ſeems the more ſtrange, becauſe one half of the Vant-guard was cut in Pieces, and that the King ſhould purchaſe the Victory at ſo dear a Rate. All the chief of the Enemy were Slain, as *Lincoln*, *Kildare*, *Lovel*, *Broughton*, and Colonel *Swart*; great Slaughter was made of unarm'd *Iriſh-men* who mov'd not from the Poſture they had plac'd themſelves in the begin-ning of the Battel. The Conflict laſted three Hours; in which dy'd four Thou-ſand of the Enemy, and one half of the King's Vant-guard, but not one of Qua-lity on the Kings Side. The King was troubled at the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, becauſe he was depriv'd of the Means of learning from him what Cor-reſpondence the Dutcheſs *Margaret* had in *England*. Many Priſoners were taken, among whom was *Lambert* himſelf, otherwiſe call'd *Edward* the Sixth, and *Simon* his Tutor and Seducer. The King out of Generoſity would not take *Lambert*'s Life, looking upon him as an Image moulded by the Hands of others; and likewiſe out of Wiſdom, thinking that if he ſuffer'd Death, he would be too ſoon forgotten; but being kept alive, he would be a continual Spectacle, and a kind of Remedy againſt the like Inchantments of the People for the future. His Puniſhment was the Kitchin, where he was put to the vileſt Imployments; his Scepter and Crown were turn'd to Spits and Fire-Forks: He continu'd in the Office of a Scullion, 'till by unknown Means he was pre-ferr'd to be one of the Kings Falconers, in which Condition he dy'd, not gi-ving any further Occaſion of Story. As to *Simon*, being a Prieſt, he was com-mitted to a cloſe Priſon, and hear'd of no more.

King Henry *meets and fights him.*

Lambert *de-feated and made Priſoner.*

He is made the King's Scullion.

Ibid.

After the Battel of *Stoke*, the King remov'd not from the Camp 'till he had given humble Thanks to God for the Victory; which he likewiſe did three Days ſucceſſively at *Lincoln*, with Proceſſions and other religious Ceremonies; and he ſent his Standard to our Lady's Church at *Walſingham*, whither it had been devoted. He caus'd ſome of the Priſoners to be put to Death; but ſince it would have been thought too great a Cruelty to puniſh ſo many for one Crime, he was willing to commute the Blood of their Veins for that of their Purſes, impoſing pecuniary Puniſhments upon many in *Yorkſhire* and other Parts, with which both he and they were ſatisfy'd. After that he went to *Newcaſtle*; from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to *James* the Third King of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a Peace with him; but that King, labouring under many Inconveni-cies from diſcontented Subjects, he only obtain'd a Truce for ſeven Years; but with a Secret Promiſe of renewing it during both the Kings Lives. This Point being gain'd, King *Henry* return'd to *London*, where he enter'd in State, and in a triumphant Manner: And now being taught by the laſt Events, that his

Holling. Baker. &c.

his Hatred to the Houſe of *York* had been the Cauſe of his former Troubles, he prepared for the Coronation of his Queen; which was perform'd with great Solemnity on the tweenty fifth Day of *November*, in the Third Year of his Reign, and two Years after his Marriage with her. Which ſtrange and unuſual Diſtance of Time, made it ſubject to every Perſon's Obſervation, that it was an Act againſt his Inclination, and forc'd upon him by Neceſſity and Reaſon of State. Soon after, to ſhew that all Suſpicions were over, and that the Impriſonment of the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, was more from the Danger of the Times than the Man, he ſet him at Liberty without Examination, or any other degrading Circumſtance. About the ſame time he diſpatch'd an Ambaſſador to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, to inform him of his Marriage and Succeſs, to thank him for former Kindneſſes, and to offer himſelf and his Kingdom to be at his Service upon all neceſſary Occaſions. For which his Holineſs, by way of Correſpondency, gratify'd him, by moderating the Abuſes of Sanctuaries, and other privileg'd Places; and by ſending him a Bull, which prov'd a Check to Rebels and Traitors. In the ſame Year dy'd *Thomas Bourchier* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; and the famous *John Morton*, Biſhop of *Ely*, ſucceeded in his Place, who was afterwards created Cardinal, and Lord-Chancellor of *England*.

Queen Elizabeth *crown'd.*

Bacon. Bionds. &c.

III. Hitherto King *Henry* had been employ'd in ſetling his Affairs at home; but about this Time there broke out an Occaſion that caus'd him to look abroad, and harken to Foreign Affairs. *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, having by the Management and good Fortune of his two immediate Predeceſſors, receiv'd that Kingdom in a more flouriſhing and encreaſing Condition than it had been for many Years before, and recover'd the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Normandy*, *Provence*, and *Burgundy*; he now caſt his ambitious Eyes upon the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, reſolving to annex and unite that to the Monarchy of *France*, and ſo to bring it to its ancient Bounds and Limits. Many Circumſtances gave him Encouragement in this Attempt; as the Duke of *Bretaign* old, and fallen into a Lethargy, ſerv'd by mercinary Counſellers, Father only of two Daughters, the one ſickly and not like to live long; on the other Side, himſelf in the Flower of his Age, his Subjects well train'd for War, and now in Peace with all the neighbouring Princes. He was apprehenſive of no Diſturbance but from the King of *England*, who had been under great Obligations to the Duke of *Bretaign*, and whoſe Intereſt it was not to ſuffer *Bretaign* to be join'd to the Monarchy of *France*. Therefore he diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, who after ſeveral artificial Compliments repreſented to him, *That their Maſter was enforc'd to enter into a juſt and neceſſary War with the Duke of* Bretaign, *who had receiv'd thoſe who were Traitors and declar'd Enemies to his Perſon and State; and ſuch as were of that Quality, as it was apparent they went not thither to protect their own Eſtates, but to invade his; among whom was the Duke of* Orleans, *the firſt Prince of the Blood, and the ſecond Perſon of* France. *Therefore the War was defenſive on his Side; that he perſu'd Rebels in a Prince's Country, who owing Homage to him ought not to receive them, and much leſs to join with them in the Conſpiracy.* Then they proceeded to inſinuate, *That if the Duke of* Bretaign *had formerly ſhown him Favour, he had deſtroy'd the Merit of it, ſince he fail'd on his part, ſo that he might have been utterly ruin'd and deliver'd up to King* Richard: *That their Maſter did not pretend to remind him of the Aſſiſtance and Favours receiv'd from him, which proceeded from meer Affection, and contrary to what Policy ſhould have perſuaded; ſince it had been more advantagious for him, that a Tyrant like* Richard, *ſhould have reign'd in* England, *than ſo virtuous a King as himſelf: That if he would rightly weigh both their Services, he would find that his proceeded from true Friendſhip, and the Duke's from Self-Intereſt: That he did not deſire a Requital of Aſſiſtance, knowing he was but newly poſſeſs'd of a Kingdom he had purchas'd with great Expence and Trouble;*

A. D. 1487. Reg. 3.

The French *King's Deſigns.*

An Embaſſy to King Henry.

ble; but only that he would ſtand Neuter: That he would not by aiding the Duke, hinder the juſt Progreſs of his Arms, in puniſhing of Rebels, and correcting him who contrary to all Law had receiv'd them. But touching the Myſtery of reuniting *Bretaign* to the Crown of *France*, either by War or Marriage with the Duke's Daughter, the Ambaſſadors carefully declin'd all Mention of it as what made moſt againſt them; but on the contrary declar'd the aſſur'd Purpoſe of their Maſter to marry, with the Daughter of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and entertain'd the King with ſome wandering Diſcourſes of their King's Deſign to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an Expedition in Perſon: All to remove the King from all Jealouſie of any Deſign upon *Bretaign*, otherwiſe than for ſuppreſſing ſome rebellious Subjects.

Which diſpleaſes King Henry.

King *Henry* was very uneaſie at this Embaſſie, and after Advice taken with his Council, he anſwer'd to this Effect, *That the King of* France *and the Duke of* Bretaign, *were the two Perſons to whom he own'd the higheſt Obligations; therefore he ſhould think himſelf very unhappy, if the Conteſt ſhould ariſe to that Height as to hinder him from acquitting himſelf in Gratitude towards both; and that there was no Means for him, as a Chriſtian King and a common Friend, to ſatisfie all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himſelf for a Mediator of Peace between them: By which Courſe he doubted not but their King's Honour and Eſtate would be preſerv'd with more Safety and leſs Envy than by a War; and that he would ſpare no Coſt or Labour to effect it, tho' it were that of a Pilgrimage.* Then letting them know that he would expreſs himſelf more fully by an Embaſſie, which he would ſpeedily diſpatch to the *French* King for that Purpoſe, he diſmis'd them with that Anſwer; carefully avoiding to underſtand any Thing touching the re-annexing of *Bretaign*, as the Ambaſſadors had avoided to mention it. He was ſenſible of the *French* King's Deſigns, and was reſolv'd to prevent it, even by Force of Arms, if Neceſſity ſo requir'd. But he fully believ'd that Fortune would not prove ſo favourable to *Charles*, but that he might have Time to negotiate this Affair, grounding his Confidence upon the great Oppoſitions he had; on the one Side *Maximilian*'s Arrival, on the other the Forces of *Bretaign*, and the *Orleanſts* in the Bowels of his Kingdom ready to raiſe a Civil War; together with the Inconſtancy of his Youth, ſufficient to make him change his Mind, and the whole Courſe of his Affairs. Ibid.

He ſends an Embaſſie into France.

Upon theſe probable Suppoſitions he ſent over *Chriſtopher Urſenick* his Chaplain into *France*, giving him in Commiſſion, That if the *French* conſented to treat he ſhould immediately repair to the Duke of *Bretaign*, and conclude the Treaty on both Sides. *Urſenick* made Declaration to the *French* King, much to the Purpoſe of *Henry*'s Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſadors; tenderly inſtilling ſome Overture of receiving the Duke of *Orleans* into Favour, and ſome Conditions of Accommodation. But King *Charles* on the other Side proceeded with the utmoſt Art and Diſſimulation in the Treaty; deſigning only to gain time, and put off the *Engliſh* Succours under the Hopes of Peace, 'till he had got good Footing in *Bretaign* by Force of Arms. His Anſwer therefore to the Ambaſſador was, *That he would put himſelf into King* Henry's *Hands, and make him Arbitrator of the Peace*; and readily agreeing that he ſhould go directly into *Bretaign*, to ſignifie his Conſent, and to know the Duke's Intentions; well foreſeeing that the Duke of *Orleans*, who rul'd all in *Bretaign*, taking himſelf to be upon irreconcileable Terms with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. By which he ſhould not only veil over his Ambition, and win the Reputation of a juſt and moderate Prince; but alſo endear himſelf in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one who had committed all to his Will. Theſe Grounds being ſubtilly laid by the *French* King, all ſucceeded as was expected: For when *Urſenick* arriv'd at the Court of *Bretaign*, he found the Duke in no Capacity to treat with him, but all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleans*; who giving Audience to this Ambaſſador, return'd an Anſwer

The French *King's Diſſimulation.*

ſwer full of Reſentments: *That the Duke of* Bretaign *having been an Hoſt, a Parent and a Protector, in time of greateſt Neceſſities, he might juſtly have expected from the renown'd King* Henry *a number of brave Troops for his Succours, rather than a vain Treaty for Peace. And if the King ſhould forget the Services done by the Duke; yet he well knew he would of his Wiſdom conſider of Futurity, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, not to ſuffer* Bretaign *to be ſwallow'd up by* France, *and ſo many good Ports and ſtrong Towns upon the Coaſts, to be in the Command of ſo potent a Neighbour, and ſo ancient an Enemy.* And therefore he deſir'd the King to think on this Affair as his own; and with that broke off, and deny'd any further Conference for a Treaty.

Baker. *Urſenick* firſt return'd to the *French* King, and related what had paſs'd to him; who finding Matters according to his Deſire, ſpeciouſly made Anſwer, *That conſidering in whoſe Poſſeſſion the Duke of* Bretaign *was, there was no Hopes of Peace, but a mix'd Treaty of Force and Perſuaſion; and therefore he would proceed on the one, deſiring King* Henry *would not deſiſt from the other: But for his own Part, he faithfully promis'd to be ſtill in the King's Power to govern him in the Matter of Peace.* This was accordingly repreſented by *Urſenick* at his Return, in ſuch a Manner, as if the Treaty was in no Degree deſperate, but rather waited for a more nice and proper Conjuncture. Whereupon there continually paſs'd Packets and Diſpatches between the two Kings concerning this Negotiation; from one out of Deſire, and the other of Diſſimulation. During this Intercourſe, the *French* King invaded *Bretaign* with a great Force, and laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Nantes*; and as one well vers'd in the worſt kind of Policy, the more he urg'd the Proſecution of the War, he at the ſame time did more urge the Solicitation of the Peace. Inſomuch that during the Siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular Meſſages, the better to maintain his Diſſimulation, and to refreſh the Treaty, he ſent D'*Aubigny*, a Perſon of Quality to King *Henry*, earneſtly deſiring him to make an end of the Buſineſs depending. Which caus'd the King to ſend over three Commiſſioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, Sir *Richard Tunſtall*, and his Chaplain *Urſenick* formerly employ'd, to do their utmoſt Endeavours to perfect the Treaty and render it effectual.

King Henry *deceiv'd.*

The French *King invades* Bretaign.

Polydore. Holling. &c. During the Negotiation, the Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, a gallant Gentleman and ambitious of Honour, deſir'd leave to go and aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretaign* with a Troop of Volunteers, with whom he would ſteal over privately, ſo that the *French* King ſhould have no Occaſion to complain of any but himſelf. It is not known whether the King ſecretly conſented to it, but in publick he deny'd his Requeſt, commanding him not to depart from the Court. Notwithſtanding which, he went to the Iſle of *Wight*, where he was Governour, and there rais'd four hundred fighting Men, with whom he ſail'd into *Bretaign*; which caus'd ſuch an Alteration among ſome of the Courtiers of *France*; that the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners would have been roughly treated, had not King *Charles*, conſcious of his own Diſſimulation, and not fearing four hundred Men, prevented all ill Uſage to them and their Followers. The Comiſſioners now diſcovering that King's Deſign, returned into *England*, and acquainted King *Henry*, that all his Deſire of Peace was but counterfeit, the better to gain Time, and to make him loſe the Opportunity of hindering his Attempts upon *Bretaign*. Upon this King *Henry* call'd a Parliament; in which Supplies being granted, he rais'd Monies and muſter'd Soldiers; and to keep a Decency towards the *French* King, to whom he acknowledg'd himſelf oblig'd, he ſent a new Embaſſie to him to intimate the Decrees and Reſolutions of his Parliaments, and to reiterate his Motion, That the *French* would deſiſt from Hoſtilities; or if War muſt enſue, to take it as the Acts of his People, who being ſenſible of the Cauſe of the *Bretaigns* as their ancient Friends and Confederates, had ſent them Succours; further proteſting, that to preſerve all Treaties

A. D. 1488. Reg. 3/4.

The Lord Woodvile's *Expedition into* Bretaign.

King Henry *ſends an Embaſſie into* France.

Treaties and Laws of Friendſhip, he had limited his Force to proceed only in Aid of the *Bretaigns*, and not to War upon the *French*, otherwiſe than to maintain the Poſſeſſion of *Bretaign*. But before this formal Embaſſie could arrive, the Duke's Party had receiv'd a terrible Blow near the Town of St. *Albine*, where the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were taken Priſoners, ſix thouſand of the ſame Side ſlain, with the Lord *Woodvile* and almoſt all his Soldiers: The *French* loſt twelve hundred Men with their Leader *James Galeot*, a great Commander. King *Henry* underſtanding this Defeat, ſent over eight thouſand fighting Men into *Bretaign*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Brook*, who joining themſelves with the Duke's Forces, march'd towards the Enemy the *French*, who knowing they lov'd not to encamp themſelves, but to come to Battel, thought to cool their Ardor by entrenching their Army, and ſallying out with their Light-Horſe; which they did, but with more Loſs than Advantage, eſpecially from the *Engliſh* Archers. But during theſe Tranſactions, the Duke of *Bretaign* left the World; upon whoſe Death, the Principal Perſons of that Country, partly being bought, and partly through Faction, threw all Things into Confuſion; ſo that the *Engliſh* not finding Head nor Body with whom to join their Forces, and being juſtly jealous of their Friends, as well as in Danger from Enemies, and the Seaſon advancing, they return'd home five Months after their Landing. So that the Battel of St. *Albine*, the Death of the Duke, and the Retreat of the *Engliſh* Succours, were follow'd a ſhort time after by the Loſs of that Dukedom; which ſome accounted as a Blemiſh of King *Henry*'s Judgment, but moſt as no more than a Misfortune of his Time. In ſum, the treacherous Proceedings of a King of no profound Reach or Judgment, prevail'd more than the Policy of one of the wiſeſt Princes in Chriſtendom.

and Forces into Bretaign;

but to no Effect.

Tho' the temporary Fruit of the Parliament, in their Aſſiſtance given to *Bretaign*, did not proſper; yet the laſting Fruit of it, which was wiſe and good Laws, proſper'd for many Years, and moſt of them to this Day; particularly one that made it Capital for any Perſon to marry an Heireſs by Force. But in the raiſing the Subſides granted for the Expedition into *Bretaign*, great Diſturbances aroſe in *Yorkſhire* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; which two Counties poſſitively deny'd the Payment of any Tax. They alledg'd that they had ſuffer'd great Grievancies the laſt Years paſt, and were not able to bear any more; which Refuſal proceeded from the old Affection they bore to the Houſe of *York*, which with every Motion aroſe and floated with all other Conſiderations. The Commiſſioners for the aſſeſſing and collecting this Tax, wanting Means to enforce them, knew not how to proceed; for each of theſe two Counties had agreed in a direct Negative to the Act of Parliament. They went therefore to the King's Friend the Earl of *Northumberland* to conſult with him, who wrote to the King upon that Subject; and receiv'd Anſwer, *That the Subſides being given by Parliament, and pay'd by all the reſt of the Kingdom, he was reſolv'd not to recede from one Peny of his Right*. The Earl calling together the principal Gentlemen and Free-holders of the County, in an imperious Manner acquainted them with the King's Anſwer; which many believing to have been invented by his own Head, the meaner Sort of the People broke into his Houſe, and murder'd him, together with many of his Servants. And not reſting here, they choſe Sir *John Eyremond* for their Head, a factious Perſon, who hated King *Henry*; and being alſo animated by a baſe Perſon, nam'd *John a Chamber*, an Incendiary much eſteem'd by the Vulgar, they broke out into open Rebellion, and in the plaineſt Terms declar'd, *They would go againſt King* Henry, *and fight with him for the Maintenance of their Liberties*. Upon which the King commanded *Thomas* Earl *of Surrey*, whom he had lately releas'd out of the Tower, to march and reduce them; which he ſoon did by defeating them, and taking *Chamber* Priſoner. *Eyremond* fled into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*; *Chamber* was hang'd upon a high Gallows at *York*, and ſome others of the principal of them were hang'd a little lower round about him.

Bain. &c.

A Commotion in the North.

A. D. 1489. Reg. 4.

The Earl of Northumberland *ſlain.*

The Inſurrection quell'd.

him. Nor did the King omit his Cuſtom to be firſt or ſecond in all his warlike Exploits; making good his uſual Saying when he heard of Rebels, *That he deſir'd but to ſee them*: For he march'd after in Perſon; and tho' in his Journey he heard the News of the Victory, yet he went as far as *York*, where he ſetled all the Taxes without the leaſt Abatement.

Polydor. Bacon. Biondi. About the ſame Time that the King loſt ſo good a Servant, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he likewiſe loſt a faithful Friend and Allie in *James* the Third King of *Scotland*; who was brought to a miſerable Period rather by evil Counſel, than evil Nature. He had naturally good Inclinations; but they were all poiſon'd by the Practice of a ſort of People, that has been ever ominous and contagious to all Princes: His Thirſt after abſolute Soveraignty was inſatiable; and he eſteem'd not his legal Authority, but ſought for what was not permitted by the Conſtitutions of his Kingdom; ſo that his Ruin aroſe from his hating the Liberty of ſuch as give him good Counſel; and loving Flattery in thoſe who adviſ'd him Ill. The Diſcontent and Hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth by Degrees into ſeditious Alterations at Court, this unfortunate Prince was at laſt deteſted by them; ſo that taking up Arms, and ſurpriſing the Perſon of Prince *James* his Son, partly by Force and partly by Threats, they compell'd him to head their Party. Whereupon King *James* made Application to the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and likewiſe to Pope *Innocent* the Eight; who highly reſented this Treatment, and might have ſuccour'd him in good Time, if he had had Patience to expect them in the Caſtle of *Edingburgh*, a Place ſufficently ſafe. But he judging *Strivelin* to be a more convenient Place to receive thoſe whom he expected from the Northern Parts of his Kingdom, was in marching thither at *Bannock's Bourn* engag'd and defeated: Whereupon retiring to a Water-Mill, in hopes of ſaving himſelf in certain Veſſels not far off, he was there miſerably ſlain; and *James* the Fourth his Son, by way of Pennance girt himſelf with a Chain of Iron, to which he added one Link every Year after as long as he liv'd. The Pope had diſpatch'd away *Adrian de Corneto*, upon this Occaſion for *Scotland*, a Man of noble Qualifications, who came to *London* two Days before the News of this unfortunate Accident. Deſigning to return, he was honourably entertain'd, and became in great Favour with King *Henry*, and no leſs Familiarity and Friendſhip with *Morton* the Chancellor. Inſomuch that the King, finding him agreable to his Inclinations, preferr'd him to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to *Bath* and *Wells*, and employ'd him in many of his Affairs of State, that had Relation to the Court of *Rome*. He was a Man of great Learning, Wiſdom and Dexterity in Buſineſs of State; and having not long after aſcended to the Degree of Cardinal, he greatfully paid the King, in his diligent and judicious Advertiſements of the Occurrances of *Italy*.

Troubles in Scotland.

James *the Third ſlain.*

Bacon. Biondi. In the latter End of the Fourth Year of this Reign the King again call'd a Parliament, more for the making of good Laws, than for the raiſing of any Subſides. This Prince was always a celebrated Law-giver; and among many good Laws in this Parliament, one was made to prevent Depopulations by Incloſures, with ſo much Care and Policy, that the military Power was thereby advanc'd, the middle Sort encourag'd, and the exorbitant Power of the Nobility in courſe diminiſh'd. Nor did the King in this Parliament throw off his Cares and Hopes concerning *Bretaign*, but thought to recover all by Policy, tho' his Arms had been unfortunate, and to deprive the *French* King of the Fruit of his Victory. The Sum of his Deſign was to encourage *Maximilian* King of the *Romans* to proceed in his Suit for the Marriage of *Anne* the Heireſs of *Bretaign*, and to aſſiſt him in the Conſummation of it. But *Maximilian* was then reduc'd to great Straits by a Rebellion of his Subjects in *Flanders*, who made him Priſoner in the Town of *Bruges*, and oblig'd him to ſwear to ſeveral unreaſonable Things. And tho' this Indignity was reſented by his Father the Emperor, yet it was never effectually reveng'd; but the Inhabitants were

A Parliament

so exasperated that the Lord *Ravenstien* took Occasion to join with the Lord *Cordes* Governour of *Picardy*, and to seize upon *Ipres* and *Sluce*, while the other besieg'd the Town of *Dixmude*. King *Henry* not willing to break with *France*, nor yet to let *Flanders* be lost, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand Men to the Lord *D'Aubigny*, Governour of *Calais*, with secret Instructions to assist *Maximilian*, and to raise the Siege of *Dixmude*. This was so well obey'd, that to those thousand another thousand being added, which he drew from the Garrisons of *Guisnes* and *Hammes*, he pass'd over the Water of *Graveling* by Night, and got into *Newport*; where augmenting his Forces by six hundred *Germans*, and led on by a trusty Guide into *Dixmude*, while the Enemy had no Suspicion of it, he set upon them unawares, and was victorious, with the Slaughter of eight thousand Men, and the gaining of all their Artillery and Baggage. The *English* only lost about a hundred Men, and the Lord *Morley* himself; and the Lord *D'Aubigny* return'd to *Calais*, leaving his wounded Men with some Volunteers at *Newport*. The Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipres* with twenty thousand Men, thinking to recover the Disgrace at *Dixmude*, immediately invested *Newport*; and making a furious Attack upon it, he succeeded so far as to take the principal Fort or Tower, and to set up the *French* Standard upon it. Yet they were soon after beaten from it by the *English* and the Help of some fresh Succours of Archers, by good Fortune arriving at that Instant in the Haven of *Newport*: Which so discourag'd the Lord *Cordes*, that he immediately broke up the Siege and retir'd. By this Means Affairs became more exasperated between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and the more by the vain Words of the Lord *Cordes*, who declar'd himself an open Enemy to the *English*, beyond what belong'd to the present Service, making it a common Saying of his, *That he could be content to lye seven Years in Hell, so he might win* Calais *from the* English.

King Henry *sends Succours into* Flanders, *to the King of the* Romans.

Their Success.

A. D. 1490. Reg. 5. Bill.

King *Henry* not satisfy'd in assisting *Maximilian* with his Arms, endeavour'd to do the like by his Counsel; perswading him to resume the Marriage with the Heiress of *Bretaign*. Which *Maximilian* accordingly perform'd, and so far prevail'd with the young Lady, and the principal Persons about her, as the Marriage was consummated by Proxy, with a Ceremony unknown in these Parts. For she was not only publickly contracted, but stated as a Bride, and solemnly bedded; and whilst she lay in Bed, *Maximilian*'s Ambassador came in, and in the Presence of several of the Nobility, put his naked Leg between the Espousal Sheets; that the Ceremony might be thought to amount to a Consummation, and actual Knowledge. After which the publick Proclamations were made in the Names of '*Maximilian* and *Anne* by the 'Grace of God, King and Queen of the *Romans*, Duke and Dutchess of '*Bretaign*, &c. But *Maximilian* thinking himself secure, very imprudently neglected the Prosecution of this Affair, and proceeded to other Matters less material. In the mean Time, the *French* King, after a Consultation with his Divines, proceeded more effectually, and by secret Instruments and subtle Agents of both Sexes about the young Lady, first sought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady her self, in which there was a double Labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted to the Lady, but *Maximilian*'s Daughter was likewise contracted to the *French* King. For the Contract with the *French* King, it was readily alledg'd that *Maximilian*'s Daughter being under Years of Consent, it was not obligatory, but dissolvible at Pleasure. But for the other Contract, the *French* King's Friends could only alledge, That it being done without the Consent of her Soveraign Lord King *Charles*, whose Ward and Client she was, it was sufficient to vacate any Contract whatsoever, tho' it could not vacate a Marriage after Cohabitation and actual Consummation. As for the Ceremonial Consummation, they made Sport with it, and declar'd, *That it was an Argument that* Maximilian *was a Widower and a cold Lover, who could content himself to be a Bridegroom by Deputy*,

The King of the Romans *contracted to the Heiress of* Bretaign.

puty, and would not take a ſmall Journey to put all out of Queſtion. So that the young Lady, wrought upon by theſe Reaſons, finely inſtill'd by the *French* King's Agents; and allur'd likewiſe by the Youth and Grandeur of the Monarch, and fearing to make her Country the Seat of a ruinous War, at length ſhe ſecretly yielded to accept of the *French* King for her Husband.

The French King breaks the Contract.

Ibid. But during this ſecret Treaty with the Lady, the better to ſecure it from Oppoſition and Interruption, King *Charles* had recourſe to his uſual Arts, and ſent a ſolemn Embaſſie to King *Henry*, to treat of a Peace and a League with him; joining it with an Article in the Nature of a Requeſt, That the *French* King, according to his Right of Soveraignty and Tutelage, might with the King of *England*'s Leave diſpoſe of the Marriage of the young Dutcheſs of *Bretaign*, as he ſhould think good; offering by a Judicial Proceſs to make void the Marriage of *Maximilian* by Proxy. This was the Deſign and Subſtance of the Embaſſie, which was deliver'd in a long formal Oration, fill'd with Compliments and Artifice, and with amuſing Declarations of the *French* King's Deſigns of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples*, and conquering the *Ottoman* Empire. And the better to effect this Matter, the *French* King continu'd in his Court and Cuſtody the Daughter of *Maximilian*, who had formerly been ſent to him, to be bred and educated in *France*; and ſtill caus'd it to be reported, that he deſign'd to proceed in that Match. As for the Dutcheſs of *Bretaign*, he deſir'd only to preſerve the Right of Soveraignty, and give her in Marriage to ſome Allie, as might depend upon him. King *Henry* was much diſpleas'd at the Embaſſie, well perceiving the ambitious Deſigns of the *French* King, and that *Bretaign* would now be loſt. Therefore he reſolv'd to make uſe of that as a juſt Pretence for War, but at the ſame time not to diſcourage the other's Deſigns upon the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Anſwer deliver'd to the Ambaſſadors was full of Caution and Regard to the preſent Circumſtances; yet he directly renew'd his Claim to the Dominions of *France*, or at leaſt to ſuch a Tribute as might be proportionable to what he ought to hold in Poſſeſſion. The Ambaſſadors were ſurpriz'd at this Demand, and in ſome Heat declar'd, *That their Maſter's Sword would be ſufficient to maintain his Scepter*, and after ſome other Diſcourſes, they were all diſmis'd but one, and a new Embaſſie diſpatch'd from King *Henry* into *France*. All this prov'd of no Effect; for not long after, the King of *France*, breaking through all Difficulties, publickly marry'd *Anne* Dutcheſs of *Bretaign*, and took the Dukedom into his own Hands; having lately ſent home the Daughter of *Maximilian*. About the ſame Time was born the King's ſecond Son *Henry*, who afterwards reign'd by the Name of *Henry* the Eighth.

His ſubtle Management with King Henry.

He marries the Heireſs of Bretaign.

King Henry VIII *born.*

Bacon. *Maximilian* now perceiving that he was doubly defeated at one Blow, both as to the Marriage of his Daughter and his own, he loſt all Patience, and caſting off the Reſpect due to Princes, he fell to violent Invectives againſt the Perſon and Actions of the *French* King: Declaring him *To be the moſt perfidious Perſon in the World, who had made a Marriage compounded between an Advoutry and a Rape; permitted by the juſt Judgment of Heaven, that the Nullity being apparent to the World, the Progeny of a Man ſo unworthy might not reign in* France. And immediately he ſent Ambaſſadors both to King *Henry* and to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to excite them to War, and to enter into a League offenſive againſt *France*, promiſing to concur with great Forces of his own. Upon which King *Henry* call'd a Parliament, and propos'd the War to the Nobility and Gentry, rouſing them by the Fame of the glorious Victories at *Creſſy*, *Poictiers* and *Agencourt*, and incouraging them to grant ſuitable Supplies for ſo great an Occaſion. This had its Effects, and the War with *France* was with much Chearfulneſs approv'd of in Parliament; which judg'd that the Honour of the King and Kingdom had ſuffer'd by the Loſs of *Bretaign*. But the King's Intentions were very different from what they appear'd: He knew that he could not rely upon the Forces of *Maximilian*, who was ſo weak of him-

A. D. 1491. Reg. 6/7

A War declar'd againſt France.

himſelf; nor upon thoſe of *Ferdinand*, who had exhauſted his Powers by the Wars of *Granada*. He alſo knew that *France* was now entire, and at Unity within it ſelf, and never ſo powerful for many Years before; and that it was now come to a Cuſtom of Encamping cautiouſly, and not to fight but with apparent Advantage, which would weary his People, weaken his Forces, and impoveriſh his Kingdom. Finding therefore theſe Inconveniencies and Difficulties, he projected for the gaining of two Points: The one how to make the War turn to his Profit, and the other how to recede from it with the Security of his Honour. For Profit it was to be made two Ways, upon his Subjects for the War, and upon his Enemies for a Peace: For the Point of Honour, he knew that as he could not truſt to the Aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*; ſo the Impotence of one, and the double Proceedings of the other, would give him a fair Occaſion to accept of a Peace. Theſe Things he wiſely foreſaw, and did as artificially manage; by which every thing ſucceeded according to Expectation.

A Benevolence granted.

The Parliament readily conſented that Commiſſioners ſhould go forth, for the gathering and levying a Benevolence from the more able Sort; which Tax, call'd Benevolence, was invented by *Edward* the Fourth, for which he ſuſtain'd much Envy, and was aboliſh'd in Parliament by *Richard* the Third to engratiate himſelf with the People. It was now reviv'd by this King, with the Conſent of Parliament, which was otherwiſe in King *Edward*'s Time, and rais'd exceeding great Sums; inſomuch that the City of *London* contributed more than nine thouſand Pounds. In this Parliament Liberty was given for all Men to ſell or mortgage their Lands without Fines for Alienation, to furniſh themſelves with Mony for the War; which prov'd a great Step to the Diminution of the Eſtates and the exorbitant Power of the Nobility.

King *Henry* having got great Sums by the Means of Benevolences, in a ſhort Time rais'd a powerful Army; and knowing that King *Charles* had renew'd his ancient Confederacy with *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, he proclaim'd War againſt them both; but not without Suſpicion that *Maximilian* would fail him at his greateſt Need. For tho' his Wants and Weakneſſes were capable of Remedy, if he were ſuccour'd againſt his Subjects that moleſted him, yet his Nature was incapable of it. It was impoſſible for him to maintain ten thouſand Men for two Years, according to his Promiſe; tho' being inrag'd at his double Affront, he hop'd to raiſe ſomething out of nothing. But what ſtill weaken'd this Prince was the Rebellion of the Lord *Raveſtein*, who being ſupported by the *French* King, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, the chief Cities of that Country; and then made himſelf Maſter of *Sluce*, and the two Caſtles that were its Security, ſeiz'd upon the Ships, and hinder'd the Commerce of the whole Country. The Duke of *Saxony*, Lieutenant to *Maximilian* ſoon found Means to inveſt *Bruges* and *Sluce*, but could not take the latter without Forces by Sea; wherefore he ſent News of his Wants to *England*.

Blondi, &c.

The King of the Romans *in Diſtreſs.*

Succours ſent him by King Henry.

King *Henry* being deſirous to ſupport *Maximilian*, ſent twelve Ships well furniſh'd with Men and Ammunition under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*; who having block'd up the Haven of *Sluce*, beſieg'd the Town by Sea, while the Duke did the like by Land, and play'd with his Cannon upon the two Caſtles in which the Preſervation of the Town conſiſted. They were valiantly defended for twenty Days, in which Space the Earl of *Oxford*'s Brother was ſlain; and might have held out longer, had not the Beſiegers in the Night burnt the Bridge built between the two Caſtles, which forc'd them to ſurrender, together with the Town of *Sluce*. *Bruges* ſoon follow'd, which gave Occaſion for many others to do the like.

In the mean time King *Henry* paſt the Summer in ordering his Soldiers for his Expediton into *France*; and finding himſelf in a Readineſs, he ſent Sir *John Riſley* and *Urſenick* to *Maximilian*, to agree upon the Place for Meeting: But finding him utterly unprovided, they ſent ſecret Advice to the King, and waited for his further Commands. The King, who ſuſpected the ſame, prais'd their

Polyder. Blondi.

their Diſcretion, and commanded them to tarry 'till new Directions were ſent them, and to conceal that Prince's Weakneſs, that his Men might not be diſcourag'd. His Army was compos'd of twenty five thouſand Foot, and ſixteen hundred Horſe; the chief Nobility flocking to it, ſome to purchaſe Merit, and others to avoid Diſgrace in not following their King. He landed at *Calais* on the ſixth Day of *October*, which caus'd many to admire that he ſhould undertake ſo great a War at ſo late a Seaſon. But theſe Difficulties ſerv'd him to make his People believe what he never deſign'd; declaring *That ſince he intended a reſolute War, 'till he had conquer'd* France, *the Seaſon was of no Importence, having* Calais *at his Command, from whence he might eaſily draw out his Army, in the Spring*. As ſoon as he was landed, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors from *Flanders* certify'd him that there were no hopes of Aſſiſtance from *Maximilian*, who was altogether unprovided of Men and Mony. This was made known, and ſpread through the Army; and tho' the *Engliſh* were no ways diſcourag'd, yet it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. To work the ſame Effect, there came Letters from the Lord *Cordes*, with an Overture for Peace in behalf of the *French* King; which contain'd ſuch Conditions, as it would have been unreaſonable not to have harken'd to it. From other Parts it was confirm'd that King *Ferdinand* had agreed with him, having receiv'd from him the County of *Rouſſillion*, without repaying the Mony for which it was mortgag'd to him: This made all Men ſee a Neceſſity of Peace. King *Henry* notwithſtanding, playing the Game with Art, deputed the Biſhop of *Exeter* and the Lord *D' Aubigny* to meet the Lord *Cordes*; while he, without Delay, on the nineteenth Day of *October*, went and inveſted the Town of *Boloign*, a Place well fortify'd and garriſon'd, and not to be taken without much Time and Blood.

King Henry *goes into* France *with a great Army.*

He inveſts Boloign.

Ibid. *Boloign* was beſieg'd near a Month without any memorable Action, and when all Things were ready for a general Aſſault, News was brought that a Peace was concluded, to the great Surprize of moſt of the Army, who had great Hopes of extraordinary Advantages. In effect it was rather a Bargain than a Treaty, in which King *Henry* was to receive from the *French* King ſeven hundred forty five thouſand Crowns at preſent, for the Charge of this Expedition; and twenty five thouſand Crowns yearly, for his Charges ſuſtain'd in the aſſiſting *Bretaign*. This Annuity was left ſomewhat indefinitely, when it ſhould determine or expire; which caus'd the *Engliſh* to eſteem it as a real Tribute, carry'd under fair Terms: For in Reality it was paid both to the King, and to his Son *Henry* the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. The *French* King alſo aſſign'd great Penſions and rich Gifts for the preſent to all King *Henry*'s principal Counſellors and Miniſters: Which whether the King permitted, to ſave his own Purſe from Rewards, or to communicate to them the Envy of this Treaty, was diverſly interpreted. For unqueſtionably the King had no Inclination to own this Peace; and therefore not long before the Concluſion, he ſecretly prevail'd with ſome of his chief Officers to adviſe him to a Peace under their Hands, in the Nature of a Petition. This Peace was pleaſing to both the Kings; but gave great Diſcontent to ſome of the Nobility, and principal Perſons of the Army, who had either ſold or engag'd their Eſtates, upon the Hopes of the War. They took the liberty to ſay, *That the King valu'd not the plundering his Nobility and People, to feather himſelf*: And ſome made Sport with what the King had ſaid in his Parliament, *That when the War was once begun, he would make it pay it ſelf*; declaring, *The King hath literally kept his Promiſe*. Having riſen from *Boloign*, at *Calais* he wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, applauding the great Sums he had obtain'd; well knowing that the full Coffers of the King was always good News to the City. Upon the ſeventeenth Day of *December*, he arriv'd at *Weſtminſter*, where he kept his *Chriſtmaſs*.

A Peace concluded.

Tribute paid to England.

Several diſcontented.

The King returns to London.

In the ſame Year, the Kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, after a War of eight Years ſucceſſively, was entirely conquer'd by the Reduction of the Capital City; *Bobadi-*

Boabdila the laſt of the *Mooriſh* Kings, having ſuſtain'd a Siege of eight Months, ſurrender'd it to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; which gave an Occaſion of ſolemn Rejoycings in the City of *London*, and Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s. Now as if every Thing had contributed to fill the Houſe of *Spain* with Honour and Riches, that they might transfer it to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it happen'd almoſt at the ſame Time that *Chriſtopher Columbus* a *Genoeſe* diſcover'd the new World of *America*; which prov'd vaſtly advantagious to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and from its Riches obtain'd the Name of the *Weſt-Indies*.

America diſcover'd

A. D. 1492. Reg. 7/8.

IV. King *Henry*, having concluded all his Affairs with *France*, at the ſame time begun to be haunted with new Spectres rais'd by the Faſcinations of the Dutcheſs *Margaret* who could never be at reſt 'till ſhe had produc'd a new Duke of *York* to embroil the Affairs of this King. This prov'd a more exquiſite Counterfeit than *Lambert Symnel*, more finely done, and own'd by greater Hands, the King of *France* and *Scotland*, as well as the Dutcheſs her ſelf. As for *Lambert*, his greateſt Excellency was his beautiful Preſence, and that he did not miſ-become his Robes; but this Youth exceeded all former Actors, and became one of the ſtrangeſt Examples of Perſonation, that ever was known in elder or later Times. The Dutcheſs *Margaret* had entertain'd an irreconcilable Hatred againſt *Henry* and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inſomuch that ſhe valu'd no Fraud nor Injuſtice, ſo ſhe might oppreſs it, tho' her own Neece was ſo nearly concern'd in the Happineſs of it. For which Reaſon ſhe had formerly favour'd *Lambert*, whom *Simon* had ſet up; but failing in that Deſign plotted by a Prieſt, ſhe reſvol'd to contrive one her ſelf, and to make ſo hard and intricate a Knot, as neither *Henry*'s Wiſdom, nor Sword, ſhould be able to untie, or cut in ſunder. The Perſon ſhe deſign'd for this new Duke of *York* was a Youth of mean Extract, whoſe Father was a *Jew*, turn'd *Chriſtian*, nam'd *John Osbeck*, dwelling at *Tourney*; 'till being neceſſitated by ſome Occaſions, he went with his Wife to *London*, where ſhe bore him this Son. There King *Edward* did the Child the Honour to be his God-Father, which caus'd many to believe he had ſome ſecret Intereſt in him; and ſome were of Opinion that he had really begotten him. He was nam'd *Peter*, which according to the Cuſtom of the *Dutch* Tongue, was converted to *Perkin*; and thoſe who did not firſt know him gave him the Sirname of *Warbeck*, ſo that that Name which aroſe firſt from Ignorance, was afterwards by Cuſtom continu'd to him. His Father returning to *Flanders*, afterwards ſent him to *Antwerp*, and from thence to other Parts of the World; ſo that at length his Travels and Converſation with divers Nations, did not only make him ſkilful in many Languages, but alſo adapted him to all Mens Humours and Cuſtoms.

Holling. Polydore. Bacon. &c.

The ſecond grand Impoſtor, Perkin Warbeck.

His Birth and Education.

This Youth was accidentally preſented to the Dutcheſs, as moſt proper for her Deſigns, which gave her great Satisfaction; having all requiſite Qualifications, as Years, Beauty, Wit, Comlineſs, and Majeſty. She took an Affection to him for being God-Son to her Brother; and the more becauſe of his Beauty ſhe might judge him to be his natural Son: An Opinion which made her form and transform him with the greater Care and Diligence. She conſider'd of all that was to be inſtill'd into his Mind, or affix'd in his Actions: She omitted nothing that might make him exactly perſonate the deceas'd Duke of *York*; and decipher'd to him, as in ſo many Pictures, the Lineaments, Reſemblances and Behaviour of thoſe of the Blood Royal, as of the King, Queen, Prince and Princeſs; of the firſt he was to ſpeak as of his Father and Mother, of the reſt as his Brothers and Siſters. She bethought her ſelf what Queſtions might be ask'd him, and prepar'd him with ſuch Anſwers as might become his Years: She did the like concerning ſuch paſt Occurrences as might have fallen within his Knowledge, and forgot not the Particulars of the Sanctuary; how the Queen with the Duke of *York* fled thither; how he was taken from thence; how he was ſent with his Brother to the Tower; the manner of their living there; the Ser-

Ibid.

The Dutcheſs of Burgundy *inſtructs him.*

Servants that attended them; their terrible Apprehenſions, and the Providential Manner of his Eſcape. She chiefly taught him how to counterfeit innate Nobility, in which he was ſo docible, that he thought himſelf the very Duke of *York* whom he perſonated; and ſhe ſo adapted the Places of his Peregrination to the Times, that when he ſhould diſcourſe of what had there hapned to him, he might readily be credited. And finding him of a miraculous Capacity, and a Penetration beyond his Years, ſhe took a particular Delight to inſtruct him, and was tranſported with the Image of her own forming. She continually kept him in her moſt private Receſſes, not truſting him to the Air, for the chief Part of this Myſtery was, to make the World believe ſhe had never ſeen him. When afterwards ſhe perceiv'd that King *Henry* ſo proceeded in the Affairs of *Bretaign*, as he muſt of Neceſſity break with *France*, ſhe thought it beſt to keep him no longer, but firſt to ſend him into *Portugal*, under the Conduct of an *Engliſh* Lady, where he continu'd almoſt a Year; all which was done, that when he was to appear in publick, it might be from a third Place. In *Portugal* he had Directions ſent him to paſs into *Ireland*; for *Henry* having declar'd War againſt *France*, it was judg'd a proper Time to moleſt him, and to begin this grand Metamorphoſis.

Ibid. According to Order, he went into *Ireland*, and made his Abode in *Cork*; where at his firſt Appearance, he was eſteem'd a Perſon of great Conſequence: For his graceful Demeanor, and his Plenty of Mony and other Things, were ſufficient to make the People miſtake one Thing for another. Having for a while kept them in Suſpence, by a ſort of Force, he acknowleg'd himſelf to be the Duke of *York*, *who having eſcap'd out of the Tower, and paſs'd through various Fortunes, was come to that Kingdom, in Hopes that the Affection it had ever born to his Houſe, would now continue firm to him.* King *Henry* at that Time was not paſs'd into *France*, but was making Preparations for that Expedition; ſo that the *French* King hearing of this Apparition in *Ireland*, thought it might make for his Advantage to have him with him; either to moleſt King *Henry*, if he continu'd in Hoſtility, or to make his Peace upon eaſier Terms. Accordingly he ſent one *Stephen Frion*, a Secretary which had revolted from King *Henry* together with another, as Ambaſſadors to *Perkin*, inviting him to come into *France*, and offering to aſſiſt him in the Regaining of *England*. An Invtation that blew up the extravagant Vanity of this Impoſtor for being choſen by the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, receiv'd by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and incourag'd by ſo great a Monarch, he concluded that Fortune never undertook ſo vaſt a Buſineſs without finiſhing it. When he had acquainted his chief Friends in *Ireland* with this Invitation, and by that gain'd new Credit and Reputation, he went to *France*, where he was receiv'd by the King with all Honour due to the Duke of *York*: He call'd him by that Title; and accordingly furniſh'd him with Mony, Horſe and Servants, and with a Guard of Soldiers under the Command of the Lord *Congreſhal*: Sir *George Nevil* and Sir *John Taylor*, with above a hundred other *Engliſh* Men, waited continually upon him; and the Court to follow the Prince's Example, ſhew'd him the like Reſpect. All this was done out of Policy; for the *French* King muſt needs have more than a bare Gueſs that this Buſineſs was an Impoſture. His Glory was not long liv'd here, for the Difference being ended between the two Kings, it was neceſſary for him to remove. King *Henry* demanded to have him deliver'd into his Hands; but the other eſteeming it an unworthy Action, refus'd to do it; only he oblig'd him to depart his Kingdom. *Perkin* retir'd into *Flanders*, where the Dutcheſs and he acted their Parts with the utmoſt Exactneſs: He ſeem'd as if he had never been in that Country; and ſhe, as if ſhe had never ſeen him before: He pretended to fly thither as to a Sanctuary under the Protection of an Aunt, who ought to profeſs her ſelf his Mother: She feign'd great Fears of being deceiv'd, as being taught Caution by *Lambert*'s Example; and that this might be a Counterfeit as well as he. She oftentimes ſent for him, pretending to make

He is ſent into Ireland, *where he perſonates the deceas'd Duke of* York.

The French *King ſends for him,*

and acknowledges his Title to the Crown of England.

Upon a Peace he diſmiſſes him.

an

an exact Scrutiny; at firſt ſeeming very doubtful, afterwards not clearly ſatisfy'd, and then more inclining to believe well. At laſt ſhe broke out into an Admiration, and Thankſgiving to the Divine Providence, that had Commiſeration for innocent Blood, and had vouchſaf'd ſo miraculouſly to preſerve him. Then with extraordinary Paſſion ſhe call'd him *Nephew, the Bud of the white Roſe, the Hope of the Houſe of* York, *and the Reſtorer of the Honour of* England; and aſſign'd him a Guard of thirty Halberdiers. Now every one began to think him really him whom he perſonated; inſomuch that if he were reſpected in *France* as a foreign Prince, he was little leſs than worſhip'd in *Flanders*, by all that affected the Dutcheſs.

The Dutcheſs of Burgundy *receives him as her Nephew.*

A. D. 1493. Reg. 8/9.

This News being brought into *England*, it was there greedily ſwallow'd by many: Paſſions and Fancies augmented this Belief in ſuch as were of that Faction, in thoſe who deſir'd Novelties, in ſuch as were diſcontented, and in many that were Lovers of Equity: For the Crown had neither belong'd to *Henry* nor his Wife, if her Brother had been alive. Hereupon aroſe Whiſperings, Liberty of Diſcourſe and Complaints: The preſent ill Government was in every Man's Mouth; the endleſs Impoſitions, the King's inſatiable Avarice, which was the Cauſe of a diſhonourable Peace, and the no leſs diſhonourable Loſs of *Bretaign*. The Nobility were diſoblig'd and diſguſted at the ſmall Account the King made of them; ſo that moſt Mens Imaginations met in the ſame Point, That God being a juſt Judge, had preſerv'd the true Heir ſo ſeat him again in his Throne, which had been twice uſurp'd from him. For *Henry* had no Right to it himſelf, and wav'd the Right of his Wife, that he might reign alone; therefore it was not to be admir'd, if after ſo much Injuſtice, God had rais'd up his Brother-in-Law to puniſh him. Nor did the Matter end only in Diſcourſe; for there were ſome Perſons of great Quality, who were reſolv'd to ſound the Bottom of it; among whom were the Lord *Chamberlain* Sir *William Stanley*, Brother to King *Henry*'s Father-in-law, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaite*. Theſe made choice of ſome Perſons of Note to ſend into *Flanders*, that upon their Relation, they might ground their Reſolutions; but of many, only two wou'd undertake a Buſineſs, which if fictious, might turn to their Ruin. Sir *Robert Clifford* and *William Barley* were the Two, both of good Families; who upon their Arrival at *Flanders*, were receiv'd with great Honour by the Dutcheſs: And having long diſcours'd with *Clifford*, that ſhe might underſtand the Intentions of thoſe that ſent them, ſhe brought him to a Sight of *Perkin*. After many Days Converſation with him, *Clifford* wrote back into *England*, That he was the real Duke of *York*, and that he knew his Perſon as well as he knew his own.

Various Cenſures in England.

Several of the Nobility ſend to inquire after Perkin.

The politick King on his Part was not aſleep; yet he thought if he begun to arm and levy Forces he ſhould immediately give too much Honour to the Idol. Neverthleſs he ſhut up the Ports, that no ſuſpected Perſons might paſs; and for the reſt he choſe to work by Countermine. He had two diſtinct Deſigns; the one to lay open the Abuſe, and the other to break the Knot of the Conſpirators. To detect the Abuſe, he had only two Ways; the firſt to ſatisfie the World that the Duke of *York* was really murder'd; and the other to prove, that whether he was dead or alive, *Perkin* was an Impoſtor. For the firſt he ſecur'd Sir *James Tyrel*, and his Servant *John Dighton*, the only two that remain'd alive of the four who were concern'd in the Murder; for *Miles Foreſt*, the ſecond who ſlew the Princes, and the Prieſt who bury'd them, were dead. They depos'd, That *Tyrel* ſaw them dead after they were ſmother'd; that he caus'd them to be bury'd underneath the Stairs, and cover'd them with a Stone; from whence, by King *Richard*'s Order they were afterwards remov'd, and rebury'd by the Miniſters of the Tower, but in what Place they knew not. But the King not ſatisfy'd with theſe Teſtimonies, to divert the Danger, and ſatisfie the World, he proceeded to ſearch into *Perkin*'s Condition and Deſcent. He employ'd certain ſelect Friends, and diſpers'd them throughout all *Flanders*: Thoſe

Bacon, &c.

King Henry's *politick Management.*

Thoſe who were not to ſtay in any ſetled Place, were order'd diligently to enquire after his Birth, and to give him daily Advice of what they ſhould learn: The other, who were to reſide where he was, were to counterfeit themſelves Fugitives and Well-Wiſhers to his Party, and to profeſs that they were come to run the like Fortune with him. Theſe were more particularly to ſearch out the Deſigns and Correſpondencies; they were to grow familiar with *Perkin*'s beſt Friends, and to inſinuate to them the Vanity of the Undertaking, in going to cope with a wiſe King, not to be beaten without extraordinary Forces; that the Dutcheſs's Favours were not anſwerable to their Occaſions; that they wanted Aid, and were not certain of what they preſum'd to be ſecure, which was the Aſſiſtance of the Party, and the Peoples Inclinations, both which were ineffectual. For ſuch accurate diligent Proviſion was made, that all Men would forbear to declare themſelves, unleſs they might be encourag'd by the Sight of a powerful Army, which the Duke of *York* could not ſhew them, tho' all *Flanders* were to declare for him. But their chief Care was to ſound *Clifford* by taſting him with fair Promiſes; for to win him over, 'was almoſt to gain the Cauſe, he being the Cabinet of ſecret Correſpondencies between *Flanders* and *England*. 'Nor did they find much Difficulty in effecting it; for being brought to the Knowledge of the Impoſtor, he was at length prevail'd upon with the Promiſes both of Pardon and Reward.

Ibid. In the mean Time, *Henry*, by a particular Caſt of Policy, caus'd all his Agents in *Flanders* to be excommunicated in St. *Paul*'s, and declar'd his Enemies, that they might not be ſuſpected his Friends; nor did he forbear, contrary to the Rules of the Church, to ſollicit the Confeſſors of the greateſt Men, that he might learn how they were inclin'd. At length his Agents came to the perfect Knowledge of *Perkin*'s Birth, Name, Sirname, Country, Employments, and Voyages, 'till he was chang'd into the Duke of *York*: They likewiſe won over *Clifford*, who gave them ſuch Proofs of his Repentance, as ſatisfy'd the King. *Perkin*'s Genealogy was publiſh'd in the Court, and throughout the Kingdom; and *Henry* not thinking it fit that a Mechanick and Impoſtor ſhould with ſuch Oſtentation be protected in *Flanders*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, then a Child; deſiring, that after the Example of the King of *France*, the Impoſtor might be chac'd out of *Flanders*. The Anſwer given by the Miniſter of State was, *That the Dutcheſs was abſolute in her own Territories, and they could not hinder her from acting as ſhe thought fit.* King *Henry* was not ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, as knowing her Power to be leſs than was repreſented: And having learn'd that ſhe had a mighty Intereſt in the Arch-Duke's Council, and finding that *Perkin* would ſtill be protected in Oppoſition to him, he immediately recall'd the *Engliſh* Merchants from *Flanders*, and baniſh'd the *Flemiſh* Merchants out of *England*, and remov'd the Staple of Cloath and Wooll from *Antwerp* to *Calais*, to the great Detriment of the Inhabitants of *Flanders*. Moreover upon Advertiſements from *Clifford*, the King impriſon'd the Lord *Fitz-Water*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William D'Aubigny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſenor*, *Thomas Atwood*, *William Worſeley*, Dean of *Paul*'s, and certain Friars. Theſe were all arraign'd and convicted of High-Treaſon; for which *Montfort*, *Ratcliff* and *D'Aubigny* were beheaded; the Lord *Fitz-Water* being ſent Priſoner to *Calais*, by his endeavouring to eſcape, loſt both his Hopes and Life: The reſt were pardon'd; and the Lord-Chamberlain that Time was out of Policy left unmoleſted.

He diſcovers Perkin's *Pedigree.*

Several executed.

The King had created his ſecond Son *Henry* Duke of *York* in *Weſtminſter*, where, as it is uſual in ſuch Solemnities, divers Knights of the *Bath* were made. But hearing that *Clifford* was arriv'd in *England*, he withdrew himſelf to the Tower, there to examine him; that if he ſhould accuſe any of extraordinary Quality they might be impriſon'd without Noiſe or Obſtruction. *Clifford* being admitted into his Preſence, and having receiv'd Pardon upon his Knees, was commanded to

A. D. 1494. Reg. 9/10.

Stanley *Lord-Chamberlain impeach'd.*

declare what he knew of the Conſpiracy. He immediately accus'd the Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *William Stanley*; at whoſe Name all preſent were ſtartled, it being highly improbable that a Man of his Quality and Riches, a Favourite ſo near the King, and the chief Inſtrument in his gaining the Crown, ſhould be a Traitor. Whereupon being advis'd to reconſider what he ſaid, he without Heſitation or Change of Countenance, accus'd him as before; for which Reaſon *Stanley* was confin'd to his Chamber, and the next Day examin'd by the Council. He deny'd ſome few Circumſtances, but confeſs'd the main Crime; relying upon his former Actions and Merits, for which he erroniouſly preſum'd the King would pardon him. Tho' he had put the Crown upon his Head, yet his Endeavours to take it away, had wholly cancell'd that Obligation. However King *Henry* was very doubtful whether he ſhould take his Life or not: The Love and Reverence which he bore to his Father-in-law, pleaded for Clemency; but Example and the Condition of the Times urg'd for Severity. But if it be true what ſome Authors write, his Riches bore down the Balance; he being eſteem'd one of the moſt mony'd Men in *England*; for in his Caſtle of *Holt* were found forty thouſand Marks in ready Mony, beſides Jewels and Goods; and in Revenues in Land and Fee he had three thouſand Pounds a Year of old Rents, a conſiderable Eſtate in thoſe Days. However after ſix Weeks Diſtance of Time, which the King did honourably interpoſe, both to give Space to his Brother's Interceſſion, and to ſhew to the World that what he did was with Conflict and

He is beheaded.

Reluctancy, he was arraign'd of High-Treaſon, condemn'd, and ſoon after beheaded. This was a remarkable Inſtance of the Fall of a mighty Favourite, which afforded Occaſion for Diverſity of Diſcourſes, and for ſome to treat King *Henry*'s Memory with great Severity. We at this time are ignorant of the main Circumſtances of his Caſe, and the true Motives for the King's Proceedings; but what ſeems moſt probable is, that he thought his Merits beyond Reward, and therefore aſpir'd to a Greatneſs more than a Soveraign could bear. He was ſucceeded in his Place by *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny*, a Man of great Sufficiency and Valour, and the more becauſe he was gentle and moderate.

A. D. 1495. Reg. 10/11.

The Death of the Lord-Chamberlain threw the whole Court under Apprehenſions; one Man durſt not truſt another, and every one fear'd leſt his Friends might prove like *Clifford*. Yet ſuch was the Spirit of Detraction, that they made uſe of Pen and Paper to expreſs what they durſt not do with their Mouths:

Libels diſpers'd.

Swarms of Libels, thoſe Inſtruments of Sedition, were diſpers'd againſt the Council and the King himſelf; for which five mean Perſons were apprehended, and put to Death. *Perkin*'s Party daily decreas'd; no Man durſt think any more of him, and but a very few tarry'd with him in *Flanders*; among whom *Barley*, *Clifford*'s Companion, was principal, who notwithſtanding afterwards chang'd his Opinion, and together with his Pardon obtain'd Leave to return home. And now the King finding *Ireland* to be the Place of greateſt Danger, it was neceſſary for him to eſtabliſh an undoubted Authority in that Kingdom. He made Choice of two to ſerve him in two ſeveral Offices; the Prior of *Langton* with Title of Commiſſioner, to inſpect the civil Government of the Kingdom; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, who was to have Charge of the Militia, giving him many Soldiers, and a large Commiſſion, to which the Deputy the Earl of *Kildare* was ſubordinate. The Prior met with no Difficulty; the Laws being his Arms, and the peaceful People the Matter of his Juriſdiction; but *Poynings*, who was to deal with ſtubborn Men and Rebels, had not the like Fortune. For *Ireland*, being full of Woods, Bogs and deſart Places, he ſpent much Time there to ſmall Purpoſe; killing and taking ſome few Priſoners, which made not much for the main Enterprize. So that being diſpleas'd with thoſe, who having no Intention to withſtand him, had no cauſe to fear him, he proceeded to accuſe the Earl of *Kildare*, as if he had ſecretly aſſiſted them. He therefore ſent him Priſoner into *England*, without any Proof againſt him beſides his own Suſpicion; and the Earl ſo fully juſtify'd himſelf, that he was

declar'd

declar'd Innocent, and re-eſtabliſh'd in his former Government. But if *Poynings* had no Succeſs with thoſe who withſtood him, yet he had ſuch good Fortune with the reſt, as to prevail with them in Parliament to allow of all Ordinances made in *England* 'till that Day, which formerly had no Force in that Kingdom. This memorable Act is call'd *Poyning*'s *Law*, being made in the tenth Year of this Reign, and obſerv'd to this Day.

Ireland *eſtabliſh'd.*

Holling. Bacon. &c.

The ill Succeſs of the Conſpiracy did not ſo quell the Reſolutions of *Perkin*, but that he thought the Affections of his Party rather oppreſs'd than expir'd; and that a new Spirit would ſo revive them, that *Henry* ſhould find it difficult to ſuppreſs them. Thus flattering himſelf, he aſſembled certain Troops of Men of deſperate Fortunes, who for Debts or Miſdemeanors durſt not appear otherwiſe; and embarking them, he came to Anchor before *Sandwich*, landing ſome of his Men to learn News, and to diſcover how the People were in thoſe Parts affected, reporting that he had great Forces coming in a Fleet after him. The King at this time was gone his Progreſs, and was now with his Mother in her Houſe at *Latham*, whom he went to viſit; that by his repairing thither, the World might know that the Death of Sir *William Stanley* had not really Diſguſted his Father-in-law. Here he heard of *Perkin*'s Arrival; by which he receiv'd the Advantage of the great Opinion of his People, who eſteem'd him a wiſe Prince, judging nothing had happen'd to him which he did not foreſee; and that his retiring into the Northern Parts was one of his Politick Fetches; for knowing he had left the South free from Danger, he deſign'd to allure *Perkin* to land, that he might be ſure not to eſcape. But however it was, at the firſt News he reſolv'd to return, and was not well pleas'd at the ſecond, which inform'd him that he was gone again; well perceiving that this Trouble might be of long Continuance. The Cauſe of *Perkins*'s Departure aroſe from the Care of the *Kentiſhmen*, who had well obſerv'd the Condition of thoſe who had landed, and that there were but few *Engliſh* among them, and thoſe of no Worth or Conſideration; wherefore they adviſ'd with the chief of the County concerning their taking Arms; which being determin'd, they ſhew'd part of their Men upon the Sea-Shore, to invite him on land; and diſperſs'd the reſt, as if they were ready to run away. But *Perkin* ſoon perceiving their Deſign, would not ſtir out of his Ship; but ſuffer'd ſeveral of his Men to be cut in Pieces on the Shore, and a hundred and fifty to be taken Priſoners. All which were hang'd upon the Sea-Coaſts of *Kent*, *Norfolk* and *Suſſex*, for Sea-Marks or Light-Houſes, to teach *Perkin*'s People to avoid the Coaſt. Shortly after the King returning to *London*, honour'd the Serjeant's Feaſt with the Preſence of himſelf and Queen; being a Prince ever ready to countenance the Profeſſors of the Law, after that declaring, *That as he govern'd his Subjects by his Laws, ſo he govern'd his Laws by his Lawyers.* In the ſame Year dy'd *Cecily Nevil*, Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, in extream old Age; a Woman who had liv'd to ſee a numerous but a wretched Progeny, involv'd in Miſery and Blood; and to ſee three Princes of her Body crown'd, and four murder'd, beſides the many Executions of thoſe of her own Family, and the Infamy of being declar'd an Adultreſs by her own Son *Richard*: Afflictions that could ſcarcely happen to a Perſon leſs than her ſelf.

Perkin *Lands ſome Men in* Kent, *but to no Effect.*

The Death of the old Dutcheſs of York.

Bacon.

In the ſame Year, and eleventh of this Reign the King call'd a Parliament, where many Laws were made; the principal of which was the famous Statute of Submiſſion, which has been ſo much canvaſs'd of late Years. The Lord *Bacon*'s Account of it is in theſe Words: It was a Law of a ſtrange Nature; rather Juſt than Legal, and more magnanimous than provident. This Law did Ordain, that no Perſon that did aſſiſt in Arms, or otherwiſe the King for the *Time Being*, ſhould after be impeach'd therefore, or attain'd, either by the Courſe of Law, or by Act of Parliament. But, if any ſuch Attainder did happen to be made, it ſhould be void and of none Effect; for that it was agreable to Reaſon of *State*, that the Subject ſhould not enquire of the Juſtneſs of

The famous Statute of Submiſſion made.

the King's Title or Quarrel; and it was agreable to a good *Conſcience*, that, whatſoever the Fortune of the War were, the Subject ſhould not ſuffer for his Obedience. The Spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble; being like in Matter of War, unto the Spirit of *David* in Matter of Plague, who ſaid *If I have ſinned, ſtrike me; but what have theſe Sheep done?* Neither wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep Foreſight: For, it did the better take away Occaſion, for the People to buſie themſelves, and pry into the King's Title; for that howſoever it fell, their Safety was already provided for. Beſides, it could not but greatly draw to him the Love and Hearts of the People, becauſe he ſeem'd more careful for them, than for himſelf. But yet it took off from his Party that great Tie and Spur of Neceſſity, to fight and go Victors out of the Field; conſidering their Fortunes were protected, whether they ſtood or run away.

In the mean Time *Perkin* being retir'd to *Flanders* to the Dutcheſs *Margaret*, it was judg'd neceſſary both by her and him, that he ſhould remove from thence, and proceed in the Work they had ſo unfortunately begun. This Reſolution was befriended by the Diſtaſte which *Maimilian* took at *Henry*, for taking the Commerce of *England* from their States; and by the like Diſguſt taken by the *Frenck* King, for his having lately enter'd into a League againſt him, as to his Affairs in *Italy*. *Perkin* therefore went firſt into *Ireland*; but *Poyning*'s Care having prevented his Chief Expectations, he retir'd into *Scotland*, grounding his Hopes upon the natural Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and upon the Recommendation of King *Charles* and *Maximilian*. He had ſolemn Audience given him by *James* King of *Scotland*, in the Preſence of his chief Nobility; where his Majeſtick Looks, augmented by a moſt happy Demeanor, captivated the Minds and Opinions of all that heard him. With a graceful Aſſurance he told the King, *That he was the unfortunate* Richard Plantagenet, *Son to King* Edward *the Fourth, who drawn by fraudulent Promiſes from the Boſom of his Mother, was brought to the Tower of* London, *there to be murder'd with his Brother* Edward; *but pity ariſing in the Breaſt of thoſe who executed that cruel Office, they were contented with the Death of the eldeſt Brother, and ſav'd him, giving him Life, Liberty, and Means to eſcape.* Then he proceeded to recount the various Changes of Fortune that had attended his Fate; and to inſiſt upon the generous Incouragements he had receiv'd from foreign Princes, who were inſpir'd with a Spirit of Greatneſs and Piety; and likewiſe to enlarge upon the innumerable Acts of Injuſtice and Treachery contriv'd againſt him by *Henry Tudor*, the preſent Uſurper of the *Engliſh* Throne; whoſe various Methods to aſperſe him, and his inceſſant Labours to deſtroy him, were alone ſufficient to prove he was no Impoſtor. Therefore he had recourſe to the Arms of *Scotland*, whoſe King was of that Generoſity and Bravery, as not to refuſe the Supplications of a diſtreſſed Prince flying to him; eſpecially when he was ſure to meet with a Recompence anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Favour. In ſumm, *Perkin*'s Expreſſions, the Compaſſion of his Caſe, the Recommendation of ſo many Princes, and their ſecret Promiſes, or perhaps the Occaſion to begin a War with King *Henry*, mov'd King *James* to promiſe him his Aſſiſtance; which he readily effected, tho' many, who knew the Impoſture, diſſuaded him from it. And moreover he did not only appoint him an Attendance and Entertainment, anſwearable to his pretended Quality; but that it might be believ'd he took him for the real Duke of *York*, he gave him in Marriage his neareſt Kinſwoman the Lady *Catharine Gordon*, a young Virgin of admirable Beauty and Virtue.

Ibid

Perkin *goes into* Scotland'

King James *receives him.*

A. D. 1496. Reg. 11/12.

Such Proviſions being made as the Enterprize requir'd, King *James* with a conſiderable Army enter'd *Northumberland*; where *Perkin*, under the Name of *Richard* Duke of *York*, the true and lawful Heir to the Crown of *England*, publiſh'd and diſpers'd a formal Declaration, the Subſtance of which was this: 'That being by the Grace of God, and Favour of *James* King of *Scotland*, enter'd

Bacon, &c.

He enters England.

His Declaration.

'ter'd into the Kingdom of *England*, he declar'd his coming was not to make 'War upon his Subjects, but to free them from the Tyranny with which 'they were oppreſs'd. That tho' it was known the Crown belong'd to the Royal 'Houſe of *York*, of which there remain'd no other Pretender than himſelf, the 'only ſurviving Son of *Edward* the Fourth; yet *Henry Tudor* had uſurp'd the 'Crown from him, and by inhuman Methods deſign'd to deprive him of his 'Life, boaſting that he had eas'd the Nation of a Tyrant, when he had made 'himſelf a greater than the other. That *Richard*'s Tyranny was the more ex-'cuſable, ſince his Nephews being ſuppos'd to be dead, he had ſome Pretence 'to give a Colour to it: The Difference between the two was, That *Richard* a 'true *Plantagenet*, had for his Arm the Honour of the Nation, and the Sub-'jects Tranquility; but *Henry* meanly born, without regard to either, had ſold 'the Kingdom's beſt Friends for ready Mony, made a diſhonourable Peace, and 'not only oppreſs'd the Subject, but unjuſtly put to Death the Lord Chamberlain, '*Stanley*, and ſeveral others, who were ready to withſtand his Oppreſſions. *Rich-'ard* had been mov'd to Tyranny by Ambition, *Henry* by Avarice; Ambition 'had made uſe of cruel Means, but Avarice, not only of cruel, but bare extor-'ting Methods: His Cruelty appear'd not only from the Deaths of many, but 'by his Impriſonment of the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*; 'his Baſeneſs and Extortion, by his intolerable Subſides, Taxes, and Impoſiti-'ons, under the Name of Benevolences, and by the Wars and Peace made only 'to heap up Treaſure. And becauſe his Uſurpation of the Crown had made 'him live in perputal Fear, not only of Men, but of Women, he had marry'd 'Ladies of the Royal Blood to Perſons of mean Condition; particularly a 'Siſter of himſelf the Duke of *York*, and a Siſter of his Couſin the Earl of *War-'wick*, that he might have leſs Reaſon to fear future Oppoſitions. Now as he 'came to free them from Violence by ſuch Forces as God ſhould give him, ſo 'by his plenary Regal Authority, he did at that preſent Time free them from 'all Grievances, by perpetually aboliſhing all that had hitherto been impos'd 'upon them, contrary to Law and Cuſtom: And that the good Will of his Sub-'jects might not be prejudic'd by the Law, for having illegally obey'd the Uſur-'per, he granted a general Pardon for all their Tranſgreſſions, upon Condition 'they ſubmit themſelves to him, and acknowledge him for their King; the moſt 'forward of whom ſhould enjoy the greateſt Marks of his Regal Favours. Next, 'he would maintain all that his Anceſtors, eſpecially what his Father *Edward* 'of glorious Memory, had ſworn to; which was the Preſervation of their Privi-'leges and Liberties, the Franchiſes of the Clergy, Nobility and People. Then 'he promis'd a Thouſand Pound in ready Mony, and a hundred Marks a Year of 'Inheritance, to whomſoever ſhould take or kill *Henry Tudor*. Laſtly he de-'clar'd that the King of the *Scots* aſſiſting of him was not done out of any Pact or 'Promiſe prejudicial to *England*, but meerly out of Generoſity and Juſtice; 'and whenever he had put him in Condition to defend himſelf by his *Engliſh* 'Subjects, he would return to *Scotland*, only with the Honour of having re-ſtor'd an injur'd Prince. This Declaration prov'd like Seed ſown on the Sands: *It has no effect.* Wherefore King *James* after he had long in vain expected ſome Commotion, he betook himſelf to plunder and deſtroy with as little Mercy as the *Scots* had wont to do in former Times. Having inrich'd his Soldiers he return'd back, hearing that great Forces were marching againſt him, knowing it would be dangerous for him to ſtay while he was incumber'd with the great Booty he took along with him.

Bacon. Biondi. At this time the Merchants were much diſcontented at the Breach of Commerce between *England* and *Flanders*; ſo that meeting with a fit Occaſion, they began to treat of it with their ſeveral Princes; ſince the reducing it to the former Condition would make for the Advantage of both Sides, therefore it was deſirable by both. The Arch-Duke was now ſenſible that *Perkin* was an Impoſtor, and that to favour him any longer would injure his Reputation, as it had

had already leſſen'd his Revenues. Therefore being ready to comply, Commiſſioners were appointed on both Sides, who concluded a perfect Treaty both of Amity and Intercourſe, between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of State, Commerce and Freedom of Fiſhing. To theſe Articles, was added an Inhibition of either Side to entertain the Rebels of either Country; in which Article the Territories of the Dutcheſs *Margaret* were expreſly nam'd, that *Perkin*'s Adherents might not be ſhelter'd there. After the Intercourſe was thus reſtor'd, the *Engliſh* Merchants again repaired to their Manſion at *Antwerp*, where they were receiv'd with Proceſſion and great Joy. Having ſetled this Affair, the King call'd a Parliament, where he much aggravated the Malice and the diſhonourable Treatment of the King of the *Scots*, who under the Pretence of ſupporting one whom all had diſcarded, had turn'd his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided People, only to pillage and depopulate, contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace: Concluding that he could neither with the Honour, nor the Safety of his People, ſuffer theſe Injuries to paſs unreveng'd. The Parliament well underſtood him, and gave him a Subſidy, limited to the Sum of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, beſides two fifteens. For his Wars were always to him, a Mine of peculiar Ore; Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the Bottom.

A Treaty with Flanders.

A Subſidy granted againſt Scotland.

A. D. 1497. Reg. 12/13. The King, tho' he avoided to fight with Enemies abroad, yet he was ſtill enforc'd to fight for his Mony with Rebels at home: For as ſoon as the Subſidy began to be levy'd in *Cornwall*, the Inhabitants exclaim'd againſt it as an unjuſt Exaction: And ſince the *Scotch* Commotion was ſo far from them, they thought only the neighbouring Counties were oblig'd to Contributions; as if when the Head akes, the Legs and Feet were unconcern'd, and might transfer their Duties to the Arms and Neck, as the neareſt Members. To make good this Inſurrection two numerous Heads appear'd; the one a Black-Smith or Farrier, call'd *Michael Joſeph*, and the other an Attorney nam'd *Thomas Flammock*, each of whom had their particular Ends: The Black-Smith was mov'd by Ambition, believing ſuch an Action would add Luſtre to his Memory, and that his clowniſh Loquacity would procure him the firſt Place among the People: The Attorney having gain'd Credit by his Profeſſion, had ſo far won upon their Opinions, as they believ'd the Refuſal of this Subſidy, and their Mutiny to be legal and meritorious. His Opinion was of ſufficient Authority to interpret the Power of the King and Parliament; he had inſtructed them *that they were not oblig'd to the Payment of any Subſides for War with* Scotland; *that the Law had provided for it by Eſcuage and other Means, ſo that this Subſidy was invented to fleece the People. He therefore adviſ'd them to preſent a Petition to the King, who for the Example of others would certainly puniſh the Inventers of it*; and they both offer'd themſelves to lead them on, 'till they ſhould find ſome Perſon of Quality, under whom they might ſerve. *But as for Matter of Life, there was no Hazard at all, their Demand being ſo juſt, as it would be approv'd by all the other Counties; and ſince the publick good was conſulted, from which the King's particular Intereſt could not be ſeperated.* Being thus incourag'd, they took up Arms; and becauſe they were not all provided with Bows and Arrows, they arm'd themſelves with ſuch Tools as belong'd to their ſeveral Trades. They enter'd by *Somerſetſhire*, and paſs'd through *Devonſhire*, without offering any Manner of Outrage; but coming to *Taunton*, they ſlew one of the Commiſſioners for the Subſidy, who had ſhew'd himſelf more active than the reſt. At *Wells* they met the Lord *Audley*, who hurry'd on by a fatal Diſcontent, ſubmitted to their General. They reſolv'd to march into *Kent*, out of an Opinion which *Flammock* had inſtill'd into 'em, That *Kent* had never been Conquer'd, but were the freeſt Part of *England*, and moſt likely to join with them. But upon their Arrival finding all Things to the contrary, ſome were amaz'd, and others enrag'd. The former wiſely drawing their Neck out of the Yoke, return'd home; the reſt paſſing forwards, thought

Ibid.

A Rebellion in Cornwall.

The Lord Audeley *heads the Rebels.*

thought that ſince they had met with no Oppoſition in ſo long a March, the King and the City would ſuffer them to make their own Conditions: And with this fooliſh Imagination they encamp'd themſelves within ſight of *London*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*.

They march into Kent.

The King was much concern'd at the firſt News of this Inſurrection, fearing leſt he ſhould have three Miſchiefs to encounter at once; the People of *Cornwal*, *Perkin*'s ſecret Intelligence, and the War with *Scotland*. He took to his Arms as ſoon as the Parliament was ended, deſigning to march towards *Scotland*; but being diverted by the other Occaſion, he ſuſpended that Reſolution. And becauſe he had ſent the Lord *Dawbeny* with ſome Forces to the Borders of *Scotland*, he order'd him to return, to take ſuch Counſel as Neceſſity requir'd, and ſent the Earl of *Surry* in his Room, with Orders to defend the Country, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould fall in upon it. He mov'd not againſt the Rebels at the firſt News, according to his uſual Cuſtom; for the Country, not being endamag'd by them, did not require it; and he was confident that wanting Mony and Ammunition, they would disband of themſelves, as they had already begun to do, when they fail'd in their Hopes of the *Kentiſh* Men. But when he ſaw them encamp'd near *London*, he reſolv'd to attack them; and to free himſelf from all Hazards of Fortune, he divided his Forces, which far exceeded theirs, into three diſtinct Bodies: He aſſign'd the firſt to the Earls of *Oxford*, *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*; the ſecond to the Lord Chamberlain, and commanded the third himſelf. He appointed the firſt to place themſelves behind the Hill where the Rebels where encamp'd, and to ſecure all the Paſſages beſides that towards *London*, that being incloſ'd like wild Beaſts in a Toil, they might not be able to eſcape. He order'd the Lord-Chamberlain to give them Battel in the Front, having aſſign'd him the beſt and moſt experienc'd Soldiers in the Army, as having the greateſt Dependance upon their Valour; and he himſelf ſtay'd with the third Body between *London* and them, to ſupply them, if it ſhould be needful, and to fight with ſuch as durſt march towards the City. In the mean time the Citizens were in a great Conſternation, which caus'd much Confuſion in the Streets, ſome running to the Walls, others to the River, without Order, or Knowledge what to do: For they could not believe but their coming from *Cornwall*, the utmoſt Bounds of *England*, muſt be with Intention to inrich themſelves by the Plunder of that opulent City; and they did not think that their quiet Paſſage through other Counties was to be taken as an Argument that they would do the like upon this Occaſion. But afterwards, underſtanding the good Order the King had taken, how that he had intereſted his own Perſon in the Danger; that the Enemy were to win three Battels, before they could come to the City; and that the Commanders were both faithful and valiant, they ſoon laid by their Fears.

The King prepares againſt them.

London *in a Conſternation.*

Ibid. That the Rebels might be more unprovided, the King politickly caus'd it to be reported in the Army, that he would not fight 'till the *Monday* following: But towards the *Saturday* Evening, the Lord *Dawbeny* according to Order ſet upon ſome Troops, which were lodg'd upon the Side of the Hill; and tho' they valiantly reſiſted, yet being but few in Number, they could not make good their Station. They quitting their Poſts, it was eaſie for the King's Forces to mount the Hill, make themſelves Maſters of the Plain, and fall in with their main Body. Tho' they were taken unawares, and their Troops out of Order, they ſo well receiv'd the firſt Attack, as the Lord *Dawbeny*, fighting at the Head of his Men, and playing the part of a common Soldier, was taken Priſoner; but was ſoon after reſcued: For the Rebels being ill arm'd without Commanders, Artillery or Horſe, they cou'd not ſo far reſiſt, but that in a ſhort Time two thouſand of them were ſlain, and great Numbers taken Priſoners. The Lord *Audely* the General, and the two Seducers, the Attorney and the Black-Smith, baſely ſuffer'd themſeves to be taken alive. Three hundred of the King's Side were ſlain, and moſt of them by Arrows; for the *Corniſh* Men us'd very ſtrong Bows,

The Rebels defeated.

Bows, and Arrows of a Yard in Length. The King came to the Place, and made many Knights Bannerets, as he had done before, when he was encamp'd in St. *George*'s Fields; and he gave the Goods of all the Priſoners to ſuch as had taken them. The Lord *Audely* was ignominiouſly led from *Newgate* to Tower-Hill, in a Paper Coat torn, and painted with his own Arms revers'd, and there beheaded. The Attorney and Black-Smith were brought to *Tiburn*, where they were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; the Black-Smith not ceaſing to ſhew his Vanity and Vain-glory to the very laſt, not doubting *But in future Times his Name would be memorable in Hiſtory.* The King would not have their Quarters ſent into *Cornwall*, as it had been appointed; for, hearing they were not totally ſuppreſs'd, he thought it not Wiſdom to exaſperate them any further. All the reſt were pardon'd by Proclamation; ſo that, beſides the Blood ſhed in the Field, the King ſatisfy'd himſelf with the Lives of only three Offenders, for the Expiation of this dangerous Rebellion.

Only three executed.

The King of *Scotland* hearing of this Rebellion, took Advantage from it, and went to beſiege *Norham* Caſtle, waſting all the Country in his Paſſage. This Caſtle belong'd to *Fox* Biſhop of *Durham*, who foreſeeing it would be inveſted, had doubly furniſh'd it with all ſorts of Ammunition; cauſing the Herds of Cattle, and what elſe might be uſeful to the Enemy, to be withdrawn into the ſtrongeſt Receſſes. The Earl of *Surry*, who was ready upon all Occaſions in *Yorkſhire*, haſten'd thither, at the Head of a conſiderable Force. Which when King *James* underſtood, he withdrew himſelf, and was purſu'd by the Earl; who not able to overtake him, ſat down before *Aton* Caſtle, one of the ſtrongeſt Places between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, which he ſoon took. Not meeting with any Oppoſitions he return'd to *Yorkſhire*; theſe two Actions having produc'd no Matter of Note, but the Preſervation of one Caſtle, and the winning of another; not anſwerable to the Power of the Forces, the Heat of the Conteſt, nor the Greatneſs of the Expectation.

Some Action with Scotland.

About the ſame Time arriv'd *Pedro D'Aiala*, a celebrated Man, ſent Ambaſſador from *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The outward Pretence of his Embaſſie, was to accommodate the Differences between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; but the true Cauſe was to negotiate a Marriage between *Catharine*, their ſecond Daughter, and the young Prince *Arthur*. King *Henry*, who had a great Dexterity in getting ſuddenly into the Boſom of Ambaſſadors, readily embrac'd the outward Offer, being no ways inclinable to the unprofitable War with *Scotland*; by the Ceſſation of which, two great Advantages would redound to him: The one was the driving *Perkin* from that Kingdom, where he had his chief Support, and getting him into his own Hands; and the other, a peaceful Reign, freed from the continu'd Moleſtations of Impoſtors. So that agreeing with whatſoever *D'Aiala* ſhould propoſe, with the Preſervation of his Honour, he allow'd him to go into *Scotland*; where having projected the Affair, and by the Agreement of the Council perſuaded that King to harken to a Peace, he wrot to King *Henry* to ſend ſome diſcreet Man, who together with him might end the Buſineſs with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*; which Commiſſion was given to *Fox* Biſhop of *Durham*, then reſiding at *Norham*. When they were met together in *Jedworth* they could not agree, by reaſon of many Difficulties that aroſe: *Henry* demanded to have *Perkin* deliver'd up to him; and *James* could not do it without great Aſperſion to his Honour: For tho' he knew him to be no better than a State-Juggler, yet having call'd him the Duke of *York*, made War in his Name, and marry'd him to a near Kinſwoman of his own, to deliver him up would injure his own Faith and Reputation. On *Henry*'s Behalf, was likewiſe demanded Satisfaction for the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd, and the Reſtitution of ſuch Booty as had been taken from *England*; which was impoſſible to be had, it being diſpers'd among the Soldiers: King *James* had not ſufficient to give Satisfaction to the other; and it was much eaſier for one to ſuffer the Loſs, than for the other to repay it. But all

A Treaty with Scotland.

all of them being met together with a Deſire of Peace, it was eaſie to find a Way to Accommodation; wherefore deferring the Treaty to another Seaſon, they agreed upon a Truce, upon Condition that *Perkin* ſhould be diſmiſs'd from *Scotland*. This being determin'd, King *James* call'd *Perkin* to him, and told him, That according to his Promiſe he had done what lay in his Power to ſerve him; then after as civil a Manner as the Subject would bear, he let him know, That the preſent State of Affairs requir'd him to retire from his Kingdom. *Perkin* caſting all his bad Succeſs upon the Averſeneſs of Fortune, aſſur'd the King he would never be unmindful of his Favours, and ſo embark'd himſelf, together with his Wife, and ſuch whoſe deſperate Condition had compell'd them to follow him, in three Ships which the King gave him, and ſail'd into *Ireland*; for he had no Hopes in *Flanders*, by reaſon of the new Alliance, between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke.

A Truce concluded.

Perkin *ſent from* Scotland.

The *Corniſh* Men underſtanding that he was come into *Ireland*, petition'd him to come over to them, profeſſing their Obedience, their Lives and Fortunes, for the advancing his Pretenſions to the Crown. They who were taken Priſoners in the laſt Battel, having ranſom'd themſelves from their Captors at very ſmall Rates, were return'd home; interpreting the King's Clemency only as the Effects of Fear and Impotence. So running into new Imaginations, and believing that the other Counties would follow their Example, they receiv'd *Perkin* with great Applauſe; who landed there with four little Barks, in the Month of *September*, with only a hundred and forty Men. Three thouſand of the *Corniſh* preſented themſelves before him all arm'd in the Town of *Bodmin*; from whence he iſſu'd out a Declaration under the Name of *Richard* the Fourth, King of *England*, making large Promiſes for the Eaſe of the preſent Tyrannical Government. He had three chief Counſellors to attend him, a broken Mercer, a Taylor, and a Scrivener; which three, joining with the reſt, were of Opinion, That the firſt thing to be done, was to gain ſome good Town, which might make for his Safety and Reputation, and might encourage the reſt. They ſate down before *Exeter*, which being a great and rich City, the Hopes of Booty invited many others to come over to *Perkin*. They made ſpecious Promiſes to the Citizens; among which, one was That King *Richard* would make their City a new *London*, in Recompence of their Fidelity, and for being formoſt in acknowledging him for their King; but wanting Artillery to force them, bare Words were not ſufficient to perſuade them. The Citizens let down Meſſengers over the Walls, and ſent News of the Siege to the Court, deſiring immediate Succours; which being apprehended by *Perkin*, he us'd all Methods to make himſelf Maſter of the Place before Relief could arrive. He attack'd it by Scaling Ladders, and ſet fire to one of the Gates, endeavouring to enter both Ways; but the Walls being well defended, the Fire extinguiſh'd, and many of the Aſſailants ſlain, the Danger was ſoon over.

He lands in Cornwall.

He attempts Exeter *in vain.*

Holling. Bacon. Spud.

The King hearing of *Perkin*'s Siege of *Exeter*, made Sport with it, and ſaid to thoſe about him, *That the King of Rake-Hells was landed in the Weſt, and he now hop'd to have the Honour to ſee him, which he never yet could do.* He was extreamly pleas'd, for now he ſeem'd to ſee the Bottom of his Peril, and as it were to hold his Enemy empounded within the *Engliſh* Ocean, it being a perpetual and noble Wiſh of his, *That he might look his Dangers in the Face, and meet them in open Field.* He ſuddenly diſpatch'd away Forces to relieve *Exeter* under the Conduct of the Lord Chamberlain, attended by the Lord *Brook* and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*; with Directions to declare that he was following in Perſon. But the Lords living in thoſe Parts, knowing that they ſhould do an acceptable Piece of Service, if they came unrequeſted into the Field, aſſembled many Troops: The Earl of *Devonſhire*, with his Son, and the chief Gentlemen of the County on the one Side; and the Earl of *Buckingham* on the other; ſo as being join'd together before the Chamberlain arriv'd, they advertis'd the King of what they had done, deſiring to receive his Commands.

Perkin underſtanding theſe Preparations, rais'd his Siege and march'd to *Taunton*, beginning to have one Eye upon the Crown, and the other upon the Sanctuary; tho' the *Corniſh* Men much encourag'd him, promiſing not to abandon him, while they had one Drop of Blood in their Bodies. But whether Fear or Warineſs had taught him not to truſt ſuch Promiſes, he reſolv'd to retire; having about ſeven thouſand Men with him, and ſeeming however to be courageous: But forſaking all theſe the next Night, he fled with threeſcore and ten Horſe to *Bewley*, where he took Sanctuary, ſhowing his wonted Compaſſion, *Not to be preſent when his Subjects Blood ſhould be ſpilt*. The King hearing of his Flight, ſent five hundred Horſe after him, fearing he ſhould eſcape by Sea; but finding he had taken Sanctuary, they us'd no other Violence, but to keep a ſufficient Guard 'till they ſhould receive new Commands. The Troops remaining in *Taunton* yielded themſelves to the King's Mercy; who pardon'd them all, except a few of their Heads, who were put to Death. The King firſt ſent to St. *Michael*'s Mount, where the Lady *Gordon* was left by her Huſband *Perkin*, whom in all Fortunes ſhe entirely lov'd, adding the Virtues of a Wife to thoſe of her Sex; and he ſent with the greater Diligence, as fearing ſhe might be with Child, by which the Buſineſs would not have ended in *Perkin*'s Perſon. Being brought before the King, he receiv'd her not only with Compaſſion, but with Affection; a noble Pity giving more Impreſſion to her excellent Beauty and Demeanour. Wherefore comforting her, he ſent her to his Queen, and aſſign'd her an honourable Penſion, which ſhe enjoy'd during his Life, and many Years after. The Name of the *White-roſe*, which had been given to her Husband's falſe Title, was continu'd in common Speech to her real Beauty.

He flies and takes Sanctuary.

His Wife is taken.

The King made a ſolemn Entry into *Exeter*, where having thanked the Citizens for their Loyalty, he took off his Sword he wore, and gave it to the Mayor, with Power to have it always carry'd before him. He ſent expreſs Meſſengers to the Sanctuary to *Perkin*, with Promiſe of Pardon; who ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all Hopes of Safety, yielded himſelf into their Hands, and was brought to the Court, but not to the King's Preſence, tho' oftentimes out of Curioſity, he would ſee him out of the Gallery Window. Divers Commiſſioners were nominated to proceed againſt ſuch as had join'd with *Perkin*, who were puniſh'd with Pecuniary Mulcts, which gave a general Satisfaction to the Nation. The Scorn and Mockery which *Perkin* receiv'd from the Courtiers, and from ſuch as ran to ſee him, as if he had been a Monſter, would have been a greater Puniſhment to a Man of Honour than a thouſand Deaths. When he came to *London*, he was led on Horſeback through all the City to the Tower, and from thence brought back to *Weſtminſter*; ſuffering by the Way all Kinds of opprobrious and injurious Language: For his greater Ignominy, they led another bound near to him, who was Farrier to the King's Stables, and then a chief Counſellor to *Perkin*, who being taken in the Habit of a Hermit, he was brought to *London*, and hang'd after he had accompany'd his new Maſter in this Proceſſion. *Perkin* upon Examination fully declar'd his whole Genealogy; his Father, Mother, Grand-fathers, Uncles, Couſins, their Imployments, and Countries; his Travels and Voyages, together with many other ſuperfluous Things: But concealing, or not committing to Writing, what was moſt eſſential, the ſeveral Practices of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*. He acknowledg'd his going into *Portugal*, but not that he was ſent by her; and in like manner he laid open his Voyage to *Ireland*. Whereupon the Confeſſion, being firſt written with his own Hand, and afterwards printed, did not fully ſatisfie the Peoples Curioſity; ſince they found the Name of the chief Actreſs in the Comedy purpoſely conceal'd. But the King would not any further exaſperate her; thinking it ſufficient Puniſhment for her to be ſo variouſly cenſur'd as ſhe was, together with her own Vexation, that her Inventions not ſucceeding ſhould be made evident to the World. Thus this famous Impoſtor fell into King *Henry*'s Hands after he had tormented him by Intervals for about the Space of ſix Years.

He yields to the King.

He is led through London *as a Spectacle.*

His Confeſſion.

V. King

Holling. Baron. &c.

V. King *Henry* having now ſurmounted the greateſt Obſtacles in his Reign, there ſoon after occurr'd a trifling and untoward Accident, that in length of Time produc'd great and happy Effects. The Caſtle of *Norham* is parted from the Borders of *Scotland* by the River *Tweed*; ſo that Neighbourhood having caus'd Converſation and Friendſhip between ſome young Men of *England* and *Scotland*, the latter us'd often to paſs the River, and come to drink and ſport with thoſe of *Norham*. The Soldiers of the Garriſon growing jealous of this Cuſtom, did not think their coming proceeded from Friendſhip, but out of a Deſire to know the Strength of the Fortifications; whereupon falling firſt to Words, and then to Blows, the *Scotch-men* by the Diſadvantage of the Place, and Inequality in Number, were hardly treated, and ſome of them ſlain. King *James* taking this as a Deſign to injure him, diſpatch'd away an expreſs Herald to complain; and in caſe King *Henry* would not give Satisfaction, to denounce War. The latter, regarding nothing ſo much as Peace, anſwer'd, *That he was ſorry for the Accident, which was wholly unknown to him; that he would enquire after the Aggreſſors, and give them ſuch Puniſhment, as there ſhould be no Occaſion to break the Truce.* But as time paſs'd on, and nothing was perform'd, *James* took it for Diſſimulation, and was more offended than formerly; and certainly great Miſchief might have enſu'd, had not the Biſhop of *Durham*, who was Lord of *Norham*, wiſely prevented it. For knowing that the Injury was done by his Men, he wrote in ſo ſubmiſſive a Manner to King *James* about it, as he reſted ſatisfy'd, and deſir'd the Biſhop to come to him, that they might treat upon the preſent Occaſion, and upon certain other Affairs that concern'd both the Kingdoms. The Biſhop acquainted King *Henry* with this, and obtain'd leave to go into *Scotland*; where meeting with King *James* at *Melroſs*, he return'd ſuch ſoft and modeſt Anſwers to him as ſoon brought him to a Reconciliation. After this the King more privately convers'd with him, and told him, *That his Deſire was to have a firm and ſtrict Amity, and the only way to effect it was by King* Henry's *giving him for Wife his eldeſt Daughter* Margaret; *by which the Friendſhip between the two Nations would be perpetual: That this was the Reaſon why he deſir'd him to come into* Scotland, *hoping that by his Wiſdom he might bring the Affair to a happy Period.* The Biſhop modeſtly anſwer'd, *That he thought himſelf rather happy than worthy to be an Inſtrument in ſuch a Matter; but would do his beſt Endeavour.* Therefore returning to *England*, he acquainted King *Kenry* with the whole Deſign, which prov'd very acceptable to him. The Matter being long debated in Council, the Match was determin'd, provided a Peace might precede it; all which was effected, and a Peace concluded during the Lives of the two Kings, and for one Year after. But the Celebration of the Marriage was to be deferr'd, becauſe the Lady was not yet ten Years of Age. About the ſame time dy'd *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, whoſe Obſequies were with great Pomp celebrated in *London* by King *Henry*, who could not forget the Favours he had receiv'd from him.

A D. 1498. Reg. 13/14.

The King of the Scots *complains againſt King* Henry.

He propoſes to marry his Daughter.

Which cauſes a Peace.

Ibid. In the mean time *Perkin*, who was made of Mercury, hard to hold or impriſon, deceiv'd his Keepers, and fled to the Sea-Coaſt. But ſuch diligent Care was taken, that in a ſhort Time he was forc'd to return back, and throw himſelf into the Priory of *Bethleem*, which had the Privilege of Sanctuary. The Prior being a Man of Note and Eſteem, went to King *Henry* and begg'd of him the Life of *Perkin*, leaving him otherwiſe to the King's Diſcretion. Many adviſ'd his Majeſty to take him immediately and put him to Death; but the King, who had ſo great a Spirit as he could not hate any that he deſpis'd, only ſaid, *Take out the Knave, and ſet him in the Stocks.* And ſo promiſing the Priſoner his Life, he caus'd him to be brought out; and two Days after, upon a Scaffold erected in the Palace Court at *Weſtminſter*, he was fetter'd and ſet in the Stocks, for the whole Day. And the following Day, the like was done

A. D. 1499. Reg. 14/15

Perkin *ſet in the Stocks.*

at the Croſs in *Cheap-ſide*; and in both Places he publickly read his Confeſſion, which he had formerly committed to Writing, that the World might be fully convinc'd of his being an open Impoſtor. He was again put into the Tower, but he could not hold from relapſing into his former Error: For growing intimate with four of his Keepers, who were Servants to Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and making them believe he was the true Duke of *York*, he ſo far prevail'd with them, as they perſuaded the Earl of *Warwick* to eſcape away with *Perkin*; which by their Help was to be effected by murdering the Lieutenant, and taking the Keys of the Tower. But this Conſpiracy was reveal'd in Time, and prevented; and in this again the Belief of the King's nice Wiſdom did raiſe a ſiniſter Opinion, that *Perkin* was but his Bait to enſnare the unfortunate Earl of *Warwick*. For the Inſtant while this Conſpiracy was operating, there broke forth another Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a Cordwainer's Son nam'd *Ralph Wilford*; a young Man ſet up and inſtructed by an *Auſtin* Friar, call'd *Patrick*. But this being miſmanag'd by the over Zeal of the Friar, they were both apprehended; the young Man was executed, and the Friar condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment. This Accident gave the King occaſion to ſend the true Earl of *Warwick* out of the World: Whereupon it was thought that *Perkin*'s Flight, and his ſecond Endeavour to do the like, were wrought by his Artifice; he giving Way to the Firſt, that he might put *Perkin* to Death; and ſtirring the Second, to free himſelf from the Earl and *Perkin* together. But however it was, *Perkin* being convicted of this laſt Conſpiracy, and condemn'd to die, was hang'd at *Tiburn*; where he again openly read his Confeſſion, and affirm'd it upon his Death to be true. Here was the End of one of the longeſt Plays of that Kind that had been remember'd; and might perhaps have had a different Period, if he had not met with a King extraordinary wiſe, valiant and fortunate.

He forms a Conſpiracy.

He is hang'd at Tiburn.

Immediately after, the poor Earl of *Warwick* was arraign'd before the Earl of *Oxford*, as High-Steward of *England*, for conſpiring together with *Perkin*, againſt the State and Perſon of the King; and being prov'd guilty by his own Confeſſion, was ſhortly after beheaded upon Tower-Hill. This caus'd the King to be ſeverely cenſur'd, as having no Reaſon to condemn him: For having been Priſoner from the ninth Year of his Age 'till the twenty fourth, and always in fear of Death, he was kept in ſo great Ignorance, that he did not know a Duck from a Hen; and therefore ſo little capable of the Fault, that he was not capable of the Contrivance; and his Confeſſion of it was only in Hopes of a Pardon. King *Henry* endeavour'd to lay the Cauſe of his Death upon the King of *Spain*, ſhewing his Letters, in which he declar'd, *He could not reſolve to marry his Daughter to Prince* Arthur, *ſince as long as the Earl of* Warwick *liv'd, he was not certain of the Kingdom's Succeſſion*: Which might be a Reaſon of State, but not of Juſtice; inſomuch that God would not give a Bleſſing to that Match, of which the religious Princeſs *Catharine* was afterwards ſenſible. For Prince *Arthur* dying in a ſhort Time, and ſhe being divorc'd from King *Henry* after twenty Years Marriage, ſhe ſaid, *It was no wonder if God had made her unfortunate in her Marriages, ſince they were ſeal'd with the Blood of the Earl of* Warwick. This Earl was the laſt Heir Male of the Blood and Sirname of *Plantagenet*; whoſe Race, as it was a long Time glorious for giving renowned Kings to *England*, ſo in the latter End it became odious to God and Man, for the horrible Fewds, Murthers and Perjuries committed within it ſelf, which finally threw open all thoſe Fences, which the Poſſeſſion of Majeſty and Numeroſity of Iſſue had for ſome Ages caſt about it; letting in thereby the Surname of *Tudor*, being but two Deſcents *Engliſh*, and which after three Deſcents, and five Princes, did likewiſe wholly diſappear.

Polydor. Speed. &c.

The Earl of Warwick *beheaded.*

The End of the Plantagenets.

A. D. 1500. Reg. 15/16. The Nation being now freed from all civil Diſturbances, was afflicted by a great Plague, which rag'd ſo terribly in *London*, and other Parts of the Land, that it caus'd the King to go over to *Calais*, together with his Queen and Family.

Bacon. Bizond.

mily. This being known to Arch-Duke *Philip*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to him to congratulate his Arrival, and to know *if he would be pleas'd that he himſelf ſhould come and viſit him; upon Condition he might be receiv'd in ſome open Place*; for which ſeveral ſpecious Reaſons were given. The Ambaſſadors were graciouſly receiv'd, the Condition was fairly interpreted, and St. *Peter*'s Church not far from *Calais* appointed for the Place. As he was coming towards *Calais*, the King went out to meet him, when he ſuddenly alighted from his Horſe to hold the King's Stirrop, which the King would not permit; but affectionately embracing him, he led him to the Church appointed for the Parly. The Cauſes of the Arch-Duke's coming were two; his own good Nature, becauſe he or his Council had offended him by protecting an Impoſtor, ſo that he would omit nothing that might give the King Satisfaction: The other, was the Advice of his Father, and Father-in-law, who counſell'd him to eſtabliſh a ſtrict Amity with King *Henry*, for the Benefit of the *Netherlands*, and his own Safety againſt the Violences of *France*; but chiefly, becauſe both hating the new King *Lewis*, they hop'd for many Advantages by his Friendſhip. The Arch-Duke fail'd not to uſe all the Art he could, tho' by Nature he was not addicted to Diſſimulations; terming him *His Father, Patron and Protector.* The Matters concluded between them were the Confirmation of the former Treaties, and two reciprocal Marriages; the one of the Duke of *York*, the King's ſecond Son, with the Arch-Duke's Daughter; the other of *Charles*, the Arch-Duke's eldeſt Son, with *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter: But all of them being either Children or Infants, theſe Marriages ſucceeded not, but evaporated through Time and Intereſt. The Arch-Duke was but juſt retir'd, when the King of *France* ſent the Governor of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens* to viſit King *Henry*, acquainting him with his Victories, together with his gaining
Ibid. of the Dukedom of *Milan*, and his Impriſonment of the Duke *Lodwick Sforza.* The Plague being by this Time ceaſed, King *Henry* return'd to *London*, well ſatisfy'd with the Teſtimony he had receiv'd, of the good Eſteem in which he was held by the neighbouring Princes.

A Plague. The King goes to Calais.

His Interview with Arch-Duke Philip.

The King returns.

At the ſame Time *Jaſper Pons*, a learned and well-bred Man, came into *England* from Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, upon the Occaſion of the Year of *Jubile*; for ſince they only receiv'd the Benefit of it who went to *Rome*, he thought it fit to have it commuted for by remote Countries, where the Inhabitants could not make ſuch long Journeys: Inſomuch as they ſtaying at home, might receive the ſame Indulgences, if they would give a certain Sum of Mony to be employ'd againſt the *Turks*, whoſe Approaches *Hungary*, *Germany* and *Italy* did much apprehend. This Man ſo wiſely manag'd this Affair, that he obtain'd large Sums of Mony, without any Murmurings, but againſt the King's Perſon; who being too much given to extort from his People, it was thought he would not have permitted ſuch Sums to be rais'd, unleſs he himſelf had been a Sharer. However the Matter was propounded from the Pope in the publick Conſiſtory, in the Preſence of all the Ambaſſadors then reſident at Court, with a Deſign to invade the *Turkiſh* Dominions in three ſeveral Places; in *Thrace*, by the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians* and *Polanders*; in *Greece*, by the *French* and *Spaniards*; and at *Conſtantinople* by the Pope himſelf, accompany'd by the King of *England* and the State of *Venice*: And he ſent Nuntio's to all Princes, that they would join their Forces and Monies according to their Abilities, in ſo pious a Work. The Anſwer which the King gave to *Pons* was, *That he was ready to accompany his Holyneſs, but the remote Diſtance of his Country would put him to double the Inconveniences with any others*: *That the Kings of* France *and* Spain *were firſt to be made Friends, who were fitteſt to accompany him; which if it could not be effected, all other Deſigns would prove vain. But if both ſhould refuſe, rather than his Holyneſs ſhould go alone, he would wait upon him; upon Condition he might have ſome good Towns upon the Sea-Coaſts of* Italy *put into his Hands, for the Retreat and Security of his Men:* This Declara-

The Pope propoſes a War againſt the Turks.

The King's Anſwer.

claration, as ſuperficial as it was, gave the King that Reputation abroad, that not long after he was elected by the Knights of *Rhodes*, Protector of their Order; all Things contributing to honour a Prince, who had gain'd ſuch high Eſteem for his mighty Wiſdom and Abilities.

The Concluſion of the fifteenth Century.

This Century concluded with the Deaths of three great Prelates in *England*; Cardinal *John Morton*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas Rotheram*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and *Thomas Langton*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The firſt was ſucceeded by *Henry Dean*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*; the ſecond by *Thomas Savage*, Biſhop of *London*; and the third by *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*; all Men Eminent in their ſeveral Stations.

A. D. 1501. Reg. 16/17.

VI. This ſixteenth Centuary began with the famous Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Infanta *Catharine* of *Spain*, who was ſent over with the greateſt Pomp and Attendance; a Marriage that was ſeven Years in compleating, then ſolemniz'd with the utmoſt Splendor and Magnificence, and memorable for the wonderful Conſequence it produc'd many Years after. The Tedioufneſs of the Negotiation proceeded not only from the tender Years of the Perſons to be marry'd, but from the two Kings themſelves, who being both of great Policy and profound Judgment, ſtood long at a Diſtance viewing each others Fortunes and Succeſs; well knowing that the very Name of the Treaty gave a Reputation of a ſtrict Amity between them; which on both Sides ſerv'd to many Purpoſes, that their ſeveral Affairs requir'd, and yet they ſtill continu'd free. The Infanta had for her Portion two hundred thouſand Crowns, a noble Dowry in thoſe Days, without any Covenant of Reſtitution either to her ſelf or Family; and in lieu of that ſhe had ſet out for Jointure the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Earldom of *Cheſter*; and if ſhe ſhould come to be Queen, ſhe was then to have as much as any other Queen of *England* ever had. This Lady was now eighteen Years of Age, and Prince *Arthur* above fifteen; yet notwithſtanding it prov'd a great Queſtion, and a Matter of Controverſie ſeveral Years after, whether ever he had Carnal Knowledge of her. In the Examination of which, a peculiar and material Paſſage was alleg'd, which tho' light, and diſagreeable to the Majeſty of Hiſtory, cannot fairly be omitted: That in the Morning after the Conſummation, Prince *Arthur* call'd for Drink, and finding the Gentleman who brought it to ſmile at the Paſſage as an unuſual Thing, he told him *He had been in the middle of* Spain, *which was a hot Country, and his Journey had made him thirſty, and if he had been in ſo warm a Clime, he would have been drier than himſelf.* However it was, this marry'd Couple liv'd not many Months together; for on the ſecond Day of *April* Prince *Arthur* dy'd at *Ludlow* Caſtle, where he kept his Court as Prince of *Wales*. There is little remaining of the Character of this Prince, but only that he was very ſtudious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Cuſtom of great Princes. His Death was a great Trouble to the King; the Infanta was left as a Burden to him, and if his Son Prince *Henry* was to marry another Wife, he was to find out a ſecond Jointure, a Matter repugnant to the publick State, and his frugal Diſpoſition: Whereupon reſolving to marry him to the ſame *Catharine*, he wrote concerning that Affair both to *Spain* and *Rome*. King *Ferdinand* was ſatisfy'd; but he met with Difficulties in procuring a Diſpenſation from the Pope, and gaining his Son's Conſent, who tho' he was but twelve Years of Age, much oppos'd the Matter, but at length was contracted, and afterwards marry'd to her: And the ſecret Providence of God ordain'd that Marriage to be the Occaſion of mighty Events and Revolutions.

The Marriage of Prince Arthur with Catharine of Spain.

Bacon. &c.

A. D. 1502. Reg. 17/18.

Prince Arthur's Death.

Catharine *contracted to Prince* Henry.

About the ſame Time the King met with ſome new Diſturbances from the Houſe of *York*. *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, who was ſlain at the Battel of *Stoke*, left his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Suffolk*, Heir to his Humour, and his Misfortunes; inſomuch that reflecting that he was Son to *Elizabeth*, Siſter both

Ibid.

to

to King *Edward* the Fourth, and *Richard* the Third, he thought he might take an uncontroll'd Liberty under any King's Reign. He had kill'd a Man; and in ſuch a Manner, as the Circumſtances much aggravated the Crime. However King *Henry* granted him his Pardon; but ſo as he was oblig'd to paſs all the Courſe of Law, to appear before the Judges, and receive Sentence of Condemnation. This Manner of Proceeding was ſo ſenſible a Mortification to his high Spirit, that reputing the Favour as a Mark of Ignominy, he ſuddenly left the Nation, and went into *Flanders* to his Aunt, the Dutcheſs *Margaret*. At which, tho' the King was offended, yet he was reſolv'd to apply nothing but Lenitives, giving Order to his Agents in thoſe Parts to offer him Pardon and Incouragement, if he would return; knowing that Deſpair in baniſh'd Men begets Thoughts little ſerviceable to themſelves, and very troubleſom to others. It ſucceeded according to his Expectation: For the Dutcheſs, either becauſe ſhe found his Genius inferior to the King's, or being oblig'd by the Concealment of her Name in *Perkin*'s publick Confeſſion, declin'd aſſiſting him; ſo that he return'd home, and was reconcil'd to the King. But arrogant and proud Diſpoſitions, ſuch as this unhappy Earl's, leading Men into Dangers and Difficulties, brought this Perſon at laſt to his Ruin, under King *Henry* the Eighth.

The Earl of Lincoln *diſaffected.*

He is reconcil'd to the King.

Bacon. Speed. &c.

A. D. 1503. Reg. 18/19.

The fortunate Marriage of *James* King of *Scotland* with the Princeſs *Margaret*, which was treated of ſome Years paſt by the means of Biſhop *Fox*, was celebrated in the beginning of this Year; which together with the preceding Year, was remarkable for two Marriages, and two Deaths: For the Marriage of Prince *Arthur* and his Death, the preceding Year; and for the Marriage of the King of *Scotland*, and the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* this preſent Year; that noted Queen dy'd in Child-bed in the Tower, and the Child not long after. This Marriage was perform'd by Proxy, and publiſh'd in *January* at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, when *Te Deum* was ſolemnly ſung. And certainly the wonderful Joy ſhown by the Citizens was more than could be expected, in a Caſe of ſo great and freſh Enmity between the Nations, eſpecially in *London*, which was ſufficiently diſtant from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War; therefore ſome have attributed it to a ſecret Inſtinct and Inſpiration, touching the Happineſs to enſue in future Ages. The Marriage in *Auguſt* following was conſummated at *Edingburgh*; the King bringing his Daughter as far as *Colli-Weſton* on the Way, and then conſigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who with a noble Train of Lords and Ladies, brought her into *Scotland* to the King her Husband. The Portion given by King *Henry* was ten thouſand Pounds; and the Jointures and Advancement aſſur'd by the King of *Scotland*, was two thouſand Pounds a Year, after his Death, and one thouſand Pounds a Year in preſent, for the Lady's Allowance or Maintenance, to be ſet forth in Lands of the beſt and moſt certain Revenue. During this Treaty, the King remitting the Matter to the Council, ſome of the Table warily put the Queſtion, *That ſuppoſing the King's two Sons ſhould die without Iſſue, that then the Kingdom of* England *would devolve to the King of* Scotland, *which might prejudice the Monarchy of* England. To this Scruple the King made a ſort of a Prophetical Anſwer, *That if ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen,* Scotland *would be but an Acceſſion to* England, *and not* England *to* Scotland, *becauſe the greater would certainly draw the leſs; which was a ſafer Union for* England, *than that of* France. The Effect of this Marriage is thus deſcrib'd by the Biſhop of *Roſs*: 'There was a perfect Peace and ſincere Amity between the two 'Realms of *England* and *Scotland* for a long time after. And truly during the 'Life of King *Henry*, no Cauſe of Breach was given by either of the Princes, 'but they continu'd in great Love and Friendſhip, and mutual Society, con-'tracting of Marriages, continual Interchange of Merchandize between the Sub-'jects of both Kingdoms, as if they had been all under the Obedience of one 'Prince; where through Juſtice, Policy and Riches did flouriſh and abound 'through-

The King of the Scots *marries* Henry's *Daughter* Margaret.

The happy Effects of the Marriage.

'throughout the whole Isle of *Albion*. And this is the happy Match that gave the lawful Succession of *England* to the Kings of *Scotland*, which happen'd without Opposition in latter Days.

A. D. 1504. Reg. 19/20.

VII. King *Henry*, finding himself secur'd by the Amity of *Scotland*, strengthen'd by that of *Spain*, cherish'd by that of *Burgundy*, and all Domestick Disturbances extinguish'd, now more than ever indulg'd his avaricious Temper, by endeavouring to gather and heap up Treasure. And as Princes more easily find Instruments for their Will and Humour, than their Service and Honour, he had gotten two Persons proper for his Purpose, *Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley*, who became so excessive and burdensome, that the People esteem'd them as his *Horse-Leeches and Shearers*. *Dudley* was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put odious Business into good Language; but *Empson*, who was the Son of a Mechanick, throwing off all Respect, always triumph'd upon the Fact perform'd. These two being Lawyers by Profession, and Privy-Counsellors by Authority, turn'd Law and Justice into Rapines and Extortions. Many Laws at that Time, either by Reason of the Civil Wars, or the Neglect of the Judges, were forgotten, or grown out of Use; and the Patrimony of the Crown, enjoy'd by many by Vertue of long Leases, being become almost as good as Fee-Simple, mov'd the King to examine them strictly; and these two, who were thought the best Practicers in the Law, were by him chosen for that Purpose, and full Authority given them. They rais'd up many Informers and Accusers; and the Accused being put in Prison, and there kept beyond the usual Time, they were compell'd to purchase their Liberties with large Sums of Mony. Others being cited by them, or their Delegates, were condemn'd, contrary to the Ordinary Course of Law; sometimes by false Witnesses, and other times by false Pretences, by which many rich Persons were impoverish'd. Such Judges, as, govern'd by Integrity, resisted their Wills, were either better taught by Imprisonments, or ruin'd by Amercements. Wards were not suffer'd to enter upon their Lands without vast Disbursements; and Laws which at several Times had been enacted more for Terror than Punishment, and some that had also been repealed, were without any Remission, rigorously put in Execution. These and many other Courses, fitter to be bury'd in silence than repeated, they had of preying upon the People, both for their Master's Advantage and their own; insomuch that they arriv'd at great Riches and Substance. In these Matters the King himself was too nearly concern'd to escape Censures and Reflections; and we have this peculiar Story remaining of his blameable Conduct. The King as he came to *Henningham*, a Castle belonging to the Earl of *Oxford*, who was a Principal Minister both in Peace and War, was there receiv'd and entertain'd with much Splendor and Magnificence: All that held Land by any Title of the Earl, came at that Time to give their Attendance; of which many were Gentlemen, and others Yeomen: They all wore the Earl's blue Liveries and his Feathers in their Hats; but the rest of their Apparel was according to every Man's Condition. When the King came forth, and found them orderly plac'd in two Rows in the great Hall, he having nicely observ'd them, ask'd the Earl, *If they were all his Servants*: The Earl with a Smile answer'd, *They were his Tenants and Retainers, who upon this Occasion came to wait upon his Grace.* The King having thank'd him for his good Entertainment, said, *That the Report of his Hospitality came short of the Truth; but he could not suffer his Laws to be broken in his Presence; therefore his Attorny must talk with him about it.* The Nobility were then restrain'd from giving above a certain Number of Liveries; so that the Earl was forc'd to compound for no less than fifteen thousand Marks. It is very probable that this unusual Action of the King's, whose Business was ever to depress the Nobility, might proceed as much from Policy as Avarice.

The King's covetous Proceedings.

The Extortions of Empson *and* Dudley.

The King too severe.

Bacon, &c.

In

In the mean Time the Earl of *Suffolk*, either through Hatred or Diſcontent, or for the Debts he contracted at Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage, fled a ſecond Time into *Flanders* with his Brother *Richard*; to the great Diſſatisfaction of the People, who reaſonably judg'd that ſome Diſorder would enſue. The King reſorting to his former Arts, immediately caus'd Sir *Robert Curſon*, Governor of the Caſtle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, to fly from his Poſt, and offer his Service and Aſſiſtance to the Earl. This Knight having inſinuated himſelf into the Earl's Secrets, and learning from him who his cheif Supporters were in *England*, he advertis'd the King of all with the utmoſt Secrecy; but ſtill maintian'd his own Credit and inward Truſt with the Earl. Upon his Advice the King attach'd *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, who had marry'd the Lady *Catharine* Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, *William De-la-Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *George Abergavenny*, Sir *James Tyrrell*, Sir *John Windham*, and Sir *Thomas Green*. The Iſſue was, *William Courtney* was detain'd Priſoner during the King's Life; not ſo much out of Guilt, as his near Relation to the Houſe of *York*: *De-la-Pole* was likewiſe kept Priſoner, tho' more at large; *Abergavenny* and *Green* were ſet at Liberty, *Tyrrell* and *Windham* were beheaded, and the reſt of inferior Quality hang'd. This was that *Tyrrell*, who was concern'd in the Murder of *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother in the Tower; for whom ſo eaſie a Death was too ſmall a Puniſhment. Then to keep up *Curſon*'s Credit in *Flanders*, and conceal his Intelligence in *England*, about the ſame time there was publiſh'd at St. *Paul*'s Croſs the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Execration againſt the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the ſaid *Curſon*, with ſome other Abettors of the Earl; in which it appears Heav'n was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to yield to Policy. But ſhortly *Curſon*, having perform'd his Buſineſs, return'd into *England*, where he gain'd as much the Favour of the King, as he did the Reproach of the People. His Departure extreamly abated the Courage of the Earl, who found he was betray'd: Therefore endeavouring to procure Help from foreign Princes, he went into *Germany*, and from thence into *France*: But his Labours proving vain, he return'd into *Flanders* under the Protection of Arch-Duke *Philip*, where he continu'd for about two Years.

The Earl of Suffolk *cauſes new Diſturbances.*

Several executed.

Baton. Stow.

In a Parliament call'd this Year, where *Dudley* was choſen Speaker, ſeveral wiſe Laws were enacted; and there was alſo granted to the King a Subſidy both for the Temporalty and the Clergy. And yet notwithſtanding, before the Year was expir'd there went out Commiſſions for a general Benevolence, tho' there were no Wars, nor Fears of any. The ſame Year the City of *London* gave five thouſand Marks for Confirmation of their Liberties; a Thing more proper for the Beginnings of Kings Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a ſmall Advantage that the Mint gain'd upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of *Groats*, and *Half-Groats*, ſince call'd Twelve-Pences and Six-Pences. As for the Mills of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, they ſtill did grind more than ever; ſo that it was ſurprizing to ſee what golden Showers did pour down at once upon the King's Treaſury: The laſt Payments of the Marriage Portion from *Spain*, the Subſidy, the Benevolence, the Recoinage, the Redemption of the City's Liberties, and the ſeveral Contingencies. He had now but one Son, and one Daughter unprovided for; he was wiſe, of an exalted Spirit, who needed not to make Riches his Glory; and he excell'd in many other Things; only Avarice ever finds in it ſelf Matter of Ambition. It ſeems he thought to leave his Son ſuch a Kingdom, and ſuch a Maſs of Treaſure, as he might chuſe his Greatneſs where he pleas'd. Then to add to his Honour and Fame, this Year Pope *Julius* ſent to him a Cap of *Maintenance*, and a Sword, as to a Defender of the Church; which Cap and Sword were receiv'd with many pompous Ceremonies.

A. D. 1505. Reg. 20 21.

The King encreaſes in Riches.

Biondi, &c.

But not long after the King was concern'd and perplex'd about the Death of the famous *Iſabel* Queen of *Spain*, and Mother to his Son's Wife; by reaſon of the exact Reſemblance that was in the Government of their Kingdoms, between *Ferdinand* and himſelf, both of them reigning in the Right of their Wives.

A. D. 1506. Reg. 21 22.

Wives. And tho' *Henry* had obtain'd his Kingdom under the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, won it by the Sword, and had it confirm'd both by Parliament and Pope, and tho' he had never admitted of his Wife's Right; yet he could not but be apprehenſive, That *Ferdinand*'s quitting the Crown to his Daughter, might by Way of Example effect and prejudice his Cauſe, and make immediate Way for his Son Prince *Henry*. The Caſe was the ſame, and the foremention'd Securities were with many Men of no Weight, in Compariſon of Natural Extract. To determine this Matter with leaſt Oppoſition, Queen *Iſabel* left the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom to her Husband *Ferdinand* during his Life, tho' her Daughter *Joan* was immediate Heir. But this highly diſguſted the Arch-Duke *Philip* who had marry'd this Heir; for being become King of *Spain* in Right of his Wife, he thought he was injur'd, as being reputed unfit to govern without his Father-in-law's Aſſiſtance and Superintendency. To remedy this Grievance, before *Ferdinand* ſhould be ſetled in his pretended Adminiſtration, he took ſhipping with his Wife in *January*, when it was believ'd that he would never have taken a Voyage of that Nature. He had hardly left the Coaſt of *Flanders*, when taken by a ſudden Tempeſt, his Fleet was diſpers'd upon the Coaſt of *England*; ſo that he was forc'd to get on ſhore at *Weymouth*, contrary to the Advice of ſome with him. The great Number of his Ships had given Alarm to the Country, ſo that many Troops of armed Men haſten'd to *Weymouth*, not knowing but it might be ſome Enemy to invade the Nation. Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, and Sir *John Carew*, who were their Commanders, underſtanding the Cauſe of his Landing, deſir'd him to reſt himſelf in Sir *Thomas*'s Houſe, 'till they could inform the King of his Arrival; to which he conſented, as knowing that otherwiſe they would not ſuffer him to depart. The King hearing of this, ſent the Lord *Arundell* by way of Compliment, to let him know that he himſelf would ſhortly come and give him a Viſit; but *Philip* fearing to loſe too much Time, reſolv'd to go himſelf to *Henry*, cauſing his Queen to come ſlowly after him. He 'was met ſix Miles from *Windſor* by Prince *Henry*, and one Mile from thence by the King, who receiv'd him with all the Terms of Honour and Friendſhip. He treated with them of the Marriage of their Children, and of his own Marriage with *Margaret*, the Dutcheſs *Dowager* of *Savoy*, Siſter to *Philip*: He renew'd all Confederacies made between them in the preceding Year, by the Name of Arch-Duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, now by the Name of King of *Spain*. Theſe had better Succeſs for the *Engliſh* than the former, eſpecially in the Fiſhing Trade; at which the *Flemmings* were much offended. He with much Difficulty obtain'd the Perſon of the Earl of *Suffolk*, who liv'd under the Protection of *Philip*: *Henry* knew ſo well how to perſuade him, by paſſing his Royal Word he would not put him to Death, that *Philip* ſent for him into *Flanders*; the one deſiring to have him before the other departed, and the other not to depart 'till he was arriv'd, that it might be believ'd that he had been in a Manner compell'd to deliver him up. As ſoon as the Earl was arriv'd, and put in ſafe Cuſtody in the Tower, *Philip* departed well pleas'd from *England*, and was receiv'd in *Spain* without any manner of Reſiſtance, *Ferdinand* totally quitting the Government to him; which he enjoy'd but for a while, for he dy'd ſhortly after.

Arch-Duke Philip *driven into* England *by a Storm.*

His Entertainment.

He goes to Spain.

His Death.

A. D. 1507. Reg. 22/23.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being in the Tower, and King *Henry* freed from all manner of Trouble and Moleſtation, he betook himſelf to Domeſtick Affairs, and ſent his Chaplain, the famous *Thomas Wolſey*, afterwards Cardinal, to the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage with the forenam'd Dowager of *Savoy*. This Treaty in a great Meaſure prov'd the firſt Riſe of *Wolſey*, who perform'd the Journey and the whole Matter with ſuch Celerity of Diſpatch as was almoſt incredible; for which he receiv'd the King's particular Thanks, and Favour. This Marriage was never conſummated, by Reaſon of King *Henry*'s Indiſpoſition of Health that ſhortly enſu'd; for he now began daily to decline and

Bacon &c.

King Henry *declines in Health.*

and draw towards his End: The Gout, a Diſeaſe more troubleſom than mortal, was the Forerunner of a Diſtillation, which falling upon his Lungs brought him into a kind of Conſumption, which he perceiving, he began to give himſelf totally to pious Works. For this Year he gave greater Alms than ever he did before, and diſcharg'd all Priſoners about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under forty Shillings. He haſten'd his religious and charitable Foundations; and hearing alſo of the Outcries of his People againſt the Oppreſſions of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, with their Accomplicies, partly by devout People about him, and partly by publick Sermons, he began to be touch'd with great Remorſe and Compunction. Yet ſtill theſe two Devourers of the People, tho' they could not but hear of theſe Scruples in the King's Conſcience, as if the King's Soul and his Mony were lodg'd in ſeveral Offices, and the one never to interfere with the other, proceeded with as great a Rage as ever. Many for ſlight Cauſes were moleſted in their Eſtates, and in their Lives: One dy'd in Priſon before his Cauſe could be heard; another being in Priſon for denying to pay a Sum contrary to Law, was not let out 'till the next Reign, when *Empſon* was put in his Place.

He proceeds to Acts of Charity.

Ibid. To make good the uſual Cuſtom of promiſing Obedience to new Popes, the King ſent Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with two other Ambaſſadors, to Pope *Julius* the Second, which he had not formerly done, tho' he was elected ſome Years before. They urg'd much for the Canonization of King *Henry* the Sixth, but did not ſucceed; either becauſe the Pope held that Honour at an exceſſive Rate, or that he was willing to make a Diſtinction between Innocents and Saints. Being diſmiſs'd by the Pope, they carry'd the Garter, and all the Robes and Badges of of that Order to *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbin*, who thankfully accepted of the Honour. This Year the King furniſh'd his Hoſpital in the *Savoy*, which had been a noted Palace of the *Lancaſtrains*; and likewiſe he founded three Monaſteries for the *Conventual* Friars of the Order of St. *Francis*, and three for the *Obſervants* of the ſame Order, in diſtinct Places. Beſides which, his pious Mother the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, not long before this Time, founded two noble Colleges in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, call'd *Chriſt* and St. *John*'s. Theſe were ſpiritual Improvements and Advantages: But the laſt Act of State that concluded this King's Temporal Felicity, was the Agreement of a Glorious Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender Years; which Treaty was perfected by Biſhop *Fox*, and other Commiſſioners at *Calais*, the Year before the King's Death. In which Alliance he took ſo much Satisfaction, that conſidering he was to have two Kings for his Sons-in-law, he declar'd *That he thought he had built a Wall of Braſs about his Kingdom.* So that now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, who had arriv'd at the Top of Human Glory, but a quiet and ſeaſonable *Exit* to ſecure him againſt any future Blows of Fortune.

A. D. 1508. Reg. 23, 24.

The King's laſt Acts.

And this prov'd his Fate; being foretold by a regular conſuming Sickneſs, which gave him full Time to provide againſt all the Terrors of his laſt Hour. He had liv'd almoſt all his Time in Troubles, but always with Succeſs and Victory: He found a Kingdom involv'd in Civil Wars, he left it in a ſetled Peace. His Subjects, who were impoveriſh'd by the paſt Diſorders, were notwithſtanding his Taxations, by reaſon of his wiſe Government become rich; and he did not only free the Crown from all Debts, but left behind him in *Richmond* a vaſt Treaſure of a Milion and eight hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling; ſo that he was juſtly accounted the richeſt Prince in *Europe*. To crown all, in his laſt Year, as well as his firſt, he did an Act of Piety, worthy of Imitation; he granted a general Pardon, as expecting a ſecond Coronation in a better Kingdom; and did alſo declare by his Will, that Reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe Sums, which had been unjuſtly taken by his Officers. And thus this *Solomon* of *England*, as he is call'd by ſome, dy'd at his Palace at *Richmond*, upon the twenty

A. D. 1509. Reg. 24.

His great Treaſure.

His Death.

twenty ſecond Day of *April*, in the fifty third Year of his Age, after a moſt politick and fortunate Reign of twenty three Years and eight Months.

His Interment. The Manner of his Interment was thus: His Body was brought into the great Chamber, where reſting three Days, it had ſolemn Maſs and Dirige ſung by a Miter'd Biſhop; whence remov'd into the Hall, had there the ſame Service the like Space, as alſo in the Chappel for three Days longer; and in every Place a Herſe adorn'd with Banners, Eſcotcheons and Pendants, and with the Attendance of Mourners. From whence it was convey'd into a Chariot, cover'd with black Cloath of Gold, drawn by five noble Courſers cover'd with black Velvet, adorn'd with Eſcotcheons of fine Gold, with his Effigies over it, apparell'd in rich Robes, with the Crown on the Head, and Scepter and Globe in the Hands, environ'd with Banners of Arms of all his Dominions, Titles and Genealogies; a great Number of Prelates praying, with other Attendants before the Body, and nine Mourners and about ſix hundred Torches following it. In this Order it was met at St. *George*'s Field by the Religious of all Sorts in and about the City, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Officers in Black; and was brought through *London* to St. *Paul*'s, and plac'd in the Quire under a ſtately Herſe. Whence after a ſolemn Maſs, and Sermon preach'd by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, it was next Day with the ſame State convey'd to *Weſtminſter*, having the Royal Banner born on a Courſer trapped with the Arms of the Defunct, and there by ſix Lords taken out of the Chariot, and ſet under a moſt glorious Herſe full of Lights; the Repreſentation lying upon the Coffin upon a Pall of Gold, about which the Mourners being plac'd within the firſt Rail, Knights with Banners within the ſecond, and Officers of Arms without the ſame, *Garter* King of Arms cry'd aloud, *For the Soul of the Noble King* Henry *the Seventh*; when the Quire beginning *Placebo*, and ending at *Dirige*, clos'd the Solemnities of that Day. The next Day were three Maſſes ſolemnly ſung by Biſhops, at the laſt of which were offer'd the Banner and Courſer, Coat of Arms, Sword, Target and Helmet, the Nobility offering their rich Palls of Cloath of Gold, *&c.* And thus, the great Officers breaking their Staves, his Body was interr'd in his own magnificent Royal Chappel; in which a glorious Monument of Copper was erected for him, and finiſh'd by a *Florentine* at the Expence of a thouſand Pound; which is thus deſcrib'd by the Lord *Bacon*: He lyeth bury'd at *Weſtminſter* in one of the ſtatelieſt and daintieſt Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chappel and the Sepulchre; ſo that he dwelleth more richly dead in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did alive in *Richmond*, or any of his Palaces.

His Character. and Reign. To ſay ſomething of the Perſon and Character of this mighty Prince; he was of great Vigour and Strength of Body, lean, and of Stature taller than the common Sort; of a wonderful Beauty and fair Complexion; with a Countenance pleaſing and ſmiling, eſpecially in Converſation. Yet he had a high Spirit and haughty Courage, and govern'd without a Rival; not admitting any near or full Approach either to his Power, or to his Secrets, and all without any affected Oſtentation. He was a Man of wonderful Abilities, and had many excellent Qualifications; he was ſober, moderate, chaſte and pious, had a quick Wit, and a profound Penetration, which in all great Perils and Emergencies was ſupernatural, and in a manner divine. And indeed as to Wiſdom and Policy he ſeem'd to excel all Princes, always ſhewing in them ſomething admirable and ſurprizing; by which he ſurmounted infinite Difficulties, both before and after he came to the Crown, and brought Peace, Union and Tranquility to a Nation divided, diſtracted, and beſmear'd with Blood; gaining the full Poſſeſſion of a Throne by a Complication of all the Titles that ever made a Man King, as Inheritance, Marriage, Conqueſt, Uſurpation and Election, beſides the Pontifical Confirmation. Having obtain'd the Crown, he politickly took care to put gradual Stops to the Power of the Nobility, who had lately rais'd ſuch Storms in the Nation, which he perform'd by procuring three ſeveral Laws:

Laws: By one of which the Barons Lands were made alienable, which would cauſe them inſenſibly to divide and break in Pieces: By another he incourag'd Husbandry, aſcertaining Proportions of Land for Tillage; by which the Country Farmers, living more plentifully, would not ſo readily be ſeduc'd by their Lords to diſturb the publick Peace: By a third, Retainers were lopp'd off; ſo that the Nobility were ſtripp'd of their mighty Retinues, and could not eaſily compoſe a Cavalry, which was uſually made up of theſe Followers: By all which, the Balance of the Nation was gradually alter'd, and the Commons obtain'd a greater Power and Figure than ever they had before. As his Wiſdom was great, ſo he took care to be ſerv'd by the ableſt Men that could be found in the Nation, both as to War and Counſel; nor did he regard how ſubtle they were, for as to that he knew himſelf to have the maſter Reach. His Government and Power was extenſive and great, yet no King ever yielded more to his Parliaments, which ſtill made it greater, ſo that many foreign Princes either courted or dreaded it. Some reckon it among his principal Glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the Sixth, *Pius* the Third, and *Julius* the Second, did in their ſeveral Times, with the Conſent of their Cardinals, elect him for *Chief Defender of Chriſt's Church*, before all other Chriſtian Princes. He always profeſs'd to love and ſeek Peace; and it was his uſual Preface to his Treaties, *That when Chriſt came into the World, Peace was ſung, and when he went out of the World Peace was bequeath'd.* Yet he is blam'd with making himſelf ſomewhat little by being ambitious, and a little poor in admiring Riches: But as to his Ambition, it was better regulated than in any of his Predeceſſors; and his Avarice might be ſaid to be more the Effect of his Policy than his Temper. The moſt real Stains upon his Memory was his taking off the Lord *Stanley*'s Head, who had ſet the Crown upon his, and his unfair Execution of the young Earl of *Warwick*, without any certain Guilt, or perhaps none greater than his being the laſt of the *Plantagenet* Race; which ſeem'd to have been reveng'd upon his own Race and Progeny: For his Poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-Children, as that of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth had done before him. He ſeems to have been more than ordinary ſolicitous about his Poſterity, and by a fam'd Tradition we are told that he ſent to enquire after his Succeſſors from a celebrated Prophet or Negromancer, who in his Anſwer return'd him this remarkable *Latine* Verſe, *Mars, Puer, Alecto, Virgo, Vulpes, Leo, Nullus*: But how far this was accompliſh'd in the Characters of his Succeſſors, will better appear from the following Hiſtory.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Eighth.*

Containing 37 Years, 9 Months, and 5 Days.

Hall. Holling. Stow. Speed. Herbert. &c.

I. IN the laſt Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* were join'd and cemented; but now they were intirely united in the Perſon of King *Henry* the Eighth, in whoſe Character and Life there was ſuch uncommon Variety, that he may be ſaid to have inherited the good and bad Qualifications of both thoſe famous Families. He ſucceeded his Father with the univerſal Applauſe and Satisfaction of the Nation; being now near nineteen Years of Age, and happily endow'd with all the Perfections of Body and Mind. As to his Perſon, it was extraordinary tall, beautiful and majeſtick, and he had great Strength and Agility of Body, which ſignal- A. D. 1509. Reg. 1.

ſignally appear'd in ſeveral Juſts and Tournaments before and after he came to the Crown: For at Tilt he bore down a brave Man at Arms, both Horſe and Rider; at Barriers threw Sir *William Kingſton* a Knight of great Strength to the Ground; and with a Battel-Axe combated with *Giot*, a Gigantick *German*, and lent him more powerful Blows than he could repay. Then beſides his having a magnanimous Spirit and extenſive Soul, he had the Happineſs of a nice and learned Education, being deſign'd by his Father, during the Life of his Brother *Arthur*, for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*; and not only the more neceſſary Parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even thoſe of Ornament; ſo that beſides his being an able Linguiſt, Philoſopher and Divine, he was alſo a curious Muſician and Compoſer. All which Qualifications, being join'd to ſo excellent a Perſonage, caus'd him to be lov'd and admir'd by his Subjects, and alſo to be courted and rever'd by his Neighbours.

The Beginning of King Henry's *Reign.*

Thus happily began this remarkable Reign, when the young King, following the Advice of able Counſellors, committed fewer Errors than when he govern'd by a more unlimited Will; for as they were ſelected by the wiſe Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, ſo he took their Impreſſions readily, both out of Diffidence of his own Abilities in managing a Kingdom, and a Deſire to be free as to thoſe Exerciſes moſt agreable to his Youth and Diſpoſitions. His chief Counſellors were *William Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor; *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Secretary and Lord Privy-Seal; *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord Treaſurer; *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Steward of the King's Houſhold; Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord Chamberlain; Doctor *Thomas Ruthal*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*. By the Advice of theſe Counſellors, one of his firſt Acts, after the finiſhing his Father's magnificent Funeral, was his Care to perform his Father's former Appointment in marrying the Lady *Catharine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which probably, but out of Reſpect to Filial Piety, he had not the greateſt Devotion; and for relinquiſhing of which, no doubt he might have more eaſily obtain'd a Diſpenſation from the Pope, than his Father had done for getting it allow'd. But Obſequiouſneſs to his Father's firſt Appointment, (tho' contrary to his laſt Thoughts) and Reſpect to the Advice of his Council, ſo far prevail'd with him, that he would not be crown'd 'till the Marriage was ſolemniz'd, that one Coronation might ſerve for both Parties. Accordingly, about ſix Weeks after his Father's Deceaſe, on the third Day of *June*, he marry'd the Princeſs *Catharine* at the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Houſe in *Fleetſtreet*; where among the numerous Ceremonies, this is remarkable, that tho' the Bride was a Widow, ſhe was attir'd all in White, to expreſs her untouch'd Virginity, upon which ſhe and her Friends ever inſiſted. Shortly after, the King, having made twenty four Knights of the *Bath* in the Tower, upon *Midſummer* Day was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, together with his Queen, by the Hands of *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with wonderful Magnificence, and all the Circumſtances of State. All the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did their Homage; and the People, according to ancient Cuſtom, being ask'd *Whether they would receive him for their King?* they unianimouſly cry'd, *Yea, Yea*! Then to perform the moſt noble Part of his Father's Will, he proclaim'd a Pardon for all Crimes, except Treaſon, Murder, and Felony, and promis'd Reſtitution of all Goods unjuſtly taken from any of his Subjects. And becauſe the Inſtruments of ſuch Injuſtice are always moſt odious, and nothing gives a People more Satisfaction, than ſeeing their Perſecutors puniſh'd; he caus'd *Empſon* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors in the late rapacious Proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of the inferior Agents, call'd Promotors, to be ſet in the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their Heads, and then to ride through the City to *Newgate*, with their Faces to the Horſe-Tails.

His firſt Marriage, with Catharine *of* Spain.

His Coronation.

Empſon *and* Dudley *committed.*

And

A. D. 1510. Reg. 1.

And now the King, having taken ſeveral Proſpects of his neighbouring Princes, thought fit to call a Parliament in *January* following; in which the principal Proceedings ſeem to have reference to *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s Extortions; which were ſo repreſented, that the King was willing in ſome meaſure to reſtrain his own Authority, that he might enlarge the Peoples Confidence and Affection towards him. And as divers of thoſe Statutes, by which the late King *Henry* took Advantage of the People, were repeal'd, explain'd or limited; ſo *Empſon* and *Dudley*, who had formerly been condemn'd, were now attainted of High-Treaſon. After they had continu'd above half a Year longer in Priſon, the King, to ſatisfie the importunate Clamours of the People, caus'd them both to be beheaded; in which, according to ſome, he acted more like a good King, than a good Maſter. However by this, and his remitting of ſeveral Fines, he gain'd the Love and Affection of the Nation at this Time, and was in perfect Peace and Safety with his People. This gave him Opportunity to follow thoſe Liberties and Pleaſures which were moſt ſuitable to his youthful and vigorous Diſpoſition; yet his Exerciſes were not ſportful alone, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Arms. For tho' he us'd Feaſtings, Masks, Dancings, Singing, Playing upon many Inſtruments, making Verſes, and the like; yet his more ſerious Entertainments were Study of Hiſtory, and School Divinity, in which he much delighted, as likewiſe in Juſts, Tourneys, and Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner, but with the two-handed Sword and Battel-Axe. Theſe again were adorn'd and ſet out with moſt coſtly Pageants and magnificent Devices, and thoſe ſo frequently, that they did not only conſume much Time, but alſo great part of his vaſt Treaſure. And indeed never any King delighted more in Pomp and Show; his Court was marſhall'd like a Camp, and his Camp ſet out like a Court; ſo that *Mars* and *Venus* ſeem'd to be in Conjunction all this Reign, and Love and Honour as faſhionable as in the Romances of thoſe Times. Nor needed he any thing beſides his own Example to draw the young Nobility after him, who were now no leſs conſiderable for their Number than their Quality; ſo that all the neighbouring Nations were both ſenſible and apprehenſive of his growing Greatneſs.

They are executed.

The King's uſual Exerciſes.

For this Reaſon ſeveral Ambaſſadors repair'd to him from *France*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Italy*, and other Places, who were entertain'd after a moſt magnificent and extraordinary Manner. The Buſineſs of *Lewis* the *French* King was chiefly to keep a good Correſpondence between the two Nations, while he proceeded with his Wars in *Italy*; which was the Cauſe of a new Treaty between *England* and *France*. And whereas at the Treaty in 1498, King *Lewis* had given Caution to *Henry* the Seventh to pay that which remain'd of the ſeven hundred and forty five thouſand Crowns, due from a former Treaty between *Charles* the Eighth and the ſaid *Henry*, in 1492; He did now ſtipulate to pay the Remainder of the ſaid Sum. The Buſineſs of *Scotland* was Congratulation, in the Name of King *James* the Fourth, his Brother-in-law and Siſter, with a Confirmation of a late Treaty of Peace; and that of *Denmark* was chiefly to eſtabliſh a better Courſe for Trade and Commerce. But becauſe Pope *Julius* the Second became jealous of the Greatneſs of the *French* in *Italy*, he earneſtly ſolicited King *Henry*, by remembring him of the Glory of his Anceſtors, and offer'd him the Honour to be *Caput Fœderis Italici*. Upon this the King ſent *Bambridge*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, to reſide at *Rome*, and to treat of theſe Affairs. In the mean time the *French* march'd forwards and inveſted *Bononia*, while the Pope lay ſick in the Place, and forc'd his Holineſs to very hard Conditions, which ſounded ſo ill, that King *Henry* immediately made a League with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* for his Defence; which occaſion'd greater Actions afterwards. *Ferdinand* ſent an Embaſſie both to congratulate King *Henry* for the Birth of a Son, which liv'd near eight Weeks, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*. His Requeſt was immediatly granted, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* was ſent with fifteen hundred Archers, who afterwards

His Correſpondents.

A. D. 1511. Reg. 2.

He grants Aids to ſeveral.

wards returned home richly rewarded. In the like Manner *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, obtain'd of the King fifteen hundred Archers to aſſiſt her againſt the Duke of *Guelders*, tho' Confederate both to the *French* and *Scotch*. Theſe under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, were upon their Landing met by the Lady Regent, and treated with great Teſtimonies of their Worth, and afterwards diſmiſs'd with unuſual Marks of Honour. So that at preſent every Thing contributed towards the Fame of the *Engliſh* King and Nation.

Yet the King's Authority over the narrow Seas, which had been carefully preſerv'd by his Anceſtors, was about this Time ſomewhat leſſen'd by the Piracies of *Andrew Barton* a *Scotch* Man. This Perſon, in Revenge of his Father's Death and other Injuries, having in vain ſought Redreſs for a Ship taken from him by ſome *Portugueze* obtain'd Letters of Mark from *James* the Fourth his King, but upon Condition that he ſhould not exerciſe Piracy. Notwithſtanding which, he ſeiz'd upon ſeveral *Engliſh* Veſſels, upon Pretence of their carrying *Portugueze* Goods, and pillag'd them. To remedy which Inconvenience, the two Sons of *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* were employ'd; the Elder, call'd *Thomas*, commanding in one Ship, and *Edward*, the younger Brother, in another. In the open Sea they engag'd with *Barton*'s two Ships, which, tho' leſs than the other, maintain'd a cruel Fight; the obſtinate Pirate, tho' wounded even to Death, encouraging his Men with his Whiſtle to his laſt Breath. But the *Engliſh* ſo well purſu'd their Point, that at laſt they forc'd their Ships, took all the Men Priſoners, and at *London* preſented them to the King; who, upon their Submiſſion, graciouſly pardon'd them, upon Condition they departed the Kingdom within twenty Days. King *James* hearing of this, ſent to require Satisfaction, as being againſt the Treaty between them; but it was anſwer'd, *That it did not become a King to impute Breach of Treaty to his Confederate and Allie, only for ſhewing Mercy to Pirates.* The Meſſenger, rather ſilenc'd than ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, return'd to his King, who when Occaſion was offer'd, fail'd not to ſhew how much he reſented the Death of *Barton*. Having ſetled all things in Quiet, King *Henry* paſs'd away his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Greenwich*, with the extraordinary Pomp of many unuſual Masks, Interludes, and other glorious and expenſive Entertainments.

The Seas infeſted,

and clear'd.

A. D. 1512. Reg. 4.

II. While King *Henry* liv'd in Peace and Felicity at home, the *French* King proceeded in the Wars of *Italy*, with ſo much Succeſs, that the Pope was compell'd to ſollicite the Aſſiſtance of him and *Ferdinand* of *Spain*. This being variouſly debated in Council, it was at laſt determin'd that this was a fair Opportunity to recover the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*. Whereupon the King reſolv'd, together with calling a Parliament, to ſend to *Lewis* the Twelfth a monitory Embaſſie, requiring him to deſiſt from the War againſt the Pope; but *Lewis*, whether out of his own Courage, or that he thought the Emperor aſſur'd to him, regarded not his Advice. King *Henry* therefore, that he might have more than one Pretence to invade *France*, ſent bravely to require all his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Normandy*, *Gaſcony*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, &c. and in caſe of a Refuſal, to denounce War. This then being proclaim'd, Levies were commanded, and Supplies granted by a Parliament that met in the Beginning of this Year, in which ſeveral new Laws were enacted.

Polydor. Holling. Stow. Speed. Herbert. &c.

The King declares War againſt France.

The War with *France* being determin'd, it was conſulted in what Part the *Engliſh* ſhould begin: And tho' that of *Calais* ſeem'd the moſt ready Way, yet becauſe King *Ferdinand* promis'd to join with the King of *England* in this War, it was by his Conſent reſolv'd to land in ſome Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; and that from thence, both their Armies being united, ſhould jointly invade *Guienne*, and *Gaſcony*. The General nam'd by King *Henry* was *Thomas Gray* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, with whom went, beſides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surry*, the Lord *Brook*, Lord

Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrers*, with divers Knights and Eſquires, all of them brave Perſons, and ten thouſand Soldiers; of whom one half were Archers, who beſides their Bows and Arrows carry'd Halberts, which they pitch'd on the Ground while their Arrows were ſhot, and then took them again to do Execution on the Enemy. Theſe landed the third Day of *June* on the Coaſts of *Biſcay*, where within three Days after their Arrival, there came from the King of *Spain* a Marqueſs and an Earl to receive them; but without any of thoſe Neceſſaries promis'd them. After the Army had lain many Days expecting Aid and Proviſions from King *Ferdinand*, at length a Biſhop came from that King, deſiring them to have Patience for a while, and ſhortly they ſhould have full Satisfaction. In the mean Time the *Engliſh* Men being forc'd to feed much upon Garlick, and to drink hot Wines, fell into ſuch Sickneſs, that many of them dy'd, to the Number of eighteen hundred Perſons; upon which Diſcouragement, the Lord Marqueſs ſent to *Ferdinand* to know his Reſolutions, who return'd Anſwer, that the Duke of *Alva* was ready to join him with a great Power. And ſhortly after the Duke of *Alva* did advance with a powerful Army, as if he deſign'd to join him according to Promiſe; but being come within a Day's March, he ſuddenly turn'd towards the Kingdom of *Navarre*, under Pretence it was neceſſary to begin the Expedition through that Country. Here that King not anſwering his Expectations, he took the Occaſion to drive him out of his Kingdom, and to conquer it for the uſe of King *Ferdinand*. This *Spaniſh* Policy was no ways pleaſing to the *Engliſh*, who finding nothing but Words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of ſo many Delays, they fell upon ſome Towns in the Borders of *Guienne*; but for want of a competent Number of Horſes, they were unable to perform any Thing of moment. At which Time the Lord Marqueſs fell ſick, and the Lord *Howard* ſupply'd the Place of General; to whom the King of *Spain* once again ſent Excuſes, deſiring him, ſince the Seaſon was ſo advanc'd, that he would be pleas'd to break up his Camp, and diſpoſe his Men into the neighbouring Towns 'till the following Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his Promiſes. King *Henry* in the mean Time, underſtanding the King of *Spain*'s Intentions, ſent his Herald *Windſor* with Letters to the Army, ordering them to continue there, for ſhortly he deſign'd to ſend them a new Supply of Forces, under the Conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. But this ſo incens'd the Soldiers, that in a Fury they had ſlain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded immediately to return home; who thereupon was forc'd to hire Ships, and in the Beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this fruitleſs Expedition what Reliance was to be had on *Spaniſh* Promiſes. King *Henry* was much offended, and deſign'd to have puniſh'd ſome of his Officers; but it was ſoon made appear to him, that King *Ferdinand* was only blamable, who had no greater Deſign than the Conqueſt of *Navarre*.

An Army ſent into Spain *to invade* France.

But to no Advantage.

Tho' this Voyage was ſucceſsleſs, yet Sir *Edward Howard*, who conducted the Marqueſs to *Spain*, having with his Fleet firſt clear'd the Seas from Enemies, landed at a Bay in *Bretaign*, and march'd ſeven Miles into the Country, from whence, after burning ſome Towns, he brought away rich Spoils. Not ſatisfy'd with this, he put his Men on Shore at *Conquet*, and ſeveral other Places; where the *French* ſtill receiving the worſe, they at laſt deſir'd a Parly. The Subſtance of which was, *That the* Engliſh *ſhould deſiſt from this kind of deſultory and cruel War, which tended only to burning of Villages, and ruining the Poor.* But he reply'd, *He was not to take his Directions from them; that it was the Part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not meanly to ſue for Mercy.* After which, and a Banquet in his Ship, they were diſmiſs'd, and the *Engliſh* Admiral return'd home. The *French*, in the mean Time, making great Preparations by Sea, King *Henry* thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to twenty Ships under the Command of his Admiral, twenty five more under the Command of thoſe brave Men that attended him; placing

Sir Edward Howard *invades the* French *Coaſts.*

in the chief Ship, call'd the *Regent* of a thouſand Tun, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Maſter of his Horſe, and Mr. *John Carew*, with ſeven hundred Men; in the *Soverain*, the famous Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford*, with ſixty of the talleſt Yeomen of the Guard. This choice Fleet meeting with thirty nine Sail coming out of *Breſt* in *Bretaign*, attack'd them; where two of the greateſt Ships on both Sides being grappled, fell on Fire by ſome Accident, or as the *French* would have it by the Deſign of *Brimauguet* the Commander. The Captains of the *Engliſh* Ship, the *Regent*, and of the *French*, call'd the *Cordeliere*, together with the Soldiers in them, periſh'd all, except a few who eſcap'd by ſwimming. However the reſt of the *French* were ſo terrify'd with the Sight, that they immediately ſtood off, ſome to *Breſt*, and others to the adjoining Iſlands. To repair this Loſs, King *Henry* built a Ship the greateſt that ever had been ſeen in *England*, calling it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Preparations againſt France.

King *Henry* now finding that Affairs were grown to ſome Extremity between the two Nations, diſclos'd his Deſign of going in Perſon into *France*, chuſing rather to make War in his Enemies Country, than to attend it at home. That he might the better perform this, he was adviſ'd to diſcover what Correſpondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates; therefore he had formerly ſent Sir *Robert Wingfield* to negotiate with the Emperor *Maximilian*, and ingage him to his Party, in which he found no great Difficulty; the Emperor being pleas'd that the warlike Diſpoſition of the young King was turn'd againſt *France*, ſo that with Aſſurance of his Affection he incourag'd him to proceed. He endeavour'd likewiſe to gain the King of *Spain*, and the King of *Scotland*; but the former, having gain'd his Point as to *Arragon*, choſe rather to be quiet, and the latter had actually enter'd into a League with the *French* King. For which Reaſon the King ſent his Treaſurer the Earl of *Surry* into *Yorkſhire* and the Northern Parts, to have an Army in Readineſs, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould move in his Abſence. Order was alſo given that the Fortifications ſhould be repair'd, and all neceſſary Additions made to his Caſtles and Fortreſſes on the Sea-Coaſt. Together with all this Proviſion, he thought fit to call a Parliament, where beſides enacting divers good Laws, he obtain'd two Fifteenths, and four Demies, beſides a large Poll, according to every Man's Quality. In the mean Time Pope *Julius* the Second, who had kindled the War againſt *France*, dy'd; and was ſucceeded by *Leo* the Tenth, who purſuing his Predeceſſor's Deſigns, incourag'd King *Henry* in the ſame War. But he having now accompliſh'd the Age of one and twenty Years, needed little Invitation; and the rather becauſe he was aſſur'd of the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor, who was confident that however the Buſineſs ſucceeded between the two Nations, he could make his Advantage. That he might effect this the better, he politickly interpos'd ſome Difficulties; nor would he be wholly won, 'till he had obtain'd of King *Henry* a hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats towards his Charge in bringing three hundred Horſe and eight thouſand Foot, which ſhould enter *Burgundy*, as ſoon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

A. D. 1513. Reg. 4/5.

King *Henry* being reſolv'd to proceed in his Expedition, thought fit in the firſt Place to clear the Sea from the *French* Navy; and therefore he ſent out his own Fleet, conſiſting of forty two Sail, under the Conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, accompany'd with the Lord *Ferrers*, and many other worthy Perſons. Theſe ſailing to the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, arriv'd at *Bertram* Bay, and there lay at Anchor in Sight of the *French* Fleet, then commanded by one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, who keeping himſelf cloſe in the Haven of *Breſt*, the *Engliſh* Admiral deſign'd to attack him in that Place: But becauſe the Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caus'd certain Boats to be mann'd out, expecting by that means to towe out the *French*; but this proving ineffectual, he call'd a Council of War, where it was determin'd, that firſt they ſhould attack *Pregent* and his Gallies, lying in *Blancſable* Bay, and then

then ſet upon the reſt of the Fleet in the Haven of *Breſt*. And it was further appointed, That the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others, ſhould land with a competent Number to attack the Forts, which the *French* had there rais'd; while the Admiral with little Gallies and Barges enter'd the Bay, ſo that the *French* might at once be attack'd by Sea and Land. But tho' this was determin'd by a Council of War, yet the Admiral had a Project by himſelf, occaſion'd by a *Spaniſh* Knight, who affirm'd that he might enter the Bay with very little Danger; therefore calling a few ſelect Friends, he made them privy to his Deſign, which was to take upon him the whole Enterprize, with only their Aſſiſtance; and was ſo confident of Succeſs, that he wrote to King *Henry* to come in Perſon and have the Honour of the Enterprize himſelf; but the King being otherwiſe diverted, did not come. On St. *Mark*'s Day the Admiral put himſelf in a ſmall Barge, appointing three little Gallies, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, with which he ſuddenly row'd into the Bay, where *Pregent* had moor'd up his Gallies juſt to the Ground; from whence and the Forts on the Land came a terrible Storm of Shot: Yet ſtill the Admiral row'd on, and coming to the Gallies bravely drove out the *French* Soldiers. The Bay was ſhallow, and the other Ships, by reaſon of the Lowneſs of the Tide, could not enter; which the *French* Men perceiving, they enter'd the Gallies again, and renew'd the Fight with Pikes and other Weapons; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return to his Barge, which the Stream had driven from thence, was with a Pike thrown over-board and drown'd; the juſt Iſſue of his inconſiderate Enterprize. Upon which ſorrowful Accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the reſt return'd into *England*: After whoſe Departure *Pregent* put to Sea with his Gallies, and coaſting about the County of *Suſſex*, burnt ſome poor Cottages; but the King ſuddenly made a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Brother to him that was drown'd, who ſo ſcour'd the Seas, that the *French* were no more to be ſeen on any Coaſt of *England*.

A ſucceſsleſs Attempt made upon Breſt.

All Preparations being made for the Expedition into *France*, it was yet debated whether King *Henry* ſhould go in Perſon: Some urg'd the Affection and Tenderneſs of the Nation for his Safety; and that, if he dy'd at this Conjuncture, the People were ſtill ſo affected to the Houſe of *York*, that they might take *Edmund de-la-Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, out of the Tower, and ſet him upon the Throne: And that the War in *France* was not of that Conſequence, that the King ſhould make ſuch a Perſonal Deſertion of his own Kingdom. Others alledg'd, That to commit an Army, with the Flower of the Nobility and Nation, to any one Subject, was not only unſafe, but to the Prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that Honour; and that it was no new thing for the Kings of *England* to march at the Head of their Armies in Foreign Countries. But it was reply'd, That 'till the King had a more numerous Iſſue, it was againſt all Reaſon of State to hazard the Kingdom in ſuch Tumults as might enſue; to which Opinion it is believ'd the King would have condeſcended, had not freſh Letters arriv'd from the Emperor, in the Pope's Name exhorting him ſpeedily to come over, and promiſing that he would not only meet him, but take Pay under him. Therefore for a full Security, it was thought fit that *De-la-Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, who had continu'd many Years Priſoner under *Henry* the Seventh, ſhould have his Head ſtruck off, as that King had order'd upon his Death-Bed. He was certainly of a turbulent and audacious Spirit; but whether any late Matter was alledg'd againſt him, does not ſufficiently appear by any Record.

The Earl of Suffolk *beheaded.*

The King now reſolving to go in Perſon, thought fit to ſend his Vanguard before; which was commanded by *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was accompany'd by *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Dowra* Lord Prior of St. *John*'s, the Lords *Fitzwater*, *Haſtings* and *Cobham*, Sir *Robert Ratcliff*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and many other gallant Knights and Eſquires,

and the Number of above eight thouſand Men, who arriv'd at *Calais* in Mid-*May*. Theſe were again follow'd by the Middle-Ward of about ſix thouſand more, commanded by the Lord Chamberlain *Herbert*, and accompany'd by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent* and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audley*, *De-la-Ware*, *Carew* and *Curſon*, who came to *Calais* fifteen Days after. Theſe two Commanders tarrying ſome Time for the King's Directions, at length march'd in good Order towards *Terouënne* in *Artois*, before which Town they arriv'd upon the twenty ſecond of *June*, pitching their Tents about a Mile diſtant. This Town was defended by a large Ditch, ſtrong Bulwarks, and ſufficiently provided with great Ordnance; there was in it a Garriſon of about two thouſand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by Monſieur *de Teligny*, and Monſieur *de Crequy*. To relieve which, the *French* rais'd a puiſſant Army; to which were added ten thouſand Men more under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and ſix thouſand under *Richard de-la-Pole*, Brother to *Edmund* lately beheaded. In the mean Time King *Henry*, having conſtituted Queen *Catharine* Regent, paſs'd over to *Calais* upon the laſt Day of *June*; bringing with him the reſt of the Army, which was tranſported in four hundred Veſſels; and with him alſo the Almoner, and new Favourite *Thomas Wolſey*. The King, having ſtay'd a few Days, and receiv'd ſome Viſits and Compliments, hear'd that the *French* deſign'd to relieve *Terouënne*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*, and Marqueſs of *Rotelin*; which occaſion'd him to haſten his Departure with his Army, which conſiſted of about nine thouſand fighting Men, beſides near three thouſand more belonging to the Carriages. The famous Sir *Charles Brandon*, lately created Viſcount *Liſle*, had the Vanguard, accompany'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*: The King came in the main Battel, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the right Hand with ſix hundred ſelect Men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the left with as many more, Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royal; the Rere-guard being compos'd in a great Meaſure of the Retinue of *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Thomas Wolſey*, was led by Sir *William Compton*; and after all came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Nevil* with four hundred Spears. This ſmall but well appointed Army was ſcarce enter'd into the *French* Confines near *Ardres*, when News was brought that the Enemy appear'd; but as the *Engliſh* approach'd they thought fit to retire. In the March of the King's Army two Pieces of Ordnance miſcarry'd, one of which was loſt, the other happily recover'd from the *French*. Upon the fourth of *Auguſt* the King arriv'd at *Terouënne* before which he caus'd a ſumptuous Pavilion to be erected, and continu'd to ſhew his uſual Splendor and Magnificence.

The King paſſes with an Army into France.

He comes before Terouënne.

The Emperor ſerves under him.

While the King thus lay before *Terouënne*, the Emperor *Maximilian* upon the twelfth of *Auguſt* arriv'd at the Camp, in the Quality of the King's Soldier, and therefore not only wore the Croſs of St. *George*, but receiv'd his daily Pay, which was a hundred Crowns a Day: An Honour never ſhown to any King of *England* before, for which he was royally receiv'd, and lodg'd in a Tent of Cloath of Gold: And as no Emperor had ever ſerv'd as a Soldier under a King ſo no Soldier was ever lodg'd in ſo much State and Magnificence. At this Time the City of *Terouënne* being in ſome Diſtreſs for want of Victuals, the *French* King appointed all his Horſe, to the Number of eight thouſand, to convey Proviſions into the Place: But King *Henry*, by the Advice of the Emperor, had made Bridges to paſs his Men over the River, to the other Side of the Town, where the Acceſs was eaſieſt; in ſuch a Manner, that when the *French* Convoy came with their Proviſions, and thought to have enter'd the Town, they found the *Engliſh* Army there ready to oppoſe them. Whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them; but in the Concluſion, the *French* were put to flight, and with ſo much Speed and Precipitation, that from thence it was call'd by the Name of *The Battel of Spurs*, becauſe they more us'd their Spurs in running away, than their Lances in fighting. In this Battel the Duke of *Longueville*, the Marqueſs of *Rotelin*, the Lord *Clermont*, and ſeveral others were

The Battel of Spurs.

were taken Priſoners, with ſix Standards; for which Succeſs the King and the Emperor congratulated each other upon the Place of Battel, and afterwards aſſiſted at a ſolemn *Te Deum*. A few Days after, the *Engliſh* having obtain'd ſome new Advantages, the Town deſpairing of Relief ſurrender'd it ſelf and Ordnance to the King of *England*, upon Condition that the Garriſon might depart in an honourable manner with all their Arms and Baggage. Upon which, on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, the King, ſtill having the Precedence of the Emperor, enter'd the Town, and din'd in the Biſhop's Palace; where it was at length reſolv'd that the Town and Fortifications ſhould be demoliſh'd, all but the Cathedral Church, and religious Houſes; and all the Ordnance was ſent to *Aire*, to be kept there for the King's Uſe.

Terouënne *ſurrenders to the King.*

After this it was concluded, that the King ſhould lay Siege to the City of *Tournay* in *Flanders*; whereupon he ſet forwards in three Bodies: The Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor the main Battel, and the Lord *Herbert* the Rere-ward. In this Order the King's Army advanc'd towards *Tournay*; but by the way, he went and viſited young Prince *Charles* of *Spain*, afterwards Emperor, and the Lady *Margaret* his Governeſs, in the Town of *Liſle*; where he was entertain'd with all Magnificence and Reverence. Being come within three Miles of *Tournay*, he ſent *Garter* King at Arms to ſummon the Place; But the Inhabitants, tho' they had but few Soldiers amongſt them, ſtood upon their Defence. Whereupon the King inveſted it on all Sides, and made ſuch fierce Batteries upon it, that tho' it was written on the Gates of the Town, *Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity*, yet now it was forc'd to ſubmit, and likewiſe to pay ten thouſand Pounds Sterling, and an annual Penſion of four thouſand Pound *Tournois* for the Space of ten Years. And then *Thomas Wolſey*, the King's Almoner, who was now made Biſhop of the Place, calling before him all the Citizens, young and old, ſwore them to the King of *England*; the Number of whom was eighty thouſand Souls. This done the King enter'd the Town triumphantly, and calling to his Preſence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *John Danſy*, *William Tyler*, *William Huſſey*, *Chriſtopher Garniſh*, and ſome other valiant Gentlemen, he gave them the Honour of Knighthood. And then remembring the honourable Entertainment the Prince of *Spain* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Liſle*, he invited them ſolemnly to his new City of *Tournay*, and conducted them into the Place with great Splendor and Triumph. During their Abode here, among other publick Entertainments, there were held ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments, the King and his Companion in thoſe warlike Exerciſes, *Brandon* Lord *Liſle*, victoriouſly anſwering all Comers. Beſides theſe there were Banquets, Dancings and Masks, after an extraordinary Manner; and this was King *Henry*'s Cuſtom and Diſpoſition, that he could not with-hold from Revellings in the midſt of Arms and War; and fair Ladies and brave Soldiers were equally in his Eſteem. After he had concerted ſome new Meaſures with the Emperor, and finding the Seaſon far advanc'd, he left the Government of *Tournay* to Sir *Edward Poynings*, took leave of the Emperor, and return'd firſt to *Calais*, and ſo into *England*, to the general Reputation of his Arms throughout the Nation.

Tournay *inveſted and taken.*

Great Entertainments.

The King returns to England.

But this was not the only Reputation gain'd by the *Engliſh* Arms this Year: For whilſt King *Henry* was employ'd in his War againſt *France*, *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, retaining in his Mind ſome Reſentments, thought he could not more ſeaſonably revenge himſelf, and more conveniently oblige the *French* King, than at this Time to invade the Kingdom of *England*. Therefore, having firſt denounc'd War by his Herald, he ſent the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain, to forage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, us'd that Diligence, that he overtook and fought with him in his Retreat, ſo that he recover'd a rich Booty. King *James* hereupon in Perſon, with an Army of fifty thouſand Men or more, enter'd the Country, and after a few Days Siege took *Norham* Caſtle. Upon which *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* haſten'd his Army, con-

James *King of* Scotland *invades* England.

conſiſting of twenty ſix thouſand Men, appointing his Son the Lord Admiral to come by Sea, and meet him near *Alnwick*; which was perform'd by this gallant Lord, who brought a thouſand Men with him; whom when the Earl had view'd, and given neceſſary Orders, he march'd towards King *James*, who had remov'd to a Hill call'd *Flodden*, on the Edge of Mount *Cheviot*, where he ſtrongly intrench'd his Army. Here the Earl of *Surry* deſir'd nothing more than a Battel, finding all the adjacent Country ſo forag'd and pillag'd, that he could not long ſubſiſt: Therefore on *September* the fourth he thought fit to ſend *Rouge-Croix* Herald, with a Trumpet, and Inſtructions to King *James*, to declare to him, *That in regard he had violated his Faith and League, and in a Hoſtile Manner enter'd the* Engliſh *Ground, that on* Friday *next he would give him Battel, if he would ſtay ſo long as to accept it*. His Son the Admiral ſo requir'd the Herald to certifie King *James* of his Voyage by Sea; and *becauſe he could meet no* Scotch *Ships there, he landed, that he might juſtifie* Andrew Barton's *Death*: Adding further, *As he expected no Mercy from his Enemies, ſo he would ſpare none, but the King himſelf, if he fell into his Hands; and to make all good, he would be in the Front of the Battel.* King *James* receiv'd the Meſſage with Joy, and as he was a Prince of great Courage, by his own Herald he aſſur'd the Earl, *That he did ſo much deſire to ingage with him, that if he had been at* Edinburgh, *he would have left all Buſineſs for that Purpoſe; and therefore he would not fail to abide Battel at the appointed Day.* After that the Herald deliver'd to the Earl a Proteſtation, and a ſhort Vindication of his Maſter's Proceedings.

The Earl *of* Surry *marches againſt him.*

Upon the Return of the Meſſage, the Earl advanc'd within three Miles of *Floddon*; but perceiving that King *James* ſtill kept upon the Hill, which was inacceſſable, he ſent *Rouge-Croix* again with a Letter ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, his Son, and divers other Noblemen and Knights, where in reſpectful Terms, they provok'd him to deſcend from his Fortifications, and fight in a large Plain between them call'd *Milfield*, inſiſting alſo upon the Validity of his own Meſſage. But receiving no ſatisfactory Anſwer, the Earl remov'd with his Army to ſuch a Camp, that if the *Scotch* did not leave the Advantage of their Situation, he might cut off all their Proviſions. This caus'd the King to change his Meaſures, who firing his Huts, covertly remov'd by the Benefit of the Smoak, but ſtill kept on the high Ground, where he made a Stand. Immediately the Earl travers'd ſome Bogs and Marſhes, 'till he arriv'd at the Bottom of this Bank; where finding the Aſcent not very ſteep, he appointed the Vanguard to his two Sons, the main Battel to himſelf, and the Rere to Sir *Edward Stanley*, and then bravely incourag'd his Men to Battel. The King well obſerving this, and judging the *Engliſh* were making a very diſadvantageous Approach, he exhorted his Men to behave themſelves like valiant Soldiers, and thereupon join'd Battel. The Earl's youngeſt Son Sir *Edmund Howard* at firſt was in ſome Diſtreſs, by the ſingular Valour of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argile*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his Succour, as alſo one *Heron*, the Fight was renew'd; the Earl's eldeſt Son the Lord *Thomas* purſu'd his Cauſe better, but met with a noble Oppoſition from the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſs*. The King's Battalion and that of the Earl's likewiſe maintain'd a long and cruel Fight. In the mean Time Sir *Edward Stanley*, by means of his Archers, conſtrain'd the *Scotch* to deſcend the Hill, and to open their Ranks to avoid the Storms of Arrows, by which they ſeem'd to give one of the firſt Overtures of Victory to the *Engliſh*. Which being perceiv'd by the King, he redoubl'd his Courage, and perform'd Wonders; but the valiant Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had defeated their Oppoſites, coming in with the Lord *Dacres*'s Horſe, the *Scotch* were ſo diſtreſs'd, that for their laſt Defence they caſt themſelves into a Ring. No Man perform'd more than the King in his Perſon; but after a bloody Fight of three Hours, preſſing forwards, he was ſlain in the Field, as the *Engliſh* Writers aſſert; others ſay afterwards. In concluſion the

The Battel of Floddon-*Field.*

Scots

Scots were defeated, with the Loſs of moſt of their Nobility, one Arch-Biſhop, two Biſhops, four Abbots, and about ten thouſand others. On the *Engliſh* Side, according to *Polydore*, there dy'd about five thouſand, tho' others ſay fewer; and this Battel was call'd *Floddon-Field*, in which the Earl took all the *Scotch* Ordnance, and particularly ſeven extraordinary fair Culverins, call'd *The Seven Siſters*. Then giving God Thanks, the Earl diſmiſs'd the greateſt Part of the Army, and retir'd himſelf home, 'till the News of King *Henry*'s coming to *Richmond* brought him thither; taking order in the mean Time, that the dead Body of King *James*, being embalmed, ſhould be carry'd firſt to *Newcaſtle*, and then to *Shene* in *Surry*, where it was honourably interr'd. And thus was King *James* the Fourth cut off in the thirty ninth Year of his Age, and twenty fifth of his Reign, who in regard of his Princely Virtues, deſerv'd a longer Life and Reign; yet we know not how to free him from the Scandal of Breach of Faith in this laſt Expedition. He was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son *James* the Fifth, then but two Years of Age.

King James ſlain, and the Scots defeated.

A. D. 1514. Reg. 5/6.

King *Henry* having gain'd ſuch Advantages over *Scotland*, where his own Siſter Queen *Margaret* was now Regent, he thought he could not act more juſtly and prudently, than to beſtow ſuitable Recompences upon his brave Commanders who had been moſt ſerviceable to him. Accordingly upon the ſecond Day of *February*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* was by him created Duke of *Norfolk*, a Title conferr'd on his Father by *Richard* the Third, but again extinguiſh'd; his eldeſt Son the Lord *Thomas Howard* being alſo made Earl of *Surry*; together with which he had an Augmentation of Arms for his Atchievment in *Floddon-Field*. Sir *Charles Somerſet*, who in Right of *Elizabeth* his Wife was Lord *Herbert* of *Chepſtow*, &c. was now created Earl of *Worceſter*. Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viſcount *Liſle*, was now alſo created Duke of *Suffolk*; and Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after made Lord *Mounteagle*. Laſtly, the aſpiring Almoner *Thomas Wolſey*, Biſhop of *Tournay*, was alſo made Biſhop of *Lincoln*. And as the King conferr'd Honours upon others, ſo not long after he receiv'd ſome from the Hands of Pope *Leo*, who ſent him a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being provok'd with the *French* King, he transferr'd, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the Title of *CHRISTIANISSIMUS* from him upon King *Henry*. This with great Pomp and Solemnity was publiſh'd the *Sunday* following in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, and afterwards attended with extraordinary Revellings, Maſques and Tournaments; in which laſt the King and new Duke of *Suffolk* were victorious Defendants againſt all Comers; who having the noble Priſoners Duke of *Longueville* and the Lord *Clermont* for their Spectators, ſpread the Fame of their Valour and Chivalry into Foreign Nations.

New Advancements.

About this Time the great Friendſhip between King *Henry* and the *Flemmings* began to abate upon this Occaſion: King *Henry* the Seventh his Father had concluded a Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*; but by reaſon of her Age, and the want of a ſecure Jointure, it was deferr'd during his Life. But now the preſent King ſeeing his Siſter of a ſuitable Age, began to revive the Contract, and ſignify'd as much to the Council of *Flanders*, from which he found nothing but formal Excuſes, and unneceſſary Delays. The *French* King had ſpeedy Intelligence how much King *Henry* was diſguſted at theſe *Spaniſh* Proceedings, and reſolv'd to make the moſt advantageous Uſe of it, which was to gain the Princeſs *Mary* for himſelf, and by that procure Peace with *England*, now he was ancient and fatigu'd with Wars. For this Purpoſe, he ſo far pleas'd the Pope as he became his Mediator; and both of them ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, the Pope to perſuade him to a Peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*. Upon whoſe Embaſſies, King *Henry*, partly to ſatisfie the Pope, and partly to advance his Siſter, did not unwillingly hearken to their Propoſals. But during this Negotiation, ſome Acts of Hoſtility paſs'd between the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets,

A Treaty with France.

Fleets, and ſome Ravages were committed in both Nations: Yet in no long Time King *Henry*, by the Advice of his Council, and eſpecially of his then growing Favourite *Wolſey*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Siſter *Mary* with the *French* King: The Subſtance of the Treaty and Agreement was, that the King of *England* was to hold *Tournay*, and King *Lewis* oblig'd himſelf in a Bond of a Million of Crowns, to be paid at ſeveral Payments to King *Henry*, in Conſideration of the Expences of the War, and the Arrears of the Penſion ſtipulated in the Year 1492. As to the Marriage, King *Henry* was to give four hundred thouſand Crowns with his Siſter, and *Lewis* to aſſign her a Jointure as great as any Queen of *France* ever had, which ſhe was to enjoy during Life, where-ever ſhe reſided.

The King's Siſter marry'd to King Lewis.

Theſe, and ſome other Articles being concluded, the Princeſs *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen, where with an honourable Train ſhe took Shipping, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, being her chief Conductors. Their Fleet had not paſs'd two Leagues at Sea, before a ſudden Storm ſeparated the Ships, whereof ſome were driven to the Coaſts of *Flanders*, others to *Calais*, and that of the Princeſs ſtruck in at *Boloign*; where by Boats her Train was landed, and her ſelf carry'd on Shore in the Arms of Sir *Chriſtopher Garniſh*. From hence with thirty ſix Ladies, riding upon fine Horſes trapped with Crimſon Velvet embroider'd with Gold, her own Horſes and Chariot ſet out with Tiſſue Cloth of Gold and Crimſon Velvet, and her ſelf with thoſe Advantages of Beauty that made her ſeem more like an Angel than a Human Creature, ſhe met with King *Lewis* at *Abbeville*. There on the ninth of *October* the Marriage was ſolemniz'd with great Splendor; where the *French* ſo gaz'd at their new Queen's Beauty, that neither they nor their infirm old King could be ſatisfy'd with any other Object while ſhe was preſent. On the fifth of *November* ſhe was crown'd Queen of *France* at St. *Denis*, at which Time *Francis* the *Dauphin* held the Crown over her Head, as being too ponderous for her to wear; and the following Day ſhe was receiv'd into *Paris*, after a moſt magnificent manner. In Honour of this Marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* had caus'd ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments to be proclaim'd in *Paris* the ſeventh of *November*. Upon Notice of which in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and his four Brothers, with ſeveral other Men of Quality, obtain'd leave of King *Henry* to be at the Challenge; where they all behav'd themſelves with great Succeſs and Agility, eſpecially the great Duke of *Suffolk*, whoſe Glory the *Dauphin* ſo much envy'd, that he caus'd a *German*, the ſtrongeſt and talleſt in the Court of *France*, ſecretly to encounter him, purpoſely to have him foil'd: But this turn'd to his greater Honour; for by the Blows he gave the *German* at Barriers, he ſoon let the Aſſembly know he was his Superior. King *Henry* at home was no ways inferior in Magnificence; and at publick Juſts he himſelf broke no leſs than three and twenty Spears; and in one ſingle Encounter he overthrew Man and Horſe to the Ground. About this Time the King rejoic'd at the Birth of a Son, which in a ſhort Time dy'd. Nor was the Satisfaction of King *Lewis* much longer; who being aged and infirm, after eighty Days Poſſeſſion rather than Enjoyment of his Queen, dy'd upon the firſt of *January* 1515. He was ſucceeded by *Francis de Valois*, a Prince of about twenty two Years of Age; in which, as well as Manners, there was much Conformity between King *Henry* and him; particularly they were judg'd two the nobleſt Perſonages, not only of their Quality, but of their Time.

She is crown'd in France.

Her Husband Lewis *dies.*

A. D. 1515. Reg. 6.

III. All Things being now in a State of Peace, and *Francis* the *French* King deſirous to hold a good Correſpondence with *England*, King *Henry* ſent over *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* and others to the *French* Court to ſtrengthen the Alliance, and to bring over the Queen Dowager his Siſter into *England*. Here that Lady caſt her Eyes upon the graceful Duke of *Suffolk*, and entertain'd ſuch

Polydore. Holling. Mezeray. Herbert. Burnet &c.

ſuch an Affection for him, that ſhe made no Scruple to diſcover her Inclinations to both Kings; deſiring *Francis* to mediate the Marriage, and her Brother *Henry* to approve of it. *Francis*, fearing leſt *Henry* by contracting her elſewhere might enter into ſome greater Alliances, readily conſented; but *Henry*, for the Conſervation of his Dignity, kept at a little Diſtance; however he had long ſince deſign'd her for the Duke. The young Queen believing that this Formality was the greateſt Impediment, proteſted by Letters, *That if the King would have her marry'd otherwiſe than to her own Inclinations, ſhe would ſhut her ſelf up in a Religious Houſe.* Therefore to obviate all Difficulties, by a peculiar ſort of Courtſhip, ſhe prefix'd to the Duke the Term of four Days to gain her Conſent, *in which, if he did not prevail, he ſhould for ever loſe all Hopes of obtaining her.* And thus without any Pomp they were privately marry'd in *France*; and by the Interceſſion of King *Francis* and *Wolſey* at home, they ſoon recover'd King *Henry*'s Favour. After which they took their leave of the *French* Court; the Queen carrying with her of the Jewels, Plate and Tapeſtries of *Lewis* the Twelfth, to the value of two hundred thouſand Crowns; among which was a noble Diamond call'd *Le Miroir de Naples*, which King *Francis* would have gladly redeem'd at a great Price. Orders were alſo taken for the Payment of her Jointure, which was ſixty thouſand Crowns a Year. Being arriv'd in *England*, the Marriage between them was publickly ſolemniz'd with great Pomp and peculiar Sort of Tournaments, in which King *Henry* highly ſignaliz'd himſelf; and ever after the Duke continu'd a ſpecial Favourite at Court, where he generally ſhew'd himſelf more of the brave Courtier, than the profound Stateſman.

She marries to Charles Brandon *Duke of* Suffolk.

Cavendiſh &c.

But the greateſt Favourite of all was *Thomas Wolſey*, whoſe Power and Grandeur began now to ſwell to a prodigious Extent, and to ſuch as had not been known in the *Engliſh* Nation. This extraordinary Perſon was Son to an honeſt poor Man of *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*; and by means of a handſom Education, his own Parts and Dexterity, he rais'd himſelf through Variety of Preferments, to the higheſt Stations both in Church and State, and to the Splendor and Magnificence of any Prince in *Europe*. His firſt Preferment was a Fellowſhip in *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*; from whence removing to *Calais*, he got to be Chaplain to King *Henry* the Seventh, who ſucceſſively made him Dean of *Lincoln*, chief Almoner, and a Privy-Counſellor. The preſent King *Henry* coming to the Crown, he ſo well conform'd himſelf to his Diſpoſition, that he ſoon engroſs'd his Favour to himſelf. Upon the taking of *Tournay*, the King made him Biſhop of that Place, and not long after Biſhop of *Lincoln*; and this Year upon Cardinal *Bembridges*'s Death, he was made Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and by the Intereſt of the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the Pope made him a Cardinal, and likewiſe Legate *a Latere*, by which he had a Power ſuperior to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Then that there might be no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts, he was likewiſe made Lord Chancellor of *England*, in Room of Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, who now retir'd to give Place to this aſpiring Favourite. Being thus at the Helm of Church and State, he made the moſt ſplendid Appearance of any Subject in *England*, and beſides the Purſe and Mace, he ever had two large Silver Croſſes and Pillars born before him by the talleſt Prieſts in the Kingdom. For the better Maintenance of this chargeable Eſtate, the King firſt beſtow'd on him the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and after that the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* and the Abby of St. *Albans* in *Comendam*; and with them he held in Farm the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter* and *Hereford*, injoy'd by Foreign Incumbents; and had likewiſe the Diſpoſal of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in *England*. From all theſe, and the numerous Preſents he receiv'd from Foreign Princes, his annual Incomes equal'd, if not exceeded the Revenues of the Crown; and in this Capacity he kept eight hundred Servants, among whom were nine or ten Lords, fifteen Knights, and forty Eſquires. All foreign Treaties and Places of Truſt at

Cardinal Wolſey's *Riſe and Character.*

home were of his ordering; he acted as he pleas'd, and his Aſcendant over the King was ſuch, that there never appear'd any Party againſt him all this Time. He us'd the moſt inſinuating Artifices to gain the King to himſelf; undertaking to eaſe him of the Burden of Government, and to give him all the Pleaſure of it; he was the moſt earneſt and readieſt in all the Council to advance the King's only Will and Intention; and whereas others advis'd him to leave his Pleaſures, and attend his Affairs, this Prelate perſuaded him to what was moſt agreeable to his Appetite. Having got into ſuch Power, he obſerv'd the King's Inclinations exactly, and follow'd his Intereſts cloſely: For tho' he made other Princes retain him with great Preſents and Penſions, yet he never engag'd the King into any Alliance that was not for his Advantage. He was an extraordinary Miniſter of State, but as a Churchman the Diſgrace of his Profeſſion; being lewd and vicious, and exorbitantly proud and oſtenſtatious, and indeed the main Debaucher of his Soveraign Maſter. In a Word he had all the Qualifications neceſſary for a great State's-Man, and all the Vices ordinary in a great Favourite.

A. D. 1516. Reg. 7/8.

Margaret *Queen Dowager of* Scotland *flies into* England.

During the grand Power of this Cardinal, King *Henry*'s Siſter *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, having marry'd *Archibald Douglaſs*, Earl of *Angus*, by reaſon of Factions among the Lords of *Scotland*, was compell'd to fly into *England* with her Husband, and ſeek Protection from her Brother; who aſſign'd her the Caſtle of *Harbottle*, in *Northumberland* for her Reſidence, where ſhe was deliver'd of a Daughter nam'd *Margaret*. From thence the King ſent for her and her Husband to come to his Court; and thereupon, with a noble Attendance, Queen *Margaret* riding upon a white Palfrey, which the Queen of *England* had preſented to her, behind Sir *Thomas Parre*, paſs'd through *London* to *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and from thence to the Court at *Greenwich:* But her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, was ſecretly before departed into *Scotland*, upon which King *Henry* with ſome Reſentment ſaid *It was done like a* Scot. However ſhe was joyfully receiv'd by the King and Queen, and her Siſter *Mary* Queen Dowager of *France*; who all enjoy'd a Happineſs rare for Princes in that Kind, which was to ſee each other, after they had been once diſpos'd in foreign Parts. But as this was a Meeting of three Queens, ſo the Occaſion of it proceeded from the Marriage of two of them to inferior Perſons, the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Earl of *Angus*. King *Henry*, for the more Honour of her Arrival, order'd ſolemn Juſts, in which he himſelf was the principal Challenger, and overthrew Sir *William Kingſton*, both Man and Horſe. In the ſame Year dy'd *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, Father to Queen *Catharine*; for whom King *Henry* caus'd a ſolemn Obſequy to be kept in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s.

The Birth of Queen Mary.

But the Mourning laſted not long; for it was ſhortly after ſucceeded by the Birth of the Princeſs *Mary*, afterwards Soveraign Queen of *England*. As to Queen *Margaret*, after ſhe had been a Year in *England*, ſhe return'd into *Scotland*.

The publick Affairs being now left to the Management of Cardinal *Wolſey*, ſeveral great Men began to withdraw themſelves from the Court, as firſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who went and liv'd in their reſpective Dioceſſes; next the Duke of *Norfolk*, who having borrow'd Mony of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable through the Cardinal's Oppoſition to obtain a Remiſſion of it, or otherwiſe to pay it immediately, he retir'd into the Country; ſo that the Cardinal had an uncontrol'd Liberty to govern all, under Colour of doing the King Service. For in whatſoever he acted, that was his Pretence, tho' in many Things he rather innovated than reform'd; from whence Clamours often aroſe among the People, who underſtanding nothing ſo much as their Ancient Cuſtoms, ſeldom endure a Change, tho' for their real Advantage. In this Year all who manag'd any Mony for the King in the Wars or otherwiſe, were by the Cardinal's Command call'd in Queſtion; among whom ſome by Bribery, and ſome by Policy eſcap'd, while others

Cardinal Wolſey's *Management.*

others were condemn'd in great Sums; ſo that he may be ſaid to have ſo much of a good Servant, as not to ſuffer any other to deceive his Maſter. To accompany this Severity alſo, he caus'd Perjury to be vigorouſly puniſh'd, in which he is much commended. Some Courts alſo were erected in Favour of poor People, againſt the Oppreſſions of the Great, which at firſt were much frequented; but at laſt the People receiving many Delays and Diſappointments in their Suits, they left them, and had recourſe to the Common Law, as too much fearing Innovations. And the Character of Juſt cannot be deny'd to the Cardinal, in all Affairs of publick Judicature, of which he was ever apparently ſtudious; ſo that where Diſorders were committed, he generally puniſh'd with Severity. This he did both in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Affairs, by which means he accidentally became a prime Inſtrument in that great Work of the Reformation of the Church; which ſort of Work is oftentimes by the ordering of Providence effected by the Hands of wicked and ſcandalous Agents.

About this Time there happen'd a great Riot and Sedition in the City of *London*, from ſome Citizens and Apprentices of the poorer Sort, who being offended that all their chief Cuſtomers were won from them by the Diligence and Induſtry of Strangers, and others pretending to have receiv'd ſome Affronts and Indignities from them, found ſome Occaſion to make an Inſurrection againſt them; and the rather, becauſe the ſeditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Inſtigation of *John Lincoln* a Broker, had not a little incited them. The Apprentices and others being gather'd together in great Numbers, began with breaking open ſome Priſons, from whence they took divers Perſons committed thither for abuſing and hurting of Strangers: Nor could the Mayor or Sheriffs then preſent hinder this Outrage; nor Sir *Thomas More*, tho' much reſpected by them, as being late Judge of the Sheriffs Court, and a Native of the City. The Priſoners now let looſe adviſ'd the Multitude to run to the Houſe of one *Meutas* a *French* Man, much hated by them; where they kill'd ſome, chac'd the reſt, and plunder'd all his Goods; from whence they went to other Strangers Houſes, which they pillag'd in the like manner. The Cardinal hearing of this, and not being much more in the Peoples Favour than the Strangers, fortify'd his Houſe with Men and Ordnance; but the Lieutenant of the Tower proceeded further, and diſcharg'd ſome of the great Pieces among them. This, with the Completion of their deſign'd Revenge, caus'd them about three a Clock in the Morning to diſperſe and go home. But on their Way, they were firſt apprehended by the City Officers, and afterwards by ſome Followers of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Surry*, who hearing of this Diſorder, and taking the Inns-of-Court Gentlemen with them, clear'd the Streets of this unruly Company. The Beginning of the Sedition was hereupon examin'd, and Doctor *Bele* and *John Lincoln* ſent to the Tower. About three Days after the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surry* his Son, with about thirteen hundred armed Men, came into the City, and joining with the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally againſt the chief Offenders, to the Terror of the Citizens, who were the more apprehenſive, becauſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon the killing of a Prieſt of his, was reported to have ſaid, *I pray God I may once have the Citizens in my Power.* By the Statute of the Second of *Henry* the Fifth, they were all found guilty of High-Treaſon: But however much Mercy was ſhew'd; for of two hundred and ſeventy eight Priſoners, only *Lincoln* and three or four more, were hang'd drawn and quarter'd; and about ten more were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the Streets. All the reſt in their Shirts, bound in Ropes and Halters about their Necks, were brought to *Weſtmiſter-Hall*, where the King ſate attended with his principal Nobility: And when the Cardinal had charg'd them with the Greatneſs of their Offence, they all cry'd out *Mercy, Mercy!* upon which the King by the Mouth of the Cardinal pardon'd them all; which Clemency purchas'd the King no ſmall Love amongſt the People.

A. D. 1517. Reg. 8.

An Inſurrection in London.

It is quell'd.

All are pardon'd but a few.

In this ſame Year were the Beginnings of a much more remarkable Commotion in *Germany*, which did not only raiſe a grand Fermentation in that Country, but in a few Years affected all *England*, and the greateſt part of Chriſtendom. This was in ſome meaſure occaſion'd from the mighty Progreſs of *Selim* the *Turkiſh* Sultan, whoſe powerful Arms Pope *Leo* propos'd to repel with the utmoſt Vigour both by Sea and Land. In order to that he ſent his Emiſſaries to all Chriſtian Princes; and to excite the Peoples Devotion, and procure their Alms and Benevolence for ſo great a Work, he ſent ſeveral Agents to preach Indulgences in every Province. The Conditions of which were, that without Diſtinction of Perſons or Sins, whoſoever perform'd certain Religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Mony, ſhould obtain a full Remiſſion of all their Sins, and ſeveral other Benefits beſides. The Management and Sale of theſe appear'd very ſcandalous to many good People, but eſpecially to a certain Monk nam'd *Martin Luther*, a Doctor and Reader in Theology in the Univerſity of *Wittenberg*, a Man of a bold Spirit, an impetuous Reſolution, and eloquent Tongue. The Agents had furniſh'd him with ſufficient Matter for Reproach: For they made direct Marchandize of what was judg'd the moſt ſacred Treaſures of the Church; they kept their Courts or Shops rather in Taverns, and conſum'd a great part of what they collected in Debaucheries; and beſides it was certainly known, that the Pope deſign'd to apply conſiderable Sums to his own proper Uſe. Now tho' it was more agreeable to Reaſon and Policy to have remov'd the occaſion of this Clamour; yet Pride and Intereſt ſo far prevail'd, that by neglecting, and perhaps deſpiſing the Arguments of a private Monk, the Conteſt ſoon grew high, and was gradually blown up by Declamations, *Theſes*'s, and Books on either Side. *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, whoſe Wiſdom and Virtue was exemplary in *Germany*, both maintain'd and animated *Luther*, for the Honour of his new Univerſity of *Wittenberg*. He at firſt began with propoſing of Doubts, then being hard beſet and roughly treated, he engag'd to maintain and make them good; and afterwards meeting with greater Severity, he proceeded openly to declaim againſt the Pope, the Corruptions and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, ſo as to bring about that mighty Work of the REFORMATION. So ſmall a Spark as this Colliſion firſt made, could never have rais'd ſo great a Fire, if the World had not been ſtrongly diſpos'd to it, by the juſt Prejudice they had conceiv'd againſt the Popiſh Clergy, whoſe Ignorance and lewd Lives had ſo expos'd them to Contempt and Hatred, that every one was ready to join with ſuch as oppos'd their Practices.

The Beginning of the Reformation in Germany.

A D. 1518. Reg. 9/10. The like Corruptions were at the ſame Time in *England*, and the Effects of theſe great Changes in Religion were ſoon felt in that Country, where now Cardinal *Wolſey* reign'd like a Pope of this other World. For this Year being made Legate *a Latere*, he was by a Bull from Pope *Leo* enabled to viſit not only Monaſteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and to diſpence with Church-Laws for one whole Year: Which tho' it gave him great Power, it caus'd much Offence, as abridging the Authority of the Biſhops, and ſcandalizing the whole Clergy, who were extreamly defam'd by the Cardinal's Informations. And now the Pride and Oſtentation of this Prelate did ſo much increaſe, that on ſolemn Feaſt-Days, he would ſay Maſs after the Manner of the Pope himſelf; not only Biſhops and Abbots ſerving him in the Office, but even Earls and Dukes giving him Water and the Towel. All which was but a kind of Prelude to what follow'd: For, erecting a particular Court of Juriſdiction, which he call'd the *Legate's Court*, and placing in it as Judge one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, a Perſon of Infamy, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making Enquiry into the Lives of every Man, no Offence eſcap'd Cenſure and Puniſhment, unleſs they privately gave Mony: And as the Rules of Conſcience are in many Caſes of larger Extent than thoſe of the Law, ſo he found Means to ſearch into their moſt ſecret Receſſes. Beſides, under

Wolſey's *Grandeur and Power.*

under this Colour, he arrogated a Power to call in queſtion the Executors of Wills and Teſtaments. He ſummon'd alſo all Religious Perſons whatſoever; who caſting themſelves at his Feet, were ſeverely chidden, and terrify'd with Expulſion, 'till they had compounded: Beſides all Spiritual Benefits that fell, were conferr'd on his Creatures. The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* underſtanding how all Orders were thus treated by the Cardinal, went and acquainted the King; who reply'd, *He ſhould not have heard of it but from him*, and deſir'd him *to go and tell* Wolſey, *that if any Thing be amiſs, he would amend it.* Upon which this grave Perſon ſeriouſly admoniſh'd him to be cautious, and declar'd *That, in concerning himſelf with the Wills of the Dead, he aſſum'd a Power not claim'd by the Pope himſelf; and his diſpoſing ſome Benefits in the Gift of the Nobility, he thought was an Uſurpation upon them.* All the Uſe that *Wolſey* made of this was to hate the Arch-Biſhop, with whom he was formerly offended, only becauſe he ſtil'd himſelf his Brother, in the Subſcription of his Letter: But to prevent any ill Offices from him he temper'd his Speech for this Time. But ſhortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accus'd by one *London* a Prieſt, it ſufficiently appear'd that all the former Allegations againſt *Wolſey* were true; which caus'd the King to rebuke the Cardinal ſo ſharply, that after this Time he became better, or at leaſt more wary than before.

He is a little check'd.

But ſtill the Cardinal loſt no part of his Intereſt or the King's Favour; and ſtill retain'd the ſame Reputation and Influence in all foreign Courts, and particulary in that of *France*; between which and that of *England* he manag'd Affairs with ſuch a nice Policy, that King *Henry* once openly ſaid, *That now he perceiv'd* Wolſey *would govern both.* The *French* King at this Time being very deſirous to have the City of *Tournay* reſtor'd to him, by large Preſents and larger Promiſes won the Cardinal to move the King in it; who upon his plauſible Perſuaſions was willing to treat about it. Upon which Account the *French* King ſent the Lord *Bonquet* High-Admiral of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Paris*, who with an unruly Retinue of about twelve hundred Men, arriv'd in *England*; and on the twenty ſeventh of *September* were met at *Black-Heath* by the Earl of *Surry*, High-Admiral of *England*, attended with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodg'd in Merchant Taylor's-Hall. On the laſt of *September*, the Ambaſſadors went to the Court at *Greenwich*, where after a long Communication, a Treaty was at laſt concluded under Pretence of a Marriage between the *Dauphine* of *France*, then not a Year old, and the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*: That in Name of her Marriage Mony, *Tournay* ſhould be deliver'd to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Caſtle he had built in that City, ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in twelve Years: And if the Marriage ſhould not take Effect, then *Tournay* ſhould be again reſtor'd to the King of *England*. Theſe and other Articles being concluded, noble Entertainments and great Preſents being made, the Princeſs *Mary*, of two Years of Age, was promis'd and betroth'd to the *Dauphine* in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral. And the Earl of *Worceſter*, with the Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Train equal to the *French* Ambaſſadors, were ſent to require Performance from King *Francis*, who thereupon took his Oath, gave eight Hoſtages for Payment upon the Surrender of *Tournay*, and contracted the Eſpouſals in the Name of his Infant Son the *Dauphine*.

An Embaſſie from France.

The young Princeſs Mary *contracted to the* Daupline.

In Conſequence of this, on the eighth of *February* following, the Earl of *Worceſter* deliver'd up *Tournay* to the *French* King; but before that was perform'd, the Cardinal took ſuch Care that he ſhould have an annual Stipend of twelve thouſand *Livres Tournois*, for relinquiſhing the Biſhoprick of that Place. Thus was *Tournay* gain'd by the *French*, and divers concurrent Articles not perform'd afterwards: And here it is obſervable that it was fatal to the Princeſs *Mary* to be a kind of Author of the Loſs of all the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſions in *France*; *Tour-*

A. D. 1519. Reg. 10/11.

Tournay reſtor'd to the French.

Tournay being reſtor'd upon Pretence of Dowry now, and *Calais* loſt in the Time of her Match with King *Philip* the Second. King *Francis* having obtain'd this Point, about the ſame Time aſpir'd to another much greater, which was to be Emperor of *Germany*. For in the Beginning of this Year, the Emperor *Maximilian* dy'd; who having been Knight of the Garter, his Obſequies were ſolemnly kept in St. *Paul*'s by King *Henry* and the Knights of that Society. Upon his Death King *Francis* us'd great Endeavours to obtain the Empire; but after many Contrivances and Struggles, it was given to *Charles* King of *Spain*; for Joy of which great Solemnities were perform'd by the Order of King *Henry*, on the ſeventh Day of *July*. In the ſame Month an Enterview had been appointed between the Kings of *England* and *France*, but the Death of the Emperor, and what follow'd upon it, caus'd it to be deferr'd 'till the ſucceeding Year; both Kings in the mean Time agreeing not to cut off their Beards 'till they ſaw each other. *Francis* having now a ſecond Son, deſir'd the King of *England* to give him his Name; which was kindly acknowledg'd, and his Name call'd *Henry*, afterwards King, and ſecond of that Name. Nor did *Francis* omit any thing that might argue his Reſpect; therefore with continu'd Gifts he ſollicited Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom he call'd his Father and Couſin, ſent Preſents to the Princeſs *Mary*, and left nothing unattempted which might ſecure him on that Side, knowing well how puiſſant an Enemy the new Emperor might prove. *Charles* on the other Side, conſidering how much it concern'd him to keep the Cardinal at his Devotion, ſoon countermin'd the *French* King in his own way of Bribes and Preſents. *Francis* fearing the Conſequences, timely provided to keep the *Scotch* his Friends; and tho' it was formerly his Motion to compriſe the young King and that Nation in general within his League with *England*, yet now he ſtrove as much to withdraw them: Therefore when King *Henry* ſent to require their Oath to the Treaty, they refus'd; ſo that all that Buſineſs ended in a Truce only for one Year: And here the Cardinal's extream Ambition began to ſhow it ſelf more openly; who deſigning to make himſelf Pope, always comply'd with thoſe whom he thought his beſt Aſſiſtants. Therefore now that *Charles* the Emperor was grown the more potent; and beſides it being manifeſt that to which Party ſoever King *Henry* inclin'd, he would turn the Balance, he hop'd by favouring of *Charles* to obtain his Deſire. Nor wanted he continual Preſents on his Part, which were equal if not exceeding the others; ſo that now he rejected the Aſſiſtance of *Francis*, tho' he had actually offer'd him the Voices of fourteen Cardinals, and chiefly apply'd himſelf to the Emperor.

Charles King of Spain *made* Emperor.

Wolſey *courted by him and the* French *King.*

Wolſey *inclines moſt to him.*

A. D. 1520. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

Yet ſtill the Cardinal promoted the Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, which was appointed to be betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*; for having an equal Mixture of Pride and Vanity, he was deſirous of bringing and ſeeing thoſe two together, whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew alſo that his Preſents would not be ſmall; therefore he perſuaded King *Henry* to build a new Houſe near *Guiſnes*, as might be worthy of the Reception of two ſuch Monarchs; and to perform this, two thouſand Artificers were employ'd. He alſo ſummon'd the prime Nobility to attend the King this Journey, with that Splendor which might become Perſons of their Dignity; and becauſe the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd at the Expence, it prov'd one great Step to his Ruin. For the greater Magnificence, a King of Arms was ſent to the *Engliſh* on the Part of the *French* King, with a Proclamation declaring that in *June* next, two Kings *Henry* and *Francis*, with fourteen Aids, would in a Camp between *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*, anſwer all Comers at Tilt, Tourney and Barriers; and the like Proclamation was made by *Clarenceaux* in the *French* Court. Theſe friendly Defiances ſtopp'd not here; for they were ſent by King *Henry* to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy* and *Germany*, and by King *Francis* into *Spain* and *Italy*. And now the Principal Noblemen having made themſelves ready to attend their Soveraign Maſter, and none more

Preparations for an Enterview between the Kings of England *and* France.

more magnificently than the Duke of *Buckingham*. The King went to *Canterbury* on the twenty fifth Day of *May*, deſigning there to keep his *Whitſontide*.

In the mean time *Charles* the Emperor, who much deſir'd to break this deſign'd Enterview, had ſo contriv'd his Voyage from *Spain*, that the Day following, he himſelf, accompany'd with many Lords and beautiful Ladies, came unexpectedly to *Dover*. The Cardinal hearing of this, poſted away immediately to aſſure him of his Welcome; and the King very early next Day came to *Dover* Caſtle, where the Emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the Stairs, with all the Marks of Courteſie and Affection. *Charles* had great Deſigns at this Time, as well as the *French* King, therefore he continu'd his Endeavours to break this Enterview, as well as all other Correſpondence with *Francis*; and knowing no Prince could ſo much help or hinder him, as the King of *England*, he offer'd more advantageous Conditions than *Francis* had done. And to make all the more acceptable, he made large Preſents to the Cardinal, promiſing upon a Vacancy to make him Pope; and that he might the better exceed his Competitor *Francis* in Preſents, a great Part of the Spoils of *Mexico* had been brought him. As to the Enterview King *Henry* excus'd himſelf to the Emperor, as being ingag'd in Honour to meet *Francis*; but as to any Treaty, he would be as ſerviceable as he could. From thence then King *Henry* invited him to *Canterbury*, where he with great Satisfaction ſaw his Aunt Queen *Catharine*; but he was much more affected with the admirable Beauty of the Queen Dowager of *France*, once deſign'd for his Wife; and ſuch paſſionate Emotions aroſe in his Mind, that he could not be perſuaded to dance with the reſt of the illuſtrious Company. And now having paſs'd over the *Whitſon* Holy-Days in theſe Sports and Entertainments which the King gave him, he departed to *Sandwich*, took Shipping, and arriv'd at his Native Country of *Flanders*; while King *Henry* the ſame Day paſs'd to *Dover*, and from thence with all his noble Train and Company to *Calais*.

The Emperor endeavours to break it by coming into England.

On the fourth Day of *June*, King *Henry*, with the two Queens and the reſt of his Train, remov'd to his new built Palace near *Guiſnes*, being a Square of Timber every Side containing three hundred and twenty eight Foot; the Parts of which extraordinary Building, being artificially fram'd in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken aſunder, and brought home. King *Francis* had another Building to anſwer this, near *Ardres*, which like the other was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſh'd. Before the Kings met, the Cardinal went to viſit *Francis*, and to treat with him concerning ſome Particulars relating to the Marriage between the *Dauphine* and the Princeſs *Mary*, which were ſoon concluded. On the following Day the famous Enterview began with a Signal from a Warning-Piece, when both the Kings were mounted, and moſt magnificently attended. The Meeting of theſe two great and beautiful Monarchs was with the Sound of Trumpets, and all the Solemnity that could be invented for Perſons of their Rank and Character; and being diſmounted, after mutual Embraces, they walk'd Arm in Arm to a Pavilion of Cloth of Gold erected for that Purpoſe; where, after they had made their ſeveral Compliments, they took leave, and return'd to their reſpective Lodgings. Two Days after, both Kings came to view the Camp or Place of Exerciſe, being three hundred Yards long, and a hundred and ſix broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, with convenient Scaffolds on each Side for the Spectators. There were alſo ſet up two artificial Trees, with the Arms of the two Kings and their ſeveral Aſſiſtants, on which were afix'd the Articles of the Juſts, Tourney and Barriers. The Aſſiſtants or Supporters on the *Engliſh* Side were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Sir *William Kingſton*, Sir *Richard Jerwingham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carew*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*: On the *French* Side were the Duke *de Vendoſme*, Mr. *St. Paul*, Mr. *de Montmorency*, Mr. *de Bryon*, Mr. *de St. Meſme*, Mr. *de Brucall*, and Mr. *Tabanes*. To encounter theſe many noble Per-

The Manner of the famous Enterview.

Perſons and famous Knights come from Foreign Countries; who preſenting their Arms to the Heralds, were admitted to the Exerciſe, which was appointed on *Monday* the eleventh of *June*, when the Queens and Ladies took their Places, and two Kings with their Aſſiſtances enter'd the Liſts after a glorious and magnificent manner. We want Room to particularize the Courſes of theſe Champions, which are more largely deſcrib'd by *Hall* and *Hollingſhed*; it may be ſufficient to take Notice that none exceeded, if equall'd the two Kings, eſpecially King *Henry*; who in the ſecond Courſe diſabled Mr. *de Grandeville*, and after that ſucceſsfully encounter'd Mr. *de Montmorency*. This Exerciſe continu'd four Days, and on the following Week the Tourney began, in which there was a furious Encounter with Swords; yet the two Kings and their Aſſiſtance beat the Counter-Party to Diſarming; and King *Henry* particularly got that Honour, that a brave *French* Nobleman with whom he fought, preſented him with his Horſe as a Gage of his Victory. The next Day King *Henry* in Tourney likewiſe broke the Pouldron of Mr. *de Fleuranges*, and forc'd him to depart the Field. The following Day the Barriers began, and after that the caſting of Hand-Spears or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed Sword; at which ſort of Exerciſe much Commendation was given to King *Henry*, who with a few Strokes diſarm'd his Adverſary. Thus with variety of Masks, Interludes, Banquetings, and other Entertainments, and after many Compliments, Embraces and rich Preſents, the two Kings took their Leaves on the twenty fourth Day of *June*, and King *Henry* came with all his Train to *Calais*.

The Valour of King Henry.

Shortly after, the Emperor being at *Graveling*, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry* at their Requeſt admitted of a ſecond Enterview. And for that purpoſe going towards *Graveling*, the Emperor met him in the way, and conducted him thither, giving him and the reſt of the *Engliſh* all that good Entertainment ſo ſmall a Place could afford. The next Day, the Emperor and the Lady *Margaret* went with King *Henry* to *Calais*; where in the midſt of extraordinary Maskings and Entertainments, Buſineſs was not forgot. For here all the Articles of the Tripartite League between the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *France* were review'd; to which the King of *France* had ſo fully condeſcended, that he ſent Mr. *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of Credence, *That on the Word of a Prince he would inviolably obſerve them all.* But he ſoon began to change his Pretenſions, and from this preſent Enterview he began to be jealous of King *Henry*'s Proceedings, as judging his Affection to himſelf and the Emperor inconſiſtent. King *Henry* having no more Buſineſs at *Calais*, took his Leave of the Emperor, who made him ſeveral new Preſents, and ſafely return'd with his Train into *England*; having made a Journey that diſplay'd both his own and the Cardinal's Grandeur.

The Emperor meets him near Calais.

He returns into England.

A. D. 1521. Reg. 12/13.

IV. All Things being in a peaceable Poſture, the Doctrines of *Luther* began to ſpread themſelves in many Parts, after an extraordinary manner: And King *Henry* being at leiſure, and much delighting in Learning, thought he could not give better Proof either of his Zeal or Education, than to write againſt *Luther*. To which alſo he was exaſperated, becauſe *Luther* had oftentimes ſpoken contemptuouſly of the learned *Thomas Aquinas*, who was eſteem'd both by the King and Cardinal. He therefore compil'd a Book, wherein he ſtrenuouſly oppos'd *Luther* in the Point of Indulgences, Number of Sacraments, the Papal Authority, and other Particulars, to be ſeen in that Work of his Entituled *De ſeptem Sacramentis*. A principal Copy of this being richly bound, was ſent to Pope *Leo*, and preſented by Doctor *John Clark*, Dean of *Windſor*, the King's Ambaſſador, appearing in a full Conſiſtory: The Pope knowing the glorious Preſent he brought, firſt gave him his Foot, and then his Cheeks to kiſs; then receiving the Book, he promis'd to do as much for the Approbation of it to all Chriſtian Princes, as ever was done for St.

Polydor. Holling. Speed. Mezeray. Herbert. &c.

The King writes againſt Luther.

St. *Auſtin*'s or St. *Jerom*'s Works; aſſuring him withal, he would beſtow a publick Title upon King *Henry*, in the very next Conſiſtory. This accordingly was done, and his Holineſs gave him the honourable Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, in a pompous Letter ſign'd by himſelf and twenty ſeven Cardinals: In which the King took great Pleaſure, always affecting it beyond all his other Titles, tho' ſeveral of the former Kings of *England* had carry'd the ſame Title, as *Spelman* informs us. Being thus inclin'd to Learning, the King was much courted by all neceſſitous Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with ſuch flattering Epiſtles, that it very much leſſens him to ſee how he delighted in ſuch kind of Extravagances. And indeed of all Things Flattery did generally moſt affect him; and no ſort of Flattery pleas'd him better than to have his great Learning and Wiſdom commended. And in this, his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Forreigners and Natives, all ſeem'd to vie in their Exceſſes, and came to ſpeak to him in a Stile that was ſcarce allowable to any Creature.

For which the Pope gives him the Title of Defender of the Faith.

But none manag'd him with greater Dexterity than the Cardinal, who had gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant in the Nation, that he could ſacrifice the greateſt Men to his Reſentments; the Force of which were about this Time felt by *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent both for his high Blood and his large Revenues. The Cardinal had long hated him for ſpeaking certain detracting Words of him; and it was further ſaid, that the Duke once holding the Baſon to the King, the Cardinal, as ſoon as the King had done waſhing, dipp'd his Hands into the ſame Water, which rais'd ſuch Indignation in the Duke, that he pour'd the Water upon his Feet; and this ſo provok'd the Cardinal that he declar'd *He would ſit upon his Skirts*. To make a Jeſt of this vulgar Expreſſion, the Duke appear'd before the King the next Day in a Garment without Skirts, and told his Majeſty *That it was by Way of Prevention*; which added new Fuel to a Fire that could not be extinguiſh'd without his Blood; ſo dangerous it is for great Men to deſcend to Jeſting. To remove all Supporters, the Cardinal had caus'd the Duke's chief Friend and Father-in-law, the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be impriſon'd upon ſome ſuggeſted Crimes; and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Surry*, to be ſent Deputy into *Ireland*, ſo that his Friends being ſequeſter'd from him, he might be expos'd to the worſt ſort of Accuſations. The Duke being in this Condition, the Cardinal treated ſecretly with one *Charles Knevet*, whom the Duke had angrily diſmiſs'd from his Stewardſhip, and who thereupon diſcover'd his late Maſter's Life; confeſſing that the Duke by Way of Diſcourſe was accuſtom'd to ſay, *That if King* Henry *dy'd without Iſſue, he would obtain the Crown, and that he would puniſh the Cardinal*: Beſides, that he had ſpoken the ſame to *George Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, who had marry'd his Daughter. The Duke being deſcended from the Daughter of the youngeſt Son of King *Edward* the Third, it was thought ſufficient Reaſon for his Accuſation; which was ſo aggravated to King *Henry*, that he order'd him to be apprehended and try'd by his Peers, and the Duke of *Norfolk* appointed Lord High-Steward for that Time. Being arraign'd, he was accus'd by *Knevet*, a Monk call'd *Hopkins*, and others, of ſeveral treaſonable Deſigns to obtain the Crown of *England*; for which he was found guilty of High-Treaſon, and the Duke of *Norfolk* with a Flood of Tears deliver'd the formal Sentence of Execution. To which the other ſubmitted, but with a Declaration of his Innocence, and Reſolution not to ſue to the King for his Life. Whereupon he was brought back to the Tower, where all the Favour he receiv'd, was to die the Death of a Nobleman, and be beheaded. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the People, who libel'd the Cardinal for it, as being thought criminal rather through Folly and raſh Words, than any real Intention againſt the King's Perſon; and therefore not uncapable of Mercy, if he had ſu'd for it in proper Terms. How far he was involv'd or purſu'd by his Father's Crimes, in the Reign of *Edward*

The Duke of Buckingham *proſecuted by* Wolſey.

He is try'd for Treaſon.

and beheaded.

the Fifth, we have no great certainty; only we obſerve, that together with this Duke, that great Place of High-Conſtable of *England* remains extinguiſh'd, unleſs ſome extraordinary Occaſion revive it.

About the ſame Time a new War began between two of the principal Monarchs of *Europe*, the Emperor and the King of *France*; which at divers Times and Places, continu'd near forty Years, and coſt the Lives of above five hundred thouſand Men. For the compoſing or managing of which, the Cardinal was ſent over to *Calais*, with a ſplendid Attendance of ſeveral Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and many Knights and Gentlemen. Arriving on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, he was met by the Chancellor of *France*, and the Count *De Paliſſe*, attended with four hundred Horſe, as Ambaſſadors from the *French* King; and the like Number from the Emperor, with Commiſſions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were alſo Ambaſſadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal mov'd to have his Holineſs to be a Party alſo in the League; but they wanting full Commiſſions, Letters were immediately ſent to *Rome* about that Affair; and 'till Anſwer might be receiv'd, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to conſult with the Emperor. After thirteen Days magnificent Entertainment, he return'd to *Calais*; and then immediately proceeded to the Treaty of Peace with the *French* Commiſſioners, but in a colder Manner than before, as having his Fervor abated by ſome Tranſactions with the Emperor; ſo that nothing material was concluded, but that the Fiſhermen of both Princes might fiſh in the Narrow-Seas without Moleſtation, 'till the End of *February* following, of which he ſent Advice to each Prince. During the Time of the Cardinal's Stay at *Calais*, all Writs and Patents were ſeal'd by him at that Place; and no Sheriff could be choſen for want of his Preſence, having the great Seal with him, and ſuch a Power as if the King had been there in Perſon. Before he return'd, he made a new and private League with the Emperor, of which the Lord *Herbert* has the Particulars; and intimated to the *French* King, That he doubted whether the King of *England* would hereafter be as much his Friend as formerly. At which, tho' King *Francis* was much offended, yet he ſignify'd by his artificial Letters that he would as much as ever continue the King of *England*'s Friend: Only he inveigh'd againſt the Cardinal, as a Man of no Fidelity, and withdrew many Penſions granted by him to *Engliſh* Men. Shortly after, *Tournay* was beſieg'd by the Lord *Moncada*, a *Spaniard*; and tho' the *French* ſent great Forces to relieve it, it was ſurrender'd to the Emperor on the laſt Day of *November*. And here in this Year 1521, we may take notice of the Invention of Muskets, which *Bellay* ſays were firſt us'd in this War. In the ſame Year, on the firſt of *December*, dy'd Pope *Leo* the Tenth; ſome ſay out of Joy, and others by Poiſon.

Wolſey *ſent to* Calais.

He makes a private League with the Emperor.

A. D. 1522. Reg. 13/14.

Upon News of this Pope's Death, immediately the *Engliſh* Cardinal aſpir'd to the Tripple Crown; and ſent Dr. *Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s with all Speed to *Rome*, to uſe all poſſible Means to make him Pope. At the ſame Time he wrote earneſt Letters to the Emperor *Charles*, firſt reminding him of his Promiſe to him; next repreſenting to him how unjuſt and factious it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; and ſince it was the Place of King *Henry* to be Arbiter of Chriſtendom, it would be his alſo to be the chief Inſtrument of it, if he were elected. Some other Reaſons *Pace* alſo was order'd to give among the Cardinals at *Rome*, where he was to repreſent how much occaſion of Calumny the *Lutherans* and other Enemies of the Church would find, if an unfitting Choice were made at this Juncture; which muſt follow, if any belonging to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected. The Cardinal alſo did not forget *Francis*, to whom Indifferency, if not Favour was promis'd, in caſe he were Pope; which was more than he could hope for any other Way. But before *Pace* could arrive at *Rome*, *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, and Tutor to *Charles* the Emperor, was choſen Pope on the ninth of *January*; tho' not with ſuch an univerſal Conſent, but that Cardinal *Wolſey* had

He aſpires to the Papacy:

But is diſappointed.

had ſometimes nine, ſometimes twelve, and ſometimes nineteen Voices. *Pace*, upon this Diſappointment, having ſecond Inſtructions to countenance his Imployment, departed to *Venice*, where he mediated a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*; urging them to join with him and the King of *England* againſt King *Francis*, who had firſt broken the common Peace, made 1518, in which the State of *Venice* was compris'd. But the *Venetians*, being ingag'd to *Francis*, only took Time to adviſe upon it.

In the mean Time King *Francis*, not being fully provided to war with King *Henry*, continu'd for ſome Time his ſmooth Letters to the Cardinal; but at length between Impatience, and Hopes to give a great Diverſion in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he began to declare himſelf. Therefore, his Subjects having made ſome Attempts upon the *Engliſh* Merchants, when Satisfaction was requir'd, he deferr'd, or rather deny'd Reparation; which particular Inſults were accompany'd with a main Breach of Treaty, as King *Henry* alledg'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who ought to have continu'd in *France*, was now after five Years Abſence return'd to his Charge in *Scotland*; and the *Engliſh* Merchants diſcovering an approaching Storm, withdrew their Effects from *France*, and the Scholars their Perſons and Studies from *Paris*. King *Henry* alſo wrote ſharply to *Francis*, declaring, *That whatever Excuſes he made for ſending over the Duke of* Albany, *he knew nothing was done without his Direction; and that it was the Manner of his Country to make Pretenſions*; reproaching him alſo with Breach of his Oath. *Francis* inrag'd at this rough Expoſtulation, objected the laſt Year's ſecret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperor, requiring King *Henry* to declare himſelf; and caus'd all the Remainder of the *Engliſh* Merchants Goods to be ſeiz'd, eſpecially thoſe at *Bourdeaux*, where they had both paid for their Wines, and Cuſtom for them. King *Henry* upon this confin'd the *French* Ambaſſador to his Houſe, and ſecur'd all the *French* and *Scotch* in his Kingdom for a Time, or 'till they had paid pecuniary Mulcts; and the Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-Williams* was order'd to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, to ſecure the *Engliſh* Merchants, and take what *French* he could. Moreover becauſe the *French* deny'd the reſt of the Mony due, and detain'd the *French* Queen's Dower, the King caus'd the *French* Hoſtages to be kept under a ſtricter Guard, without uſing further Rigour; and becauſe *Francis* had urg'd him to declare himſelf, he ſent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, declaring, *That ſince* Francis *was the Infringer of the common Peace, the King of* England *muſt join with the Emperor againſt him*. Upon which Ambaſſadors were recall'd on both Sides, and War expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Commanders, dy'd about this Time, of Poiſon or a Peſtilential Air, ſo King *Henry* loſt thoſe whoſe Service he now moſt needed.

The French *King breaks with* England.

Still the Cardinal kept up his Reputation to the Height, and perform'd ſeveral popular Acts; and as the Manner of the moſt ſubtle Favourites is uſually to do great rather than good Actions, ſo this Cardinal by the perpetual Variation he ſeem'd to cauſe in the Affairs of Chriſtendom, not only held the Minds of the People in Suſpence, but render'd his Counſels more conſiderable to the King, than if he had purſu'd any one ſingle Way. The laſt Change of which he was Author, had its Beginning at *Bruges*, where among other Things the Emperor reſolv'd to repair to *England*, particularly to conſult King *Henry* concerning the Affairs of *Europe*, and to treat of a Marriage between him and the King's Daughter the Princeſs *Mary*; and laſtly, which was a ſingular Pleaſure to King *Henry*, be perſonally inſtall'd of the Order of the *Garter* at *Windſor*, while he himſelf ſate there as Chief. And now for the more magnificent Reception of the Emperor, the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was ſent to *Calais*, and the Cardinal with a glorious Train to *Dover*; where upon the twenty ſixth Day of *May* he aſſur'd that Prince of his Welcome, which King *Henry* in Perſon ſoon after confirm'd. From hence the King conducted him to his Palace at *Green-*

The Emperor comes into England.

wich, where the Queen his Aunt receiv'd him with extraordinary Joy. Here to honour the Emperor's Preſence, Royal Juſts and Tournies were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and ten Aſſiſtants, bravely kept the Place againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and ten other Aſſiſtants on their Part. On the ſixth of *June* the King and Emperor, with all their Trains rod into *London*, where the City receiv'd them with all the Ornaments and Magnificence of a Coronation; and the Emperor was lodg'd at the *Black-Fryars*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On *Whit-Sunday* the King and Emperor rod to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, where the Cardinal ſung High-Maſs with an unuſual Pomp; in the Beginning of which two Barons gave him Water; after the Goſpel, two Earls; and at the laſt Lavatary two Dukes held the Baſon, which rais'd the Indignation of ſome of the *Spaniards*. After many Entertainments, they both repair'd to *Windſor*, where on the nineteenth Day of *June*, the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and ſitting in his Stall, accompany'd the other Knights in all his Rites and Ceremonies uſual at that Time. Which being done, the two great Monarchs receiv'd the Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts to obſerve the League concluded between them: The Subſtance of which was, That they ſhould unite their Powers againſt King *Francis*, and that the Emperor ſhould marry the Princeſs *Mary*, when ſhe ſhould be at a proper Age. Beſides which, the Emperor gave his Oath to ſave King *Henry* harmleſs for all the Sums of Mony and Penſions, which were or ſhould be due to him from King *Francis*, upon former Agreements.

He is inſtall'd Knight of the Garter.

Shortly after the Emperor took his leave of the King, and repair'd to *Southampton*, where the Earl of *Surry* the *Engliſh* Admiral attended as his Convoy, who by a particular Patent had alſo been conſtituted Admiral to the Emperor, on the eighth Day of *June*. This Earl having accepted of that Honour by King *Henry*'s Conſent, landed his Men in *Normandy* near *Cherbourg*; and having deſtroy'd the adjacent Parts, all but religious Houſes, he return'd to *Portland*. From whence ſetting Sail a ſecond Time, he landed near *Morlais* in *Bretaign*, and with ſeven thouſand Men march'd thither; where he fortunately enter'd the Town, which was ſoon plunder'd and burnt, and a rich Booty carry'd to the Fleet. After which the Earl caus'd ſixteen or ſeventeen *French* Ships, which he found on the Coaſts, to be burnt: And then leaving his Vice-Admiral to ſcour the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good Services, and return'd to *Southampton*, from whence he ſafely convoy'd the Emperor to his Kingdom of *Spain*. In the mean Time divers inferior Exploits paſs'd between the Garriſons of *Calais* and *Boloign*, in which the *French* were for the moſt Part Loſers. Likewiſe at the ſame Time the Lords *Roſs* and *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders againſt *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelſie* and fourſcore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of Stone, with all their Bulwarks. Shortly after the Duke of *Albany*, being eſtabliſh'd Governor of *Scotland*, rais'd an Army of eighty thouſand Men, as ſome write, with which he approach'd the Borders, but made no Invaſion, concluding that the Name of ſuch an Army would terrifie the *Engliſh*. But this did not hinder the Marqueſs *Dorſet* from entering into *Tividale*, and to *Galloway*, where he burnt many Towns and Villages, and carry'd away four thouſand Head of Cattle.

He is convoy'd by the Engliſh *Admiral to* Spain.

Theſe Warlike Exploits being expenſive, oblig'd the King to make uſe of his Subjects Affections; the better to underſtand which, he caus'd a general Muſter or Deſcription to be made of all his Kingdom, commanding that each hundred ſhould certifie the Names of all above ſixteen Years of Age: That they ſhould repair to a certain Place aſſign'd with their Arms, declare their Names, their Pariſhes, the Lords and Parſons of each Town, the Worth of the Lands and Benefices, and alſo the Eſtates and Revenues, as well as the Employments and Occupations of every particular Perſon: So that this Survey was almoſt in the Nature

The King to raiſe Mony makes a Survey of the Nation.

Nature of another *Domeſday* Book. The King rejoic'd to find his Kingdom ſo ſtrong and wealthy; yet as he was not ready for a Parliament, he borrow'd of the Citizens of *London* twenty thouſand Pounds, and ſent Privy Seals to ſeveral other rich Perſons of the Kingdom; in conſequence of which, he demanded a Loan of the Tenth of the Temporalty, and a Fourth of the Spiritualty: All which extraordinary Ways of furniſhing the preſent Neceſſities yet ended in a Parliament the next Year. The King having thus rais'd ſome Mony, proclaim'd open War againſt *France*, unleſs that King made Peace with the Pope or Emperor; and accordingly commanded the Earl of *Surry*, after his Attempts by Sea, to go over to *Calais*, and with convenient Forces to join with *Florence d'Egmond*, General of the Emperor's Troops. Theſe meeting between *Ardres* and St. *Omers*, ſpoil'd and burnt all the Villages in their Way 'till they came to *Heſdin*, in which the *French* had put a ſtrong Garriſon. But Autumn being far advanc'd, and the Weather unſeaſonable, they only could take the Town; the Caſtle being too ſtrong to be attempted at this Seaſon. They march'd therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they took and burnt, with all the adjoining Villages. The Seaſon ſtill continuing foul, and the *Engliſh* very unhealthful, the Army diſſolv'd, and the ſooner becauſe the two Generals could not agree about their Deſigns. Yet before the Earl of *Surry* departed, he burnt *Marquiſe*, and ſome other Places near the *Engliſh* Pale; after which he return'd home, and gave the King an Account of his Expedition.

A. D. 1523. Reg. 14/51. *A Parliament meets.*

By the Methods of the Cardinal, as it is believ'd, Parliaments had been diſus'd for about ſeven Years; but now it was thought neceſſary to call one upon the fifteenth of *April*, to be held at the *Black-Fryars* in *London*; and here the Cardinal took care that the Spiritualty ſhould lead the Way. The Buſineſs of a Subſidy therefore being brought into the Convocation, in general met with a fair Paſſage; yet *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Phillips* a Canon of *Paul*'s, oppos'd it. But the induſtrious Cardinal ſilencing ſome, and cauſing others to abſent themſelves, ſo far prevail'd, that one half of the Spiritual Revenues for one Year was granted, to be paid in five Years following. From hence the Cardinal went to the Houſe of Commons, where in an eloquent Oration, Breach of Faith was charg'd upon the *French* King, upon the League ſworn for the general Peace of Chriſtendom: And beſides, the Default of Payment for *Tournay*, and other Matters were objected; ſo that the King could do no leſs in this publick Cauſe, than join in War againſt him with *Charles* the Emperor. And becauſe the Charge of it was judg'd to amount to eight hundred thouſand Pounds, it was requir'd that the foreſaid Sum might be rais'd out of the Fifth of every Man's Lands and Goods to be paid in four Years. This being propos'd, the next Day Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker of the Houſe, enforc'd this Demand, demonſtrating how it was not unreaſonable on this important Occaſion, to pay four Shillings in the Pound. To this many Replies were made, and Objections rais'd; and it was alledg'd, That of the thirteen thouſand Pariſhes then in *England*, the greateſt Part of them could not regularly produce a hundred Marks. At laſt, after ſome Debate and Contention, it was agreed that every Man's Eſtate of twenty Pound yearly, ſhould pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pound a Year downwards to forty Shillings, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings, every Head of ſixteen and upwards ſhould pay four Pence, in two Years. The Cardinal hearing no more intended, with great Warmth enter'd the Houſe of Commons, and told that great Aſſembly, *That he deſir'd to reaſon with thoſe who oppos'd his Demands*; but being anſwer'd, *That it was the Order of that Houſe to hear, and not to reaſon but among themſelves*, the Cardinal departed without Satisfaction. Yet by the liberal Motion of ſome, thoſe of fifty Pounds Land and upwards, were induc'd to add one Shilling more, for three Years to come; which at length being continu'd to the fourth Year, was all that could be obtain'd. In this Parliament a College of Phyſicians was erected, and many Pri-

Aids granted for War againſt France.

Privileges granted to the Members of it: And alſo an Act paſs'd, That the King ſhould have Authority for Life by his Letters Patents to reverſe and annul all Attainders of High-Treaſon, and to reſtore their Heirs, *&c.* As there had been no Parliament call'd for ſeven Years before this, ſo by the Cardinal's Means, there was none ſummon'd for ſeven Years after. Then by Vertue of his Legantine Authority, the Cardinal diſſolv'd the Convocation at St. *Paul's*, convok'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and call'd him and all the Clergy to St. *Peter's* at *Weſtminſter*; but we do not find any thing material tranſacted.

In the mean Time the *Scots*, joining with the *French*, began again to threaten the *Engliſh* Nation; but after ſome Struggles, they were ſo diſcourag'd, that a ſhort Truce was made between the two Kingdoms. This gave King *Henry* Opportunity of proſecuting more important Affairs in Foreign Countries. But before he could bring them to any great Effect, *Chriſtian* the Second, King of *Denmark*, being by his Subjects expell'd his own Country, came from *Flanders* into *England* with his Queen, and a ſmall Retinue ſuitable to their Misfortunes. This did not hinder them from finding a Reception worthy of their Quality; and Queen *Catharine*, being Aunt to the other of *Denmark*, took particular Compaſſion on them. Therefore after all manner of Royal Entertainment, for the Space of about three Weeks, and divers rich Preſents beſtow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon ſome new Hopes of Recovering their Kingdom, to return into *Flanders*.

The King of Denmark *viſits King* Henry.

And now King *Henry* began to ſhew himſelf more and more vigorous againſt the *French*; and in the Month of *Auguſt* ſent over the Duke of *Suffolk*, attended by the Lords *Montague*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Mowney*, *Sands*, *Berkley*, and *Powis*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and about thirteen thouſand Men. With this ſmall but ſelect Army the Duke march'd from *Calais* into the Enemy's Country, and took ſeveral inferior Places; then joining with the Emperor's General *Florence d'Agmond*, the Army amounted to twenty thouſand ſtrong; yet it being near the End of *September*, and the Weather more unſeaſonable than uſual for that Month, it was difficult to perform any great Action. King *Henry* order'd them to begin with *Boloign*; but the Imperialiſts alledg'd it was impregnable, and that for entering *France*, it was better to coaſt the River *Somme*; which they did, with Deſign to come to Battel. But finding no Forces in the Field, they beſieg'd *Bray* on the River *Somme*, in which Place was a ſtrong Garriſon; but a Breach being made by the *Engliſh*, and furiouſly attack'd, the Governor ſet Fire to the Town, and fled over the Bridge with the Remainder of his Men, with great Loſs. From hence paſſing over the *Somme*, they march'd towards *Roye*, taking ſome leſſer Places by the Way. This Town being ſummon'd, and promiſing to yield, Sir *Richard Cornwall* with four hundred Men was ſent to take Poſſeſſion of it. From thence the Army advanc'd towards *Montdidier*, being oppos'd in the way by two Commanders, who were at laſt taken Priſoners, with ſome others of Note. In *Montdidier* there was a Garriſon of twelve hundred Men, under the Command of *Roche-baron*; but after ſome few Hours Diſcharge of the Cannon, they capitulated and ſurrender'd. The Duke with his Army had now paſs'd the River *Oyſe*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris* it ſelf; which threw the Citizens into a terrible Conſternation. Nor could the Arrival of Monſ. *de Vendoſme* with ſome Forces, cure them of their Fears. But the Seaſon being far advanc'd, and the Weather ſo extreamly cold, that almoſt all the Corn in *France* was frozen and deſtroy'd this Year, the Army was forc'd to return; eſpecially ſince the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries* withdrew the Pay from her Soldiers, and let all the Charge fall upon King *Henry*. However they took the Caſtle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they broke up; which notwithſtanding, with the other Places, was ſoon recover'd by the *French*. Thus ended this Year's Campaign,

An Army ſent into France *under the Duke of* Suffolk.

The Progreſs of it.

to

to the Diſſatisfaction of King *Henry*, it being more to the Terror of *France*, than the Advantage of *England*.

King *Francis* was at the ſame time turning his Forces againſt *Italy*, when on the fourteenth Day of *September* Pope *Adrian* dy'd, by Poiſon as it was believ'd. The News of this rous'd the Ambition of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who by Letters to King *Henry* humbly intreated him to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt in this important Affair, and likewiſe to write with his own Hand to the Emperor for his Intereſt in this Matter. But notwithſtanding all theſe Endeavours, the Emperor a ſecond Time fail'd him, and *Julio de Medici* was made Pope, by the Name of *Clement* the Seventh: Upon which, *Wolſey* artificially diſſembling his Reſentments, thought fit in Juſtification of his Merits to write again to the King, declaring, *That the Election was not ſo clearly carry'd, but that many of the Cardinals were for him; tho' by reaſon of his Abſence, and the dangerous State of* Italy, *which call'd for preſent Remedies, they inſiſted on the other.* Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinal to diſpatch an Embaſſie to the new Pope, to congratulate his Election, and to deſire him to continue his former Diſaffection to *France*, and to give publick Teſtimonies of it according to the Greatneſs of the Power inveſted in him. The Cardinal alſo, by a particular Diſpatch, deſir'd *Richard Pace*, then at *Rome*, to procure an Enlargement of his Legantine Authority; proteſting, *That by reaſon of the King's Prerogative and other Cauſes, it was not a thouſand Ducats yearly to him; yet if his Power and Faculties might be encreas'd, it ſhould be thankfully acknowledg'd.* To all which Pope *Clement* condeſcended, and the Legantine Power, which formerly had been granted only for five Years at a Time, was now by a new Precedent given him for Term of Life. Thus, to comfort him after his Repulſe at *Rome*, the Cardinal had a Kind of a Papal Authority in *England*; of which he made the utmoſt Uſe. For forming vaſt Things in his Mind, and deſigning two famous Colleges to be erected, one at his native Place *Ipſwich*, and the other at *Oxford*, towards the carrying on of thoſe Works, he ſoon procur'd a Bull from the Pope to ſuppreſs ſeveral of the leſſer Monaſteries in *England*. In this he met with ſome Difficulties from the King; but *Henry*, who often wanted Mony, conſidering, that if for his urgent Occaſions he was oblig'd at any Time to ſeize on the other Religious Houſes, he might this way diſcover how the People ſtood affected, at laſt granted his Requeſt. And King *Henry* thus concurring with the Pope, who in Favour of the Cardinal gave way to this Suppreſſion, that Overture was firſt made, which being afterwards purſu'd by the King's ſole Authority, became the final Ruin of all the Monaſteries in *England*.

Wolſey a ſecond Time aſpires to the Papacy in vain.

He gets his Power enlarg'd.

His vaſt Deſigns.

The *Scots*, the ancient Confederates of the *French*, began again to threaten the *Engliſh* Nation under the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany*, who had lately been in *France*, and now approach'd the *Engliſh* Borders, with a numerous Army. Hearing that the Earl of *Surry*, now by his Father's Death Duke of *Norfolk*, was aiming againſt him with a mighty Power, he ſent an Herald to him, promiſing upon his Honour *to give him Battel, and if he took him Priſoner, to give him good Quarter*: To which the *Engliſh* Duke ſeverely anſwer'd, *That he would not fail to ſtand Battel; but if he took him Priſoner, the Quarter he would give him ſhould be to cut off his Head, and ſend it for a Preſent to his Maſter the King of* England. The *Engliſh* Forces lying at *Alnewick*, were join'd by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle* and *Darcy*, with many Knights and Gentlemen; in all compoſing an Army of about forty thouſand Men. In *October* the Duke of *Albany* ſent two or three thouſand Men over the Water to beſiege the Caſtle of *Warke*; who by the Battery of their Ordnance won the outward Work call'd the *Barnekins*; and continuing their Batteries won the ſecond Work; but then Sir *William Liſle*, Governor of the Caſtle, ſally'd out with thoſe few he had left, and bravely repell'd the *French* Soldiers from the

A. D. 1524. Reg. 15 16.

Actions with the Scots.

the Place, with the Deaths of three hundred of them: A memorable Service, for which the Duke of *Norfolk* afterwards gave him particular Thanks. This brave Duke would gladly have follow'd his Enemies to their own Country, but only his Commiſſion was to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret*, Mother to the young King of the *Scots*, ſent to her Brother King *Henry*, for a Ceſſation of Arms 'till they might conveniently have a further Communication; which being granted, the *Engliſh* Army broke up, and the Duke of *Norfolk* return'd to Court. In the latter End of the Year, and the Beginning of the next Ambaſſadors from *Scotland* did negotiate a Peace, and ſhewing that the Lords of *Scotland* were content to relinquiſh the *French*, upon Condition that a Marriage might be ſecur'd between their young King and the Princeſs *Mary*; but they requir'd that the Promiſe by which ſhe was ingag'd to the Emperor, might firſt be diſcharg'd. King *Henry* anſwer'd he would firſt confer with the Emperor about it, and therefore nothing was concluded at this Time but a Truce for three Years and a half. The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, diſpatch'd an Embaſſie from *Flanders* to require that the Princeſs *Mary* might be deliver'd to him, promiſing hereupon to declare her Empreſs, and make her Governor of the *Low-Countries*; her Dower was alſo requir'd to be paid immediately, and that King *Henry* in Perſon would the next Year invade the Kingdom of *France*.

A Truce concluded with them.

But before King *Henry* could give a perfect Anſwer to theſe Particulars, there happen'd a remarkable Change of Affairs, which did not only affect the Kingdom of *France*, but had an Influence upon a great Part of *Europe*. King *Francis* had this Year vigorouſly purſu'd his warlike Deſigns in *Italy*, in order to recover the Dukedom of *Milan*; and becauſe the Duke of *Bourbon*, out of great Diſguſt, had revolted from him, and was made General of the Emperor's Forces in *Italy*, King *Francis* warmly purſu'd him, and cloſely beſieg'd him in the City of *Pavia*. This Duke had alſo receiv'd particular Incouragement, and conſtant Pay from the King of *England*; but by means of the ambitious Cardinal, who had ſecret Reſentments againſt the Emperor, the Pay was ſuddenly ſtopp'd or withdrawn. This hapning at the Time when the Duke was beſieg'd by the *French* King in *Pavia*, it drove him to ſuch a Degree of Fear and Deſpair, that he reſolv'd upon a moſt dangerous Eſcape. In the midſt of a dark Night he order'd Part of his Men to attack the Beſiegers on the weakeſt Side of the Town, while he ſally'd privately out of a Poſtern on the contrary Side. The Watch being ſlender, and the Soldiers in a ſecure Sleep, a mighty Terror aroſe, in which the Beſiegers turn'd their Ordnance to the Place of the Outcry, when as ſuddenly *Bourbon* gaining upon their Backs, won all their Artillery, diſcharg'd them againſt their Owners, ſlew their Soldiers, cut down their Tents, and laſtly by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, the *French* King himſelf was taken Priſoner in the Field: Behaving himſelf with the Courage and Bravery of a Monarch, both before and during his Captivity. This remarkable Accident happen'd on the twenty fourth Day of *February* 152$\frac{4}{5}$.

Francis *the* French *King taken Priſoner by the Imperialiſts.*

A. D. 1525. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

V. King *Henry* had now a greater Opportunity than ever of exerting his Power, and diſplaying his Grandeur in the general Affairs of *Europe*; yet he was very cautious how to proceed upon ſo unexpected a Change. When the News was brought to *England*, in Council it was thought fit the King ſhould comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving ſome publick Demonſtration of Joy. Therefore the King giong to St. *Paul*'s, and cauſing a Maſs to be ſung in a more ſolemn Manner than ordinary, ſeem'd to celebrate the Victory; tho' inwardly he was not ſo well ſatisfy'd with it: For, as he conſider'd the Emperor now grown to a Greatneſs ſcarce allowable with Reaſon of State, or due Terms of Neighbourhood, he deliberated with his Council what was moſt proper to be done next. Whereupon it was thought fit immediately to ſend Ambaſſadors into *Spain*, to repreſent to the Emperor, 'How that this War being 'made

Hall. Polydor. Holling. Stow. Mezeray. Herbert. &c.

King Henry's *Proceedings upon it.*

'made at a common Charge, it was reaſonable that both ſhould receive the 'Fruit of it: That the Part to which the King of *England* pretended, was In-'heritance in *France*, which he deſir'd might be reſtor'd; in which the Emperor's 'beſt Aſſiſtance could not be doubted, both becauſe it was juſt in it ſelf, and agree-'able to their late Treaty; by Vertue of which he was to require the Emperor to 'proceed in levying Forces againſt *France*, in which his Majeſty would likewiſe 'concur. Nor was it to be doubted that the Emperor would decline this Mo-'tion, ſince he himſelf would finally reap the Benefit of it; for as his Majeſty 'was reſolv'd to ratifie and confirm the intended Match between the Emperor 'and the Princeſs *Mary*, who was Heir not only to the Crown of *England*, 'but to all the Titles in *France*, ſo all at laſt would devolve upon him; 'which therefore might be thought ſo advantageous, that he could not think 'it unreaſonable to deliver up King *Francis* into his Majeſty's Hands, upon 'conſigning the Princeſs to his. This Advice being approv'd by all, an Em-baſſie was diſpatch'd into *Spain*; in which it was further offer'd, That the Prin-ceſs *Mary* ſhould be deliver'd into the Emperor's Hands, upon proper Conditi-ons. But the Emperor being reſolv'd that none ſhould partake of the Profit or Honour of the late Victory, the Embaſſie found no real Reception in *Spain*; upon which King *Henry* return'd to that brave and wiſe Reſolution he had formerly taken, to make himſelf Arbiter of Chriſtendom, and to puniſh him who interrupted the publick Peace. To which he had alſo many other Induce-ments: For the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, who by Articles was to have rais'd Forces againſt the *French*, began already to treat with them for an Accommoda-tion; and when Demand was made for the Payment of the Mony lent to the Emperor in his greateſt Neceſſity, nothing was return'd but a dilatory Excuſe. Nor was the King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ranſoming of *Francis*; of a Match propos'd with *Iſabella* Princeſs of *Portugal*, which reflected on his Daughter's Reputation. Laſtly the Pope's Breve, repreſenting the Danger of Chriſtendom from the increaſing Proſperity of the *Turks*, had ſo prevail'd with King *Henry*, that he thought fit to lay aſide all Ambition to recover his Inheritance in *France*, and to endeavour for an Univerſal Peace.

His brave Re-ſolves.

In Purſuance of this laudable Deſign, as the Remembrance of the obliging Enterview between King *Henry* and *Francis* did not operate a little, ſo the Re-putation that the latter had gain'd by his Courage in this laſt Action, had kind-led in our generous King's Mind a compaſſionate Zeal for his Delivery. There-fore at the Requeſt of the King of *France*'s Mother, who had much diſpos'd King *Henry* to return to his ancient Friendſhip, he ſent particular Orders to his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the Liberty of King *Francis*; who had already begun the Way in a particular Letter to the Emperor, in which he declar'd, *That the greateſt Comfort he found in this abandon'd Condition, was his falling into the Hands of ſo generous a Prince, who would not oblige him to what might be unjuſt to require, or impoſſible to perform: That he there-fore hop'd ſufficient Security would be accepted for his Freedom, ſince inſtead of detaining an unuſeful Priſoner, he ſhould make a King his Slave; when it was more advantageous to have him a faithful Friend, than to ſuffer him to die in Deſperation.* None yet was ſo vigilant and intentive in this Affair, or the general Good of the Kingdom, as Madam *Loviſe*, his Mother and Regent of *France*, who by many forcible and reiterated Embaſſies, drew moſt of the Chriſtian Potentates and Republicks to favour the Deliverance of her Son. The Emperor finding ſuch powerful Interceſſions, of his own Accord ſent ſome Pro-poſitions and Articles to the Captive King; ſome of which were ſo hard and diſpleaſing to him, that he is ſaid to have drawn his Dagger, crying, *It is better for a King of* France *to die after this Manner*; but was prevented from uſing it by one of his Attendants. Yet to gratifie the Emperor, he gave Or-der that two of the chief Priſoners, mention'd in the Propoſals, ſhould be ſet

He deſigns to releaſe the French *King.*

at Liberty. And after that new Conditions were offer'd the Emperor, which tho' advantageous in themſelves, yet ſeveral Objections were rais'd againſt them, and nothing was concluded. About this Time the Emperor holding his *Cortes* or Parliament at *Toledo*, among other Things it was petition'd by the Eſtates aſſembled, that 'the Emperor being now of Age to marry, ſhould take to his 'Wife *Iſabella* the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and not the Princeſs *Mary* of *England*; which was very agreeable to the Mind of him, who now aſpir'd to univerſal Monarchy.

The *French* King being weary of his Reſtraint in *Italy*, at length procur'd himſelf to be remov'd into *Spain*, reputing his Change of Priſon as a ſecond Liberty. Being brought to *Madrid*, he fell ſo dangerouſly ſick, that the Phyſicians had little Hopes of his Life, unleſs the Emperor would be pleas'd ſpeedily to viſit him; upon whoſe Viſitation, in which there was a pathetick Enterview, he ſoon recover'd his Health, tho' not immediately his Strength. Here new Propoſitions were made for his Deliverance, and new Objections were rais'd againſt them. In the mean Time the Pope, the *Venetians* and Princes of *Italy*, leagu'd together in Defence of the common Cauſe againſt the Emperor, and invited King *Henry* into the Treaty; nor did it leſſen their Suſpicion of *Charles*'s aiming at univerſal Monarchy, becauſe upon his taking *Francis* Priſoner, he wrote to the King of *England* and Princes of *Italy*, *That he ſhould not take it well if any of them diſturb'd the Dominions of* Francis, *ſince being his Priſoner, he could do no leſs than protect him againſt all others*. Madam *Loviſe* the *French* Regent continu'd her Meſſages to King *Henry*, to procure his Aſſiſtance for the Redemption of her Son; 'till at length a Treaty for that Purpoſe was concluded at *Moore*, *Auguſt* the thirtieth, in which was to be an Amneſty of all Injuries done in the late Wars between *England* and *France*, and other Articles confirm'd. And by another Treaty this Year at *Lyons*, the Regent oblig'd her ſelf to pay all the Arrears due to King *Henry*'s Siſter *Mary*, by Vertue of her Marriage with *Lewis* the Twelfth, and alſo to ſuffer her to enjoy her Jointure without Moleſtation. At length the Emperor concluded a Match with his Neice *Iſabella* of *Portugal*; alledging for his Excuſe to King *Henry*, *That at the Petition of his States aſſembled at* Toledo *he had comply'd with his Subjects Deſires, which he hop'd would be underſtood as no Breach of Friendſhip*. King *Henry*, conſidering the tender Age of his Daughter, and that it was incongruous to allie himſelf with a Prince againſt whom he might ſoon draw his Sword, ſeem'd well ſatisfy'd to relinquiſh the Match upon mutual Conſent. After which Time the Intimacy and Amity between them became ſo remiſs, that at length it was wholly diſſolv'd: Inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors on both Sides were recall'd, and the Emperor, who before us'd to ſign all his Letters by the Title of *Son* and *Kinſman*, from henceforwards only ſubſcrib'd *Charles*. It was the leſs to be wonder'd that the Emperor began now to take ſuch State upon him, ſince a richer Booty than that of *Francis* fell into his Hands, that is the Empire of *Peru*, where the golden Mines of *Potoſi* and many others were firſt diſcover'd.

He makes a Treaty with France.

The Emperor declines in his Friendſhip to King Henry.

While Affairs thus paſs'd in foreign Parts, King *Henry*, who well knew that to maintain a ſure Peace at home was almoſt as expenſive as the making War abroad, advis'd with his Council how to provide himſelf with Mony. Yet as the Cardinal had undertaken the King ſhould never want, as long as he might manage the publick Affairs, ſo they gladly diſcharg'd themſelves on him. But the Harmony of Government conſiſts in ſuch a nice Proportion, that no one Part can ſafely be ſtrain'd higher, unleſs the reſt can be well tun'd to it. And this appear'd in the Actions of this Year, when Commiſſions being granted out into all the Counties of *England*, for levying the ſixth Part of every Lay-Man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergies, the People in general were ſo diſguſted, that they were ready to break out into Rebellion; alledging not only their own Poverty, but that the Commiſſions were againſt Law. The King upon this reſolv'd

Hall.

Some Diſturbances in England *about raiſing of Mony.*

ſolv'd to diſavow the whole Proceeding; and by Letters to all Parts, declar'd, *He expected nothing from them but by Way of Benevolence.* This procur'd the Cardinal many Curſes, and the King as many Bleſſings; notwithſtanding under the Name of *Benevolence*, he requir'd great Sums of all his Subjects, and particularly of the Citizens of *London.* This Way was likewiſe oppos'd by many, eſpecially in the Country, where ſome Perſons took up Arms; but by the Perſuaſion of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they ſubmitted themſelves, and were brought to *London*, and there ſecur'd. The King perſiſting in his Intention not to puniſh any on this Occaſion, brought the Matter to the Council-Table; where the Cardinal by Way of Apology declar'd, *He had done nothing without firſt adviſing with the Judges, who poſitively affirmed the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commiſſion, and that the Council of State confirm'd this Method.* But the King declaring *That he was aſſur'd his Subjects were richer than he found them by this Commiſſion*, all the Blame was charg'd on the falſe Informers, and Pardon granted to all thoſe who deny'd the former Benevolence. Hereupon the Delinquents were brought to the Star-Chamber, where after a ſevere Reprimand given them, the Cardinal ſaid, *That notwithſtanding their great Offences, the King in Conſideration of their Neceſſities, had granted them his moſt gracious Pardon, upon Condition they gave in Sureties for their good Behaviours.* But they replying *They had no Sureties*, the Cardinal, to ſhow a popular Act, offer'd with the Duke of *Norfolk* to ſtand bound for them, at which they were diſcharg'd.

The prodigious Cardinal, who by the Concurrence of the Papal and Regal Authority, had ſuppreſs'd ſeveral Monaſteries, and given ſuch a Terror to the reſt as to draw large Sums from them; would not ſo deſiſt, but ſtill continu'd his Purpoſes of converting the Profits of all thoſe, to other Uſes, which by any Colour might be reputed Supernumerary. And having thus eſtabliſh'd his extenſive Authority, he was judg'd by this Time, between Viſitations, making of Abbots, Probates of Teſtaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, and Diſpenſations, and many other Ways, beſides the great Penſions he had from Foreign Princes, to have made his Treaſury equal to the King's; notwithſtanding the Sums he often tranſmitted to *Rome.* In which way of enriching himſelf, his Agent *John Allen*, accompany'd with a great Train, and riding from one Religious Houſe to another, in a kind of perpetual Progreſs, or Viſitation, did the Cardinal no ſmall Service. But as this at laſt became a publick Grievance, ſo the King took notice of it in ſo ſharp a Manner, that the Cardinal was inforc'd not only to excuſe himſelf with much Submiſſion, but alſo to promiſe Amendment; proteſting withal, *That in his laſt Will and Teſtament, he had left a great Part of his Eſtate to his Highneſs.* He did not only oblige the King by this, but likewiſe having now built his fair Palace at *Hampton-Court*, and wiſely conſidering how it would increaſe Mens Envy againſt him, he freely gave it to the King, who in Exchange permitted him to live in *Richmond* Houſe. He always took Care to ſooth the warm Monarch in promoting all his private Pleaſures, in which he was often too great a Sharer with his Maſter. One of the Liberties the King took at his leiſure Hours was to follow the Charms of Love: For as all Things concurr'd, his noble Preſence and Perſon, being further exalted by his high Dignity and Valour, it was not ſtrange, if among ſo many beautiful Ladies at Court, and ſuch a Cardinal to encourage him, he both gave and receiv'd Temptation. Among whom Mrs. *Elizabeth Blunt*, Daughter to Sir *John Blunt*, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of Nature and Education, to be the Miracle of her Time; which caus'd ſuch a ſecret Intimacy between them, as at laſt ſhe bore him a Son. This Child proving ſo equally like both his Parents, that he became the beſt Emblem of their mutual Affection, he was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and ſo much avow'd by him, that having at this Time attain'd the Age of ſix Years, he was publickly made a Knight, and the ſame Day created Earl of

The Exorbitant Power of Wolſey.

The King's Pleaſures,

and natural Iſſue.

Nottingham, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Lieutenant-General beyond *Trent*, and Warden-General of the Borders of *Scotland*, and ſhortly after Admiral of *England*: And he was the more cheriſh'd by the King, becauſe he now expected no Iſſue Male from his Queen.

A. D. 1526. Reg. 17/18. Such was the generous Diſpoſition of King *Henry*, that he not only interceded for the Captive King *Francis*, but likewiſe for the expell'd King *Chriſtian* of *Denmark*. Therefore he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Denmark*, to perſuade his Subjects to recall him home; from whence nothing had ſo much chac'd him as the Guilt and Horror of ſhedding ſo much Blood among his People; but the exaſperated *Danes* poſitively refus'd either him or his Son. But he had better Succeſs as to the Liberty of the *French* King, which after a Year's Captivity was obtain'd upon very hard Terms, if any Thing can be hard that ſets a King out of Priſon. For in the Beginning of this Year, a Treaty between the Emperor and the *French* King was concluded, call'd *The Concord of* Madrid, conſiſting of forty four Articles, and more Particulars. Among many other Matters it was agreed, that on the ſame Day *Francis* was ſet at Liberty, his two Sons, the *Dauphine* and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhould be deliver'd as Hoſtages into the Emperor's Hands: After which *Francis* was to deliver up the Dukedom of *Burgundy* to the Emperor, reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* and all his Friends, marry the Emperor's Siſter *Leonora*, and indemnifie the Emperor againſt all Demands on the Part of the King of *England*. All which at large being ſolemnly ratify'd, and ſworn on both Sides, on the eighteenth of *March* the *French* King was exchang'd for his two Sons on the Borders of *France* with unuſual Niceneſs and Formality; and being once at Liberty, he immediately mounted a Fleet-Horſe, and riding with the greateſt Swiftneſs cry'd out *I'm a King, I'm a King!* in ſuch a Manner, as tho' he then deſign'd to have little Regard to the late Treaty. King *Henry* having been a Principal Agent in this Affair, both as to his Captivity and Deliverance, he immediately diſpatch'd Sir *Thomas Cheyney* to congratulate his ſafe Return, and to take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore*; which *Francis* accepting, ſent a Meſſenger to inform King *Henry* of the Conditions of his Delivery, and to acknowledge that he chiefly ow'd his Liberty to him; which Acts of Civility, afterwards produc'd a more firm Correſpondency between theſe two Monarchs. By the Treaty of *Moore*, it was agreed that the *French* King ſhould pay two Millions of Crowns to the King of *England*, at ſome appointed Days; and after that to pay to King *Henry* during Life the annual Sum of a hundred thouſand Crowns.

The French King releas'd upon hard Terms.

The Clementine League againſt the Emperor.

Not long after a new famous League was made between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, call'd by the Name of the *Clementine League*, and ſign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, *May* the twenty ſecond, by which the Pope abſolv'd the *French* King from the Oath he had ſworn at *Madrid*, and they all united againſt the Emperor, and further declar'd the King of *England Protector of the League*. Upon which King *Henry*, debating in his Council how he ſhould act in this Affair, it was nicely and ſuccinctly determin'd, *That he ought not to be a Party, where he might be a Judge.*

The Emperor was exceedingly allarm'd at this League, and ſolemnly proteſted againſt Pope *Clement*, as an ungrateful Perſon, who by his Favour had been made both Cardinal and Pope, notwithſtanding ſome Allegations that he was ſpurious, and uncapable of either of thoſe Dignities. He exclaim'd againſt the *French* King, as perjur'd and falſe, and againſt the *Venetians*, as wavering and unconſtant: However his principal Care was to intangle and divide them. And tho' in *Italy*, upon publiſhing the League by the Pope, they levy'd their appointed Numbers, yet *Francis* being in Hopes of the Reſtitution of his Children, delay'd ſo much on his Part, that the Imperial Army gain'd ſuch Advantage, that *Sforza* was conſtrain'd to yield the Dukedom of *Milan*, and fly to the *Italian* Army under the Duke of *Urbin*. About the ſame Time the Emperor

peror was inform'd, That in Conſequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis*'s Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and the King's Council had totally diſannull'd the Treaty of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Perſon under Conſtraint and Impriſonment. Further to colour this Refuſal, *Francis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Spain*, again to aſſure the Emperor, *That* Burgundy *could not be alienated from the* French *Crown*; *and that if he would return his Sons at a reaſonable Ranſom, he would take his Siſter* Leonora *for his Queen*; *if not, he would recover them by Force.* The ſeveral Ambaſſadors alſo of the Confederates then in his Court, and particularly the *Engliſh*, concurr'd in this Matter; requiring further, That he would recall the *Spaniards* out of *Lombardy*, and reſtore *Sforza*; relinquiſh his Pretenſions to *Naples*, and not go to *Italy* with an Army; and that he would pay the King of *England*, all the Confederates of the League, in caſe of Refuſal, denouncing War againſt him. The Emperor anſwer'd to all theſe Particulars, and declar'd, *He was ready to defend himſelf againſt them all.* Not long after King *Francis* ſent the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourdeaux*, with others, to deſire the Reſtitution of his Children; to which the Emperor, now more incens'd, reply'd, *If he would have his Children, he muſt according to his Oath and Promiſe return Priſoner himſelf.* After that he privately deſir'd the Ambaſſador to tell his Maſter, That by his own Acknowledgment, *He had done cowardly and perfidiouſly in breaking the Treaty of* Madrid, *and that if he deny'd it, he would make it good in Perſon againſt him.* King *Francis* wanted not Courage to reply in the ſame Language; but in the mean Time he caus'd an Apology to be publiſh'd, in Vindication of his Breach of Faith, and ſent it to all Chriſtian Princes; to which the Emperor reply'd with another, and with as much Severity as the Cauſe requir'd. In the mean Time King *Francis* enter'd into a new League with King *Henry*, which principally concern'd the Reſtitution of his two Sons, and the Monies due from the Emperor to the King of *England*. This was ſcarcely concluded, before the Family of the *Colunna*'s in *Italy*, being of the Imperial Faction, with three or four thouſand Men enter'd the City of *Rome*, and ravag'd part of it; and then forc'd the Pope to fly to the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, where he was oblig'd to a Truce of four Months with the Emperor, to withdraw his Forces out of *Lombardy*, and to pardon all paſt Offences.

The French *King departs from his Articles with the Emperor.*

The French *King makes a new League with* England.

A. D. 1527. Reg. 18/19.

And now King *Henry*, finding no Advantage to be expected from treating with the Emperor, and underſtanding with what Indignity the Pope had lately been us'd, he reſolv'd according to his former League to join againſt that Prince who appear'd moſt refractory. Therefore conceiving the Fault to be in the Emperor, he immediately enter'd into a ſtrict League with *Francis*, chuſing rather to concur with him in particular, than to embrace the *Clementine* League, as containing many Articles that no ways concern'd him. Therefore he propos'd to the *French* King the Princeſs *Mary* in Marriage, ſince the Emperor had deny'd him *Leonora*; and offer'd beſides to enter into an offenſive League with him for the Recovery of his Children, and forcing the Emperor to reaſonable Conditions. *Francis* joyfully accepting this Motion, demanded the Princeſs *Mary*'s Picture, which together with the King's was granted, and the Match treated in *France* by the *Engliſh* Agents, the Biſhop of *Bath*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*. The *French* King, if he marry'd her, requir'd ſhe ſhould be immediately given into his Hands; but King *Henry* diſſenting, becauſe ſhe was but eleven Years of Age, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the Viſcount *Turenne*, and the Preſident of *Paris*, came into *England*, where on the laſt of *April* three Treaties were concluded, as may be ſeen at large in the Lord *Herbert*. As to the Marriage, it was agreed that the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be given either to *Francis* himſelf, or to his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*; and that Alternative was to be determin'd by the two Kings at an Enterview deſign'd afterwards at *Calais*, with Forfeitures on both Sides if the Marriage were hinder'd. Then in Conſideration that King *Henry* and his Succeſſors ſhould never moleſt the *French*

Other Treaties concluded.

French King in any of thoſe Dominions he now poſſeſs'd, *Francis* did here bind himſelf and his Succeſſors, to pay every Year at two ſeveral Terms, after the Deceaſe of King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors, forty ſix thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, and twenty four *Sols Tournois*, without Deduction or Prejudice to the Sums already due to King *Henry* by the Treaty of *Moore* in 1525. Further the *French* King bound himſelf and his Succeſſors, to give of the Salt of *Brovage* yearly, as well to *Henry* as his Succeſſors, to the value of fifteen thouſand Crowns, as is above-mention'd. In theſe Treaties was the firſt Scruple rais'd by Foreigners, (particularly the Biſhop of *Tarbe*) concerning the Legitimation of the Princeſs *Mary*, which caus'd ſuch Commotions afterwards.

Before the Concluſion of this Treaty, Pope *Clement* had ſent Letters to King *Henry*, complaining of the Indignities offer'd to his Perſon by Cardinal *Columna* and the Imperialiſts, aſſuring him, *That if he and the* French *King would effectually aſſiſt him, he would break the late Agreement made with the Imperial Party, to which he held himſelf not oblig'd, becauſe he was under Conſtraint.* Upon which King *Henry*, who had always been true to the See of *Rome*, ſent him about thirty thouſand Ducats for preſent Uſe; which ſo incourag'd the Pope, that he cited Cardinal *Columna* to appear at *Rome* upon Pain of Deprivation of his Dignity; while he on the other Side threaten'd to call a Council againſt him, and depoſe him for Simony and other Incapacities. Upon which the Pope with an Army enter'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and took ſeveral Places belonging to that Family; but the Confederates coming ſlowly to his Aſſiſtance, and hearing that great Forces were coming from *Spain* againſt him, for to gain a Ceſſation of Arms for eight Months, he was compell'd to make a diſhonourable Compliance, and to give ſixty thouſand Ducats. Yet after this, being again incourag'd with ſome Hopes from his Allies, and having by a Simonaical Creation of fourteen Cardinals rais'd three hundred thouſand Ducats, he ventur'd upon a ſecond Breach of Faith, and diſown'd the laſt Treaty; giving the Kingdom of *Naples* to Count *Vaudemont*, whom he ſent with Forces to ſubdue it. But for this he met with a greater Puniſhment than before; for the Duke of *Bourbon* at the Head of the Imperialiſts prevented all his Deſigns, and march'd directly with his hungry Army to the Walls of *Rome*; and giving the Aſſault, tho' he receiv'd a mortal Wound himſelf, yet that glorious City was ſoon taken by Storm, with the Slaughter of ſeveral thouſands of all Ages. That proud City never ſaw ſo ſad and diſmal a Day, not when it was ſack'd by the *Goths* and other barbarous Nations; for the Soldiers kill'd whomſoever they met, and cut them in Pieces; the Streets flow'd with Blood, the Altars were deſpoil'd, the Churches and Monaſteries ranſack'd, the Nuns and Virgins raviſh'd, and the Palaces of the Pope, Cardinals and Princes rifled and plunder'd; ſo that it is impoſſible to expreſs what Wealth and Riches lay in Heaps, and what precious Commodities belonging to Merchants were made a Prey to common Soldiers. But what made the Spoil greater, was the Number of Priſoners, who were all forc'd to pay ſuch Ranſoms as were laid upon them; and to augment the Ignominy as well as Deſolation of this miſerable State, the Prelates were taken by the Soldiers, and in all their Habits and Potificalibus ſet upon Aſſes and Mules, and led through the Streets with Contempt and Deriſion. The Pope amidſt theſe Diſtractions fled to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, with ſeventeen Cardinals, the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hundred Soldiers; where being ſtraitly beſieg'd, he was forc'd not only to ſurrender that Caſtle, with *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, and other Places, but alſo to give Hoſtages for four hundred thouſand Ducats, and after all to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner to the Emperor.

Rome plunder'd by the Imperialiſts.

The Pope taken Priſoner.

This gave mighty Offence to all the Princes of Chriſtendom, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; of which the Emperor was ſoon ſenſible, and immediately thought fit to give them Satisfaction. Among all which none ſeem'd

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ſo conſiderable as King *Henry*; to whom by a Letter dated *Auguſt* the ſecond he made a kind of Apology for theſe Proceedings, declaring alſo the Cauſes why his Army could not be with-held from invading *Rome*; yet ſo as he diſclaim'd any Part, either the counſelling or authoriſing the Fact: He forgot not alſo, upon the Inſtance of the *Engliſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors for the Pope's Liberty, to write obligingly to his Holineſs, offering his Love and Friendſhip, in caſe he deſir'd it; but to the chief Officers of his Army he ſent Inſtructions, which for ſome Space amus'd them: For he commanded them to ſet the Pope at Liberty, *Yet ſo to provide, that from a Friend he ſhould not become an Enemy.* This myſterious Meſſage caus'd great Delays in the Pope's Deliverance, and much prolong'd his Miſery; which caus'd him to complain to King *Henry* and the Cardinal, proteſting, *That all the Help and Succour he could expect in this Extremity, was from* England, *and therefore he implor'd his Aſſiſtance.* At the ſame Time the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in *Spain* potently mediated for the Deliverance of King *Francis*'s Sons upon more moderate Terms than was formerly propos'd; and in Concluſion ſo prevail'd, that the Emperor ſeem'd willing to relinquiſh his Demand of *Burgundy*, and to accept of ſuch a Ranſom as *Francis* had once voluntarily offer'd, which was two Millions of Crowns. But all this was again interrupted by the repeated Intelligence of the Pope's Impriſonment, which ſo rous'd the warm Temper of King *Henry*, that he would not ſo much as vouchſafe an Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter, but reſolv'd to join in a ſtricter League with *Francis*, concluding that *Charles* would never have ſo inſolently treated the Head of the Church, if he had not aſpir'd to univerſal Monarchy. Accordingly he enter'd into a new Confederacy with *Francis*, by which they mutually agreed to deſiſt from their War in the *Low-Countries*, and to tranſport it into *Italy*, with ſeveral other Particulars. Upon this, *Clarenceaux* King of Arms was ſent to King *Henry*'s Reſidenciaries in *Spain*, who were to declare to the Emperor, *That in Regard the King of* England *was at half the Charge of the War with* Francis, *the Emperor ſhould ſend him half the Prize and Booty taken at* Pavia, *and one of the two Hoſtages, or elſe* Clarenceaux *ſhould denounce War againſt him.* To which rough Meſſage the Emperor return'd a ſoft and ſubtle Anſwer, which ſhew'd he had no other Deſign at preſent but to gain Time.

He begs King Henry's Aſſiſtance.

The two Kings of *England* and *France* being inform'd of the Emperor's dilatory Proceedings, together with the Pope's Diſtreſs, would no longer delay to give Orders for their own, as well as the general Affairs of Chriſtendom. Therefore the Cardinal, as the moſt proper Perſon, was order'd to *France*, both for concluding the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleans* his Son, as alſo for other Occaſions. A more magnificent Embaſſie than this of the Cardinals was never known, he was attended with all the Pomp and Splendor of a Soveraign Monarch, and a glorious Equipage of a thouſand Horſe. At *Boloign* he was met by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Chancellor of *Alanzon* with the like Number of Horſe, who accompany'd him in his Way to *Monſtreüil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*, where he continu'd in great State for ſome Days. Shortly after the *French* King, with Madam *Loviſe* his Mother, coming to *Amiens*, the Cardinal with all his ſplendid Train ſet forwards from *Abbeville*; of which Notice being given, King *Francis* being Royally attended, met him a Mile and a half from the Town; and the Cardinal was ſo exact in the honourable Circumſtances of Addreſs, that he would not yield to the *French* Monarch one Step in his Approaches. Being met with mutual Embraces, *Francis*, after a moſt obliging Acknowledgment That he ow'd his Liberty chiefly to the King of *England*, conducted him to his Lodgings. During many Ceremonies, Entertainments, and Viſits, three Treaties were enter'd into, and concluded on the eighteenth Day of *Auguſt*; by the Firſt of which the Princeſs *Mary* was to marry to the *French* King's ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, but the Time not exactly appointed. The Second related chiefly to any

Wolſey's ſplendid Embaſſie into France.

Three Treaties concluded.

any Treaty that might be made between either of the two Kings and the Emperor. By the Third it was agreed that no Act, Sentence, Bull, Letter or Breve proceeding from the Pope, during his Captivity, and tending to the Damage of the two Kings, or the Legantine Power of the Cardinal, ſhould be obey'd, or have any Force. And the Power theſe two Princes aſſum'd began the Taſte that King *Henry* took of governing the Clergy in chief; of which, as well as the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, the firſt Arguments and Impreſſions were deriv'd from the Cardinal; who having now in a Conference with ſome Cardinals at *Compeign*, reſolv'd that ſuch a Power for the Government of the Church was in theſe Times neceſſary, took on him the Charge of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *England*, under the Title of *Vicar General*. On the ſixteenth of *September* the Cardinal prepar'd to return; whereupon *Francis* not only richly preſented him, but conducted him through the Town, and a Mile beyond, accompany'd with the King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and the chief Nobility. The Cardinal now haſtning homewards, came to *Calais*, where having eſtabliſh'd a Mart, he arriv'd at the *Engliſh* Court in the End of *September*, where he was receiv'd by the King with great Demonſtrations of Affection. To correſpond with this Embaſſie, the *French* King ſent *De Montmorency Grand Maiſtre*, and ſeveral Noblemen and others, to ratifie the League in *England*; who, to the Number of ſix hundred Horſe, were conducted to *London*, and lodg'd in the Biſhop's Palace. They were firſt entertain'd by the Cardinal at *Hampton-Court*, with an unexpected Magnificence, and ſhortly after by the King at *Greenwich* with a Feaſt ſurpaſſing all Imagination, and then with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princeſs had a particular Part. On this Day alſo the King of *England* receiv'd at the Hands of *Montmorency*, the Order of St. *Michael*; and the King of *France*, with no leſs Solemnity, that of the *Garter* in *Paris*. Both Princes likewiſe gave their Oath and Seal of Gold for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

The Reception of the French *Ambaſſadors.*

The Emperor not being ignorant of theſe Treaties, thought fit to prevent the Execution of them, by a timely Compliance with all that could in reaſon be expected from him. Therefore on the fifteenth of *September* he offer'd to the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors reſiding at his Court, That the Article for the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* ſhould be raſed out of the Treaty of *Madrid*; That *Francis* ſhould pay for the Ranſom of his Sons, the two Millions of Crowns that were offer'd; and out of them ſo much ſhould be allow'd, as would pay the King of *England*. When theſe and ſome other Particulars were approv'd on both Sides, the *French* Ambaſſadors alledg'd that they wanted ſufficient Authority from their King to ſign them, which they promis'd to procure; ſo that the Concluſion of Peace was at this Time deferr'd on their Parts. The Emperor not much diſſatisfy'd, return'd to his former Arts of dividing the two Kings; therefore he ſent privately to the Cardinal, offering him large Sums for that Purpoſe, beſides his ordinary Penſion, which was twenty four thouſand Crowns *per Annum*. Notwithſtanding which, becauſe he had prevented him in the Papacy, and deny'd him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, when both had been promis'd to him, he was found inexorable. Therefore on the twelfth of *December* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors made particular Demands to the Emperor at *Bruges*; That he would immediately pay to their Maſter what Mony had been lent him in the Time of Exigency, and pay a Penalty of five hundred thouſand Ducats, for not marrying the Princeſs *Mary* according to Agreement; as likewiſe that he would deliver the Pope, and make full Satisfaction for the Damage he had ſuſtain'd. To theſe the Emperor gave evaſive Anſwers, except to that concerning the Pope, to which he ſaid Orders were given for his Deliverance. This laſt prov'd true, for the Emperor having brought the Pope to new Terms, order'd him to be ſet at Liberty; but the Pope prevented them by making his Eſcape in the Habit of a Merchant, the Night

The Emperor's Deſigns.

The Pope recovers his Liberty.

Night before they promis'd to deliver him. His Hoſtages yet remain'd 'till the Sum agreed on was paid, towards raiſing of which, he was forc'd to make ſeveral Cardinals for Mony, and granted Licences in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other Places for alienating of Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Poſſeſſions; giving therein a Beginning, as ſome obſerve, to that Liberty, which was afterwards taken in divers Places. The Pope being at Liberty he gave Notice of it to King *Henry* and Cardinal *Wolſey*, acknowledging them great Inſtruments in the happy Change, and deſiring the King to continue his Protection to the See of *Rome*. Upon which the Cardinal repair'd in ſolemn Triumph to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, and caus'd *Te Deum* to be ſung, and Bonfires and other Rejoycings to be made.

In the following Year the two Kings proceeded more openly, and ſent their ſeveral Heralds to the Emperor, *Clarenceaux* from the King of *England* and *Guyenne* from the King of *France*, to expoſtulate their Grievances, and upon his refuſing to redreſs them, to defie him as their open Enemy. The Emperor heard the Heralds with great Temper, and anſwer'd *Clarenceaux* very mildly, *That he knew his Maſter's Grievances were grounded upon Miſinformations, in which he would ſhortly rectifie him by his Letters, as deſiring nothing more than to continue his Friend*: But he anſwer'd *Guyenne* very roughly, bidding him tell his Maſter, *That he had broken his Faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his Liberty*: And with theſe Anſwers he diſmis'd them; only *Guyenne* thinking it not proper to deliver his Anſwer by Word of Mouth in ſuch Terms, obtain'd to have it ſent in Writing. The Heralds return'd home, and delivering their Anſwers, the *French* King was ſo incenſs'd, that ſoon after he ſent another Defiance to the Emperor, declaring in plain Terms *That he ly'd in his Throat*; and thereupon challeng'd him to a ſingle Combate, requiring him to appoint the Field, and he would appoint the Weapons. The Emperor accepted the Challenge, but other Occurrences intervening hinder'd the Performance. In the mean Time the Emperor, being unwilling to make a Breach with *England*, ſent a particular Embaſſie to King *Henry*, declaring, *That he had been ſo much oblig'd to him, that he could not take the Defiance given by his Herald, as a full Denunciation of War, 'till he had heard further of his Pleaſure.* To this King *Henry* reply'd in theſe Terms, *Tho' we highly reſpect your Maſter, yet we cannot ſuffer him to deſtroy the Realm of* France, *which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Allie the* French *King, pays us yearly a great Penſion and Tribute; wherefore, out of Juſtice and Equity, we are oblig'd to maintain that Land, that yields us ſuch a conſiderable Rent and Profit.*

The Kings of France *and* England *ſend Defiance to the Emperor.*

Thus ſtood the Affairs of *Europe* in this memorable Year 1528: The Emperor at Variance with the *French* King, and formidable to the Pope and the States of *Italy*: The King of *France* joining with the King of *England*, and both favouring the Pope: The King of *England* an Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, whoſe Friendſhip was courted, and his Power dreaded by all of them, and who in a ſpecial Manner had oblig'd both the *French* King and preſent Pope. A five Years Truce was made with *Scotland*; *Ireland* was quieted by the Return of the Earl of *Kildare*; and *England* in Peace, but only uneaſie under ſome Managements of the Cardinal, and a little diſturb'd by the Progreſs of *Lutheraniſm*. As to the King himſelf, he had been ſo great an Enemy to that Doctrine, ſo faithful a Friend to the *Roman* Church, and ſo ſtrong a Support to the Papacy, that if he had dy'd before this nineteenth Year of his Reign, he could ſcarce have miſs'd of being Canoniz'd, notwithſtanding all his Faults; for he abounded in thoſe Virtues, which had given Saintſhip to Kings for near a thouſand Years together, and had done more than any of them, by writing in Defence of the *Roman* Faith.

The State of Europe.

A. D. 1528. Reg. 19 20.

VI. The great King *Henry* had for nineteen Years liv'd in all Splendor and Proſperity, and had enjoy'd all the Pleaſure and Glory of a mighty Monarch, who commanded both at home and abroad. His Wars were made with Honour and Reputation, and his Treaties were juſt and advantageous; and he had no Inquietudes in all his Affairs, but in his Endeavours to raiſe Mony, in which the Cardinal always eas'd and reliev'd him. But at this Time a Domeſtick Trouble aroſe, which robb'd him of his former Eaſe, perplex'd all the reſt of his Government, and drew ſurpriſing Conſequences after it of the higheſt Nature. By Virtue of a Bull and Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* the Second, in the Year 1503, King *Henry* in his Youth had been contracted to his Brother *Arthur*'s Widow; and by Virtue of the ſame Diſpenſation, and his Father's Means he marry'd her when he came to the Crown, by the Advice and Conſent of his Council, tho' contrary to the laſt Thoughts of his Father, and the Opinion of ſome very conſiderable for Judgment and Learning. For many Years he enjoy'd this virtuous Queen, without any Scruple of the Validity of the Match, or outward Mark of Unkindneſs between them; ſhe having born him two Sons, who dy'd in their Infancy, and one Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, now about twelve Years of Age. This Daughter having been offer'd to ſeveral crown'd Heads, as has been formerly related, many Doubts began to ariſe concerning her Legitimacy and Right to the Crown, and the Validity of the King's own Marriage with his Brother's Widow. Now as other Princes had mov'd Scruples againſt a Marriage with this Princeſs, the Heir of ſo great a Crown, ſo eſpecially the King began to make ſome himſelf, or rather to publiſh thoſe he declar'd he had ſome Years before. The King inſiſted upon all the Arguments of Conſcience, and ſeem'd to lay the greateſt Weight on the Prohibition in the *Levitical* Law of marrying his Brother's Wife; and he being converſant in the Writings of the School-Men, found that they eſteem'd theſe Laws as Moral and for ever binding, and that by Conſequence the Pope's Diſpenſation was of no Force, ſince his Authority did not extend ſo far as to diſpence with the Laws of God. This caus'd him to reflect upon the Death of his Sons, which he now look'd on as a Judgment from Heaven for that unlawful Marriage; ſo that he was very deſirous to have the Advice and Opinion of the chief Divines in the Nation. All the Biſhops of *England*, except *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, declar'd by a Writing under their Hands and Seals, that they judg'd the Marriage unlawful. And as the Point of Conſcience wrought on his Mind, ſo the Intereſt of the Kingdom requir'd that there ought to be no Scruples concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown; leſt as the bloody War between the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* had been bury'd with his Father, ſo a new one ſhould ariſe at his Death.

Herbert, Heylin, Burnet, Stryp. &c.

The King's Marriage queſtion'd by Foreigners,

and ſcrupled by himſelf and his Biſhops.

Affairs ſtanding thus, no Probability of the Queen's Fruitfulneſs appearing, and ſhe having contracted ſome Diſeaſes that made her unacceptable to the King, he reſolv'd to have Recourſe to the Court of *Rome*; comforting himſelf, that there was no other Difficulty in removing all theſe Inconveniences, than the obtaining a Diſpenſation to diſſolve that Marriage, which only a Diſpenſation had firſt made. He knew that the ſame Key that had lock'd, could unlock again; and he had reaſon to expect a quick and favourable Diſpatch of his Buſineſs at *Rome*, where Diſpenſations or Divorces in Favour of Princes uſually paſs, more with regard to the Merits of the Prince that deſiers them, than the Cauſe it ſelf. His Alliance ſeem'd then neceſſary to the Pope, who was at that Time in Captivity; nor could the Emperor with any good Pretence oppoſe his Suit, ſince he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the Account of the Doubtfulneſs of the Marriage. The Cardinal had alſo given him full Aſſurances of a ſatisfactory Anſwer from *Rome*; whether upon the Knowledge he had of that Court, and of the Pope's Temper, or upon any Promiſe made him, is not certain. But that the Suit might not be ſhocking and reflecting

ing upon the Authority of the papal Chair, the Reaſons to be alledg'd for the annulling the former Bull of Diſpenſation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in Courſe, were grounded upon ſome falſe Suggeſtions in the Bull it ſelf, and upon the Proteſtation the King had made when he came to be of Age. In reality they were ſo material, that a favourable Pope, left wholly to himſelf, would have yielded to them without any Scruple. About this Time the King began to ſhew ſome Favours to Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, a Lady at Court, which caus'd many to believe that all this Proceſs was mov'd by the unſeen Spring of that ſecret Affection. But it is not probable that the Ingagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the Riſe to all this; for ſo prying a Courtier as *Wolſey* was, would have diſcover'd it, and not have projected a Marriage with the *French* King's Siſter, as he did not long before, if he had ſeen the King prepoſſeſs'd: It is more probable the King conceiving himſelf in a manner diſcharg'd of his former Marriage, gave a free Liberty to his Affections, which ſoon began to ſettle upon Mrs. *Bolen*. This memorable Woman was Neece to the then Duke of *Norfolk* by her Mother, and related to ſeveral good Families, and was for ſome Years educated in the *French* Court, where ſhe was much admir'd, and no leſs in that of *England*, after her Return. She continu'd to live without any Blemiſh, 'till her unfortunate Fall gave Occaſion to ſome malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life: She wanted no Charms relating to Wit or Perſon; tho' ſhe was more beautiful than graceful, and more pleaſant and witty, than nicely diſcreet. Upon her coming to the *Engliſh* Court, the Lord *Piercy*, being than a Domeſtick of the Cardinal's, made Love to her, and proceeded ſo far as to engage himſelf to marry her; and her Conſent ſhows ſhe had then no Aſpirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal, upon ſome private Reaſons, uſing Threats and other Methods, with great Difficulty put an End to the Deſign; for which it is ſaid the Lady ever after hated the Cardinal.

He applies to the Pope for a Divorce.

and inclines to Anne Bolen.

But to return to the famous Proceſs, Doctor *Knight*, then Secretary of State, was ſent to *Rome* to prepare his Holineſs in this important Affair; and the Family of the *Caſſali* having much of the Pope's Favour, they were likewiſe imploy'd to promote it. The Cardinal ſent a large Diſpatch to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, ſetting forth all the Reaſons both in Conſcience and Policy, for obtaining a Commiſſion to himſelf to judge the Affair. Great Promiſes were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was omitted that might probably influence the Pope, or thoſe Cardinals who had greateſt Credit and Intereſt with him. Secretary *Knight* made Application to the Pope, after the moſt private Manner, and met with a very favourable Anſwer; for the Pope readily promis'd to diſſolve the Marriage: But a contrary Promiſe being exacted of him in the Emperor's Name, not to proceed in this Affair, he was reduc'd to exceeding Difficulties, not ſo much in reſpect of his Promiſes, which were impoſſible to keep on both Sides, as to his Intereſts. He was then in Captivity, and at the Mercy of the Emperor, whom he hated and diſtruſted, and at the ſame Time was infinitely deſirous to ſerve the King of *England*; therefore he projected to gain Time, and begg'd *That if the King would reſpite the Matter for a little Space, he ſhould not only have the Diſpenſation, but every Thing that was in his Power to grant.* At the ſame Time the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* made ſome Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, 'till he had rais'd his Price, and got a large Preſent; and then the Pope actually ſign'd both a Commiſſion for *Wolſey* to try the Cauſe, and judge in it, and alſo a Diſpenſation, and deliver'd them into Secretary *Knight*'s Hands; but with Tears begg'd of him *That there might be no Proceedings upon them, 'till the Emperor was put out of Capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, and then he was ready to own this Act of Juſtice which he did in the King's Favour.* And being a very ſubtle Man, he propos'd an Expedient, which if follow'd by the King, it might have put a quicker and eaſier End to the Proceſs: He found,

The Pope is favourable to him.

that his ſending Bulls, or a Legate to *England* would become publick, draw the Emperor upon him, and admit of dangerous Delays; therefore he propos'd, *If the King was ſatisfy'd in his own Conſcience, in which he believ'd no Doctor could reſolve him better than himſelf, then he might without further Noiſe cauſe Judgment to be given in* England; *and upon that marry another Wife, and ſend over to* Rome *for a Confirmation; which would be very eaſily granted, if the Matter was actually done.* But ſtill the Pope deſir'd that this might be repreſented to the King as the Advice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's Counſellors thought this more hazardous than the Way of a Proceſs; for if upon the King's ſecond Marriage, a Confirmation ſhould be deny'd, then the Right of Succeſſion would be ſtill more dubious; therefore they utterly declin'd it.

The Pope was at this Time diſguſted with Cardinal *Wolſey*; for he underſtood, that during his Captivity, he had been forming a Deſign to make himſelf Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have ſate at *Avignion*, which might have produc'd a new *Schiſm*. *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, being then in *England*, was prevail'd upon by the Promiſe of a Biſhoprick, and the Hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, after the moſt preſſing Manner, for a Diſpatch of this Buſineſs; and deſir'd, *That an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be ſent over, with a full Commiſſion to join with him and judge the Matter*; propoſing Cardinal *Campegio* to the King's Ambaſſadors, as the fitteſt Man; and when a Legate ſhould be nam'd, he order Preſents to be made to him, and that they ſhould haſten his Diſpatch, and ſee that the Commiſſion be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers from *Rome*, *Gardiner* the Cardinal's Secretary, and *Fox* the King's Almoner, the one a Canoniſt, and the other a Divine, were ſent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal to the Pope; and they carry'd Orders, moſt like to ſucceed, which was to make large Preſents to the Cardinals. They alſo carry'd with them the Draught of a Bull, containing all the ſaving Clauſes that could be invented, that it might not fail of Acceptance; one Clauſe was to declare the Iſſue of the Marriage good, as being begot *bona fide*; which probably was inſerted to make the Queen more eaſie, ſince by that it appear'd, that however it was determin'd, her Daughter would be no Sufferer. The Cardinal in his Letters to *Caſſali* ſhew'd the Height of his Zeal, and offer'd to take the Blame on his own Soul if his Holineſs would but grant this Bull; and with Earneſtneſs as hearty and warm as Words can expreſs, he urg'd the Matter, and added, *That he perceiv'd, that if the Pope continu'd inexorable, the King of* England *would proceed another Way.*

Theſe Sollicitations had ſuch Effects, That Cardinal *Campegio* was declar'd Legate, and order'd to go for *England*, and join in Commiſſion with *Wolſey*, for judging this nice Cauſe. This Cardinal was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and a tractable Man, as was deſired; yet to raiſe his Price the higher, he mov'd many Scruples, and ſeem'd to enter upon this Employment with great Fear and Averſion. *Wolſey*, who knew his Temper, vehemently urg'd him to uſe Expedition, aſſuring him of great Rewards from the King; to which he kept ſo cloſe, that in a Letter he wrote to him, among other Motives to perſuade him, that of *a good Conſcience* being put in the firſt Draught, the Cardinal ſtruck it out as knowing how little it would ſignifie to Men of his Temper. At length *Campegio* ſet out from *Rome*, and carry'd with him a poſitive Decretal Bull for annulling the King's Marriage, which was truſted to him, and he was authoriz'd to ſhow it to the King and *Wolſey*; but was ſtrictly commanded not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this Time *Wolſey* was ſeiz'd with the Sweating-Sickneſs, which then rag'd in *England*; and by a Compliment which both the King and Mrs. *Bolen* wrote to him on the ſame Paper, it appears, he was then privy to the King's Deſign of marrying her, and deſign'd to advance himſelf ſtill higher, by his Merits in procuring her the Crown. This Year alſo he

He ſends over a Decretal Bull by Cardinal Campegio.

he eſtabliſh'd his two great Colleges; and finding both the King and People much pleas'd with his converting ſome Monaſteries to ſuch Uſes, he deſign'd to ſuppreſs more, and to change them to Biſhopricks and Cathedral Churches, which becauſe the Pope was unwilling to grant, by reaſon of ſome Oppoſitions, *Gardiner* told him, *It was neceſſary, and muſt be done*; therefore a Power for ſo doing was added to the Legate's Commiſſion.

While Affairs paſs'd thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen labour'd with all thoſe Paſſions which Jealouſie of the King's Affection, Senſe of her own Honour, and the Legitimation of her Daughter could produce, and vigorouſly apply'd her ſelf to her two Nephews, the Emperor and his Brother, to eſpouſe her Cauſe; complaining much of the King, and more of the Cardinal. The Emperor undertook the Cauſe more willingly, becauſe the King was then in the Intereſt of *France*; and to help forwards this Buſineſs, a certain Breve was now found out, or more probably forg'd, of the ſame Date with the Bull that diſpens'd with her Marriage in the Year 1503: But with ſtronger Clauſes in it, to anſwer thoſe Objections that were made againſt ſome Defects in the Bull; tho' it could not ſeem probable, that in the ſame Day, a Bull and a Breve ſhould be granted for the ſame Things in ſuch different Terms. The moſt conſiderable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only ſuppoſe that the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was *Perhaps carnally conſummated*; this Breve did ſuppoſe it abſolutely, without the Word *Perhaps*. This was thought a Prejudice to the Queen's Cauſe, as much as the Suſpicion of Forgery was a Blemiſh to her Agents.

The Queen applies to the Emperor, who eſpouſes her Cauſe.

In *October* Cardinal *Campegio* arriv'd in *England*, where he was receiv'd with great Solemnity; and in his Speech at his firſt Audience, he declar'd the King, *The Deliverer of the Pope, and the City of* Rome. After the firſt Compliments were over, he privately adviſ'd the King to deſiſt from the Proſecution of his Suit; and then counſell'd the Queen in the Pope's Name to make her Vows, and enter into a Religious Life, but both were ineffectual; and he by affecting a nice Impartiality, almoſt loſt both Sides. But he in a great Meaſure pacify'd the King when he ſhow'd him the Decretal Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; but he would not part with it out of his Hands, nor leave it for one Minute either with the King or the Cardinal, declaring, *That upon theſe Terms it was granted, and that he brought it to let the King ſee how well his Holineſs was affected to him.* Upon this great Inſtances were made at *Rome*, that *Campegio* might be order'd to ſhow the Bull to ſome of the King's Counſellors, and proceed to the Determination of the Buſineſs, otherwiſe *Wolſey* would be ruin'd, and *England* loſt from the Papacy. Yet all this did not prevail in the crafty Pope, who knew what was intended by getting the Bull out of *Campegio*'s Hands, that then the King would leave him to the Mercy of the Emperor; therefore he ſaid, *That he would gladly loſe a Finger to recover the Bull*: Yet ſtill he left the Legates in *England* free to judge as they ſaw Cauſe, and promis'd that he would confirm their Sentence. Upon this Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* were diſpatch'd to *Rome* with new Propoſitions, to offer this Expedient. If both King and Queen took Religious Vows, ſo that their Marriage was upon that annull'd, whether the Pope would engage to diſpenſe with the King's Vow, or elſe grant him a Licence for having two Wives: For which there were divers Precedents vouch'd from the Old Teſtament. *Wolſey* alſo offer'd in the King's Name, to ſettle a Pay for two thouſand Men, that ſhould be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Reſtitution of ſome of his Towns, ſeiz'd by the *Venetians*. But the Pope had no Inclination to have his Guards paid by other Princes, which was in Effect to be their Priſoner; and he dreaded every Thing that might bring new Calamities upon him. Therefore he now reſolv'd to unite himſelf firmly with the Emperor, by whoſe Means only he hop'd to re-eſtabliſh his Family at *Florence*; and from this Time forwards, all the Uſe he made of

Campegio *comes into* England, *who refuſes to ſhow the Bull in Publick.*

The Pope's Policy and Knavery.

King

King *Henry*'s Earneſtneſs in his Divorce, was only to draw in the Emperor on better Terms to his Intereſt. The Emperor was alſo at that Time preſſing him hard for a general Council; which, beſides the general Averſion of the Court of *Rome*, he had great Reaſon to fear; for being himſelf a ſpurious Iſſue, he was threaten'd with Deprivation, as uncapable of holding his Dignity. Thus paſs'd the firſt Year of this memorable Proceſs, in which it was believ'd that if the King had employ'd that Mony, unneceſſarily ſpent at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had ſo diſturb'd the Emperor, and incourag'd the Pope, that he had ſooner granted that, which in a more fruitleſs Way was ſought of him.

A. D. 1529. Reg. 20/21.

The Imperialiſts at *Rome* all the Time preſs'd hard to have the Legates in *England* inhibited, and the Cauſe to be recall'd and heard before the Conſiſtory; but the Pope diſlik'd that Motion as dangerous: But his conſtant Maxim being to promiſe and ſwear deepeſt, when he intended leaſt, to molifie King *Henry*, he ſent over *Campana*, one of his Bed-Chamber, into *England*, with Compliments too high to gain much Credit. He aſſur'd the King, *That his Holineſs would ſerve him in every Reſpect, not only in Juſtice and Equity, but in the Plenitude of his Power; and tho' he had reaſon to be apprehenſive of the Emperor's Reſentments, yet that ſhould never divert his Zeal for the King's Intereſt, in which he would not be wanting, tho' it were with the Reſignation of the Popedom it ſelf.* He was alſo order'd to require the Legates to put a ſpeedy Period to the Buſineſs; but his ſecret Inſtructions to *Campegio* were of a contrary Strain; he charg'd him to burn the Decretal Bull, and to protract the Matter by all the dilatory Methods he could invent. Yet ſtill the Pope continu'd his Compliments to thoſe the King ſent over, and gave new Aſſurances, *That tho' he did not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce ſhould be immediately his own Act, yet ſtill he was ready to confirm the Legate's Sentence.* But at the ſame Time the Pope propos'd a Journey *incognito* into *Spain*, and deſired Cardinal *Wolſey* to go with him, in order to obtain a general Peace for Chriſtendom. Tho' in ſecret he was then making Offers of Compliance with the Emperor, and gave his Agents Aſſurances, *That tho' the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it.* Upon which the King's Correſpondents at *Rome*, wrote to him to puſh on the War more vigorouſly againſt the Emperor, for nothing was to be expected at that Court, unleſs the Emperor's Affairs declin'd.

Campana *ſent to deceive the King.*

But an unexpected Accident put ſome Stop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*: For the Pope was taken ſuddenly ill, and fell into a dangerous Sickneſs; upon which the Imperialiſts began to prepare for a Conclave; but *Farneſe*, and the Cardinal of *Mantua* oppos'd their Deſigns, and ſhew'd a great Inclination for *Wolſey*, *whom they reverenc'd as a Deity*, as his Correſpondents wrote to him. Upon this he ſent a Courier to *Gardiner*, then in his Journey to *Rome*, with large Directions how to manage the Election; in which it was concluded, That the King of *France*, joining heartily with the King of *England*, of which he was confident, there were only ſix Cardinals wanting to make the Election ſure; and beſides Sums of Mony and other Rewards, he was to give them Aſſurance, that the Cardinal's Preferments ſhould be divided among them. Theſe were the ſecret Methods of attaining that Chair, that was believ'd to be attended with Infalibility. But the Pope's Recovery put an End to theſe dark Intrigues; which yet were ſoon after reviv'd by a long and threatning Relapſe. Then new Labours were undertaken to gain many Cardinals to favour King *Henry*'s Cauſe; and many Precedents of Divorces were produc'd, that had been granted in Favour of Princes, upon much ſlighter Grounds. But the Imperialiſts were ſo powerful at *Rome*, that they could not hope for Succeſs, without the Emperor was firſt gain'd; upon which a ſecret Negotiation was ſet on Foot with him, but it had no other Effect, than to give great Jealouſie both to the Pope and *French* King. Another Diſpatch was ſent

The Pope ſickens.

ſent to *Rome*, to procure a Commiſſion with fuller Power to the Legates, and a Pollicitation under the Pope's Hand to confirm the Sentence: The latter was granted, but the former utterly refus'd; for the Pope was reſolv'd to proceed no further in that Matter, tho' *Wolſey* wrote to *Rome*, *That if any Juſtice were deny'd the King, not only* England, *but likewiſe* France *would withdraw their Obedience from the Apoſtolick See*; becauſe by that it would be inferr'd, that the Emperor had ſuch Influence at *Rome*, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleas'd. At this Time the Cardinal was bargaining for his Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, which were rated at fifteen thouſand Ducats; but ſince it was a Tranſlation from *Durham*, ſo that a new Compoſition would ariſe for that Vacancy, he refus'd to pay above a third of what was demanded.

He is guided by the Emperor's Intereſt.

As the Pope recover'd his Health, ſo he inclin'd more to join with the Emperor, who now by his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, enter'd a Proteſtation in the Queen of *England*'s Name againſt the Legates, as unreaſonably partial in King *Henry*'s Favour, which was receiv'd by the Pope, tho' much oppos'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. Upon this, *Gardiner*, who was a Man of great Subtelty and Penetration, wrote to King *Henry*, aſſuring him, *That he was to expect nothing more from the Pope, who was reſolv'd to offend neither the Emperor nor him; therefore he adviſ'd him to procure the Legates to give Sentence with all poſſible Expedition; and when it ſhould come to the Emperor's Turn to ſollicite for Bulls againſt the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now.* All this he deſir'd might not be ſhown to the Cardinal; for he was now making his own Fortunes, and had at the ſame Time a private Correſpondence with Mrs. *Bolen*, whom he expected would in Time be Queen. In the Pollicitation which the Pope ſign'd to confirm the Legate's Sentence, ſome Clauſes were incerted, by which he could eaſily break looſe from it; therefore *Gardiner* endeavour'd to procure another in fuller Terms, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, *That the Courier had met with an Accident in paſſing a River, by which the Inſtrument was ſo defac'd with the Water, that it could not be of any Uſe.* But the Pope was ſuch a Maſter in the Arts of Diſſimulation and Policy, that inſtead of being catch'd with this, and to grant a new one, he was heartily glad it was defac'd, and poſitively refus'd to renew it. And a long and earneſt Letter wrote from the Legates to the Pope, urging him to end the Matter by a Decretal Bull, aſſuring him, *It was only a Scruple of Conſcience that wrought on the King, and no Deſire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended at the Delays of this Matter, in which all were ſo nearly concern'd*, prevail'd nothing on him; for he conſider'd it was only done by them in Compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely gain'd *Campegio*, ſince the Scandals of his Life were ſo publick, that the Motives of Intereſt muſt certainly have the Aſcendant over him. But by all the Arts that could be invented, they were not able to over-reach the Pope, who whatever he might be in his Deciſions, ſeem'd infallible in his Sagacity and Jealouſie. The Queen's Agents ſtill preſs'd hard for an Avocation; but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, 'till he had finiſh'd his Treaty in all other Points with the Emperor, and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and That they expos'd him both to the Emperor's Mercy, and the Scorn of the *Florentines*; by which it was viſible, he was ſeeking Pretenſions for throwing himſelf into the Emperor's Arms. Great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation, *That it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited at* Rome; *wherefore he would ſeek Juſtice from the Clergy of* England, *if deny'd by the Pope: It was alſo contrary to the Pollicitation under the Pope's Hand, to recall the Legate's Commiſſion, and his Faith often deliver'd by Word of Mouth, chiefly of late by* Campana. But verbal Promiſes did not much bind the Pope, they vaniſh'd into Air, and *Campana* ſwore he had made none; and for the written Pollicitation,

He becomes more obſtinate.

citation, there was a saving Clause in it, by which he could escape; so that he was at Liberty from all Engagements, but those he had privately given in Discourse, and to these he was no Slave.

King *Henry* being well inform'd of what pass'd at *Rome*, recall'd *Gardiner* and *Bryan*, and sent Doctor *Bennet* to *Rome* to hinder the Avocation of the Cause, of which he was so apprehensive, that he not only intercepted those Dispatches sent to *Rome* from *Campegio*, or any else, but also those Intelligences which the Queen should give to her Aunt *Margaret* of the *Low-Countries*. So that now the King finding his Conscience unsatisfy'd, his Nobility in Suspence, and the People murmering at these Delays in an Affair of the greatest Importance, he charg'd the two Cardinals to proceed with all Expedition. The Place appointed for hearing and determining the Cause, was the great Hall in *Black-Fryars*, the Time the thirty first of *May*; when both the Cardinals appear'd in great Pomp; so that *Wolsey* might be said to be now in the Height of his Grandeur, when he sate Judge of his own Soveraign's Cause, upon which no less than the Succession of the Kingdom depended. The Court being sate, a peremptory Citation was issu'd out for the King and Queen, to appear on the eighteenth of *June*; upon which Day the Queen appear'd in Person, and protested against the Cardinals as incompetent Judges. Endeavours were therefore us'd to terrifie her into some Compliance, and a formal Complaint was made against her, 'That she favour'd some who design'd to destroy the King and 'Cardinal; That she carry'd her self very disobligingly to the King, and us'd many 'indecent Arts to render her self popular; That the King was in Danger 'of his Life by her Means, and therefore he could no longer keep her Company, 'either as to Bed or Table: But she was a Woman of such Resolution and Constancy, that no Threatnings could intimidate her. At the next Court Day, both the King and Queen appear'd; but the latter instead of answering to the Legates, kneel'd down before the King, and made a Speech that had all the Insinuations to raise Commiseration in the Audience. She declar'd *She had been his dutiful Wife for twenty Years, had born him several Children, and had always study'd to oblige him; therefore she beg'd to know where was her Offence.* She insisted upon her Virginity when she came to his Bed, alledging, *That the Marriage was made by both their Parents, who were wise Princes, and had good Counsellors when it was made; but at present she being a Stranger and a Subject, had neither indifferent Judges to hear, nor indifferent Lawyers to plead her Cause; therefore she could expect no Justice in that Court.* Upon which she went out of the Court, and would never after appear in that Place. At her Departure, the King gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and protested, *He was acted by no other Principle, than that of Conscience*, and clear'd Cardinal *Wolsey* from being the first Mover in this Suit; declaring, That he first mention'd the Matter in Confession to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and had desir'd the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to procure him the Resolution of the Bishops of *England* in this Case; and that they had under their Hands declar'd, *That his Marriage was unlawful.* The Bishop of *Rochester* deny'd he had sign'd such a Paper; but the Arch-Bishop alleg'd, That he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it, which the other still deny'd. The Legates however, proceeded according to the Forms of Law; but the Queen instead of appearing, appeal'd from them to the Pope, and excepted both against the Place, the Judges, and her Lawyers. Yet still they pronounc'd her contumacious, and proceeded to the Examination of Witnesses for several Days, the Substance of which Allegations were, That there were many violent Presumptions appear'd, That Prince *Arthur* had Carnal Knowledge of the Queen; and it could not be expected that greater Proofs could be made twenty seven Years after their Marriage.

The Process begun in England *under* Campegio *and* Wolsey.

The Queen appeals to the Pope.

And now since the Process was thus carry'd on, the Emperor's Agents vehemently press'd the Pope for an Avocation, to remove it to *Rome*; and all possible Endeavours were us'd by King *Henry*'s Agents to present it; they omitted

omitted nothing that could operate upon the Pope's Temper, either by Way of Perſuaſion or Threatning. It was repreſented to him, *That there was a Treaty on foot between the King of* England *and the* Lutheran *Princes of* Germany; *and that upon his Holineſs declaring himſelf ſo partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly imbark in the ſame Intereſts with them, and ſo* England *would be loſt from the Apoſtolick See.* But as the Pope concluded the King was ſo far engag'd in Honour, that he could not be induc'd to unite with *Luther*'s Followers in Points of Religion; ſo he did not imagine, that the Effects of his Avocation would be ſo diſmal and fatal as the Cardinal's Creature had repreſented them, or as he himſelf afterwards found them. He thought it would probably ruin the King's Affairs, which might occaſion his Agents to uſe ſuch Threatnings; but he did not much regard that, becauſe he hated him in his Heart. In Concluſion, after the Emperor had engag'd to reſtore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, he reſolv'd to publiſh his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation might not look like a ſecret Article, as it was in reality, he reſolv'd to begin with that; and with the profoundeſt Marks of Sorrow, he declar'd to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, *That he could not avoid it, both becauſe all the Lawyers had aſſur'd him, It could not in common Juſtice be deny'd, and becauſe he could not reſiſt the Emperor's Forces, which ſurrounded him on all Sides.* Their Endeavours to gain ſome Time by Delays, were alſo as fruitleſs as their other Arts had been; for on the fifteenth of *July* the Pope ſign'd it, publiſh'd the Treaty on the eighteenth, and ſent the Inſtrument of Avocation on the nineteenth by an expreſs Meſſenger to *England*.

Who grants an Avocation, and joins with the Emperor.

During this Management at *Rome*, the Legates, eſpecially *Campegio* who was the Senior, protracted the Matter by all the Delays that could be invented, and gain'd much Time under the Pretence of not precipitating the King's Affairs. At laſt, being reduc'd to a ſort of Neceſſity of pronouncing Sentence, inſtead of proceeding to that, *Campegio* unexpectedly adjourn'd the Court 'till *October*, declaring, *That they being a Part of the Conſiſtory of* Rome, *were oblig'd to obſerve their Times of Vacation.* The King who was in the next Chamber, was unexpreſſibly ſurpriz'd, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, then in Court in a Rage ſwore by the Maſs, *That no Cardinal ever did good in* England. To whom *Wolſey* ſeverely reply'd, *If I poor Cardinal had not been here, you would not have kept your Head upon your Shoulders.* This was one of the laſt Flights of the mighty States-Man, whoſe Grandeur being at the Height, was now ready to ſink: *Campegio* had nothing to loſe in *England*, but the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, for which the Pope or Emperor could eaſily recompence him; but *Wolſey* began to be under all the Terrors that are incident to an exorbitant Favourite, upon the Change of his Fortune; none being more abject in Misfortune than thoſe who are moſt elevated with Proſperity. When the Avoation was brought into *England*, the King ſubmitted ſo far as to allow the Legates to declare the Commiſſion void; but would by no means ſuffer the Letters citatory to be ſerv'd, for he look'd upon it as below the Dignity of his Crown, to be cited to appear at any other Court in Chriſtendom. This was the firſt Step he made towards the Diminution of the Pope's Authority. Yet upon this Occaſion he govern'd himſelf with more Mildneſs than was expected from the warmth of his Temper; he civilly diſmiſs'd *Campegio*, only his Officers ſtrictly ſearch'd his Coffers, when he took Shipping, with a Deſign as it was thought, to ſee if the decretal Bull could be found. *Wolſey* was now upon the Point of being diſgrac'd, tho' the King ſeem'd to treat him with the ſame Confidence he had uſually ſhown to him; it being common for many Princes to hide their Deſigns of diſcarding their Favourites, with higher Expreſſions of Kindneſs than ordinary, 'till their Ruin, being unforeſeen, breaks out with great Violence. Mrs. *Bolen*, who in the Time of the Proceſs had been diſmiſs'd the Court, was now return'd; and the King's Thoughts for a while were divided by many Doubts and Perplexities. He had the more Reaſon to be cir-

cumſpect in his Affairs, becauſe the Pope and Emperor were now united in the former Alliance: The Pope's Nephew, who had been lately marry'd to the Emperor's Daughter, was now Duke of *Florence*. And the Emperor went afterwards in Perſon, and was crown'd with great Magnificence by the Pope; who when the Emperor was kneeling down to kiſs his Foot, humbled himſelf ſo far as to draw it back, and kiſs his Cheek. In this Year alſo another Peace was concluded at *Cambray* between the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, call'd the *Womens Peace*; where King *Henry* firſt found the Deceitfulneſs of the *French* Alliance; for he was not ſo conſider'd in the Treaty as he expected, and he found that *Francis* would not embroil his own Affairs in favour of his Divorce.

The Treaty of Cambray.

The King wiſely judg'd it neceſſary, to ſecure himſelf of the Affections and Confidence of his People, before he venter'd on any Thing that ſhould diſpleaſe two ſuch Potentates as the Pope and Emperor; therefore he thought fit to call a Parliament, which had been diſus'd in *England* for ſeven Years, and probably by the Advice of the Cardinal, who before the calling of it fell into a ſinking Condition. His too much Obſequiouſneſs to the See of *Rome* in the laſt Proceſs, and ſome inferior Accidents, render'd him obnoxious to the King and his neareſt Friends. So that he firſt commanded him to deliver up the great Seal, which was with great Reluctancy obey'd, and given to Sir *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profeſſion, the Law, but in all Sorts of Learning; being much eſteem'd for the Strictneſs of his Life, and his Contempt of Mony. Shortly after, *Hales* the Attorney-General put in an Information againſt the Cardinal in the King's Bench, importing, *That notwithſtanding the Statute of* Richard *the Second, againſt procuring Bulls from* Rome *upon Pain of* Premunire, *yet he had procur'd Bulls for his* Legantine *Power, which he had for many Years executed.* To this he pleaded his Ignorance of the Statute, and ſubmitted to the King's Mercy; upon which it was declar'd, That he had forfeited all his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Perſon was liable to be ſeiz'd. Immediately his rich Palace of *York-Houſe*, ſince call'd *White-Hall*, was ſeiz'd to the King's Uſe; together with all that vaſt Wealth, and Royal Furniture that he had heap'd up together, which was prodigious, and beyond any Thing that had ever been ſeen in the Kingdom of *England*. But ſtill the King had no Deſire to ruin him intirely, but only to reduce him lower, to ſee if the Terror of that have any Influence on the Pope; therefore he firſt granted him his Protection, and then his Pardon, reſtor'd him to the See of *York* and *Wincheſter*, and gave him back in Mony, Goods and Plate to the Value of above ſix thouſand Pounds. But as he had carry'd his Greatneſs with moſt exorbitant Pride, ſo he was no leſs meanly abjected with his Misfortunes, and a deep Melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King as he more and more relented, ſent him frequent Aſſurances of his Favour; all which he receiv'd with extravagant Tranſports of Joy; and he that us'd to join or prefer himſelf to the King, now fell down on his Knees in the Dirt to a Meſſenger who brought him a Ring from his Majeſty. Yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to ſuffer a Man of his Temper and Abilities, to return to Favour. Therefore they found Means to bring in a high Charge of forty four Articles againſt him in open Parliament. They related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Inſolence and Ambition, his lewd Life, and other Things brought to defame his Reputation as well as deſtroy his Perſon. Theſe eaſily paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, where he had but few Friends and many Enemies; but when the Charge was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was ſo manag'd by the Induſtry of *Thomas Cromwell*, who had been his Servant, that no Treaſon could be laid to his Charge, ſo that the Accuſation drop'd.

A Parliament call'd.

Wolſey is diſgrac'd.

He is impeach'd in Parliament.

The Parliaments Proceedings.

In this ſame Parliament, the Commons prepar'd ſeveral Bills againſt ſome of the Corruptions of the Clergy; one againſt the Exactions for the Probates of Wills, another for Regulating Mortuaries, and a third againſt Pluralities of Benefices and Non-reſidence. The Clergy abhorr'd the Precedent of the Commons,

mons, intermedling in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and Biſhop *Fiſher* ſpoke violently againſt ſuch Proceedings, declaring, *That all flow'd from want of Faith.* Upon which the Commons complain'd to the King, for his reproaching their honourable Houſe, while the Houſe of Peers either thought it no Breach of Privilege, or were willing to connive at ſuch a Reflection. But *Fiſher* being hated at Court for his firm Adherence to the Queen's Intereſt, was put upon his Purgation to explain himſelf, and the Matter paſs'd over, and the Commons proceeded to their Bills; which, tho' ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the Clergy, were at length paſs'd with the Royal Aſſent. Beſides theſe, a very peculiar Bill was brought in for the Relief of the King, who in this long Interval of Parliaments had borrow'd ſeveral large Sums of his Subjects: Now this Parliament, both to diſcourage that Way of ſupplying Kings for the future, and to ruin the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been moſt ready to lend, as having the greateſt Advantages from the Government, did by one Act diſcharge the King of all thoſe Debts. This occaſion'd great Murmurings among the Sufferers; but to qualifie the general Diſcontent, the King granted a free Pardon to all Offenders; only to terrifie the Pope, and to keep the Clergy in Submiſſion, he excepted ſuch as had incurr'd a *Premunire*, by acknowledging a Foreign Juriſdiction.

A. D. 1530. Reg. 21, 22.

The King had ſtill a particular View to the now ſubmiſſive Cardinal, and ſoon found that his Caſe was not much regarded at *Rome*: The Emperor hated him for his late Actions, and the Pope was jealous of his vaſt Aſpirings; ſo that tho' they were not well pleas'd to ſee a Cardinal ſo us'd, yet they could behold *Wolſey*'s Downfal without much Concern. This Prelate was fondly deſirous to have ſtay'd at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in Exchange for *Hampton-Court*, that he had alſo built; but that was too near the Court, and his Enemies were reſolv'd to remove him further from it. Accordingly he was order'd to repair to his Dioceſe of *York*; in which Journey the very Ruins of his State were conſiderable, for he travell'd with a hundred and ſixty Horſe in his Train, and ſeventy two Waggons follow'd him with his Houſhold-Stuff. Having continu'd there a few Months, and perform'd many charitable and popular Acts, he was attach'd for High-Treaſon by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and committed to the Cuſtody of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was order'd to bring him to *London*. And even then he had gracious Meſſages from the King, but they gave him no great Relief; for whether he knew himſelf guilty of ſome ſecret Practices with the Pope or Emperor, or whether he could ſtand no longer under the King's Diſpleaſure and this abject Condition, he was ſo diſpirited, that on his Way to *London*, he ſicken'd at *Sheffield* in the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Houſe, from whence by ſlow Journies he went as far as *Leiceſter*, where he is ſaid to have taken Poiſon to end his miſerable Life. Being near his Departure, among other Things, he ſpoke this Sentence, worthy to be remember'd by all Favourites, *Had I ſerv'd my God as diligently as I have ſerv'd my King, he would not have given me over in my grey Hairs; but this is my juſt Reward.* He ſaid further to Sir *William Kingſton*, Lieutenant of the Tower, *If ever you be one of the King's Council, beware of what you put into his Head, for you will be never able to put it out again.* Thus dy'd this prodigious Man, on the twenty eighth Day of *November*, who had been the mightieſt of all *Engliſh* Subjects, and was the greateſt Inſtance that ſeveral Ages had ſhown of the Variety and Inconſtancy of Human Things, both in his Riſe and Fall. By his Temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his Greatneſs, which renders his Character more ſurpriſing, that he ſhould be able of himſelf to perform ſo many Wonders; and it cannot but be accounted a ſingular Felicity, that during his Adminiſtration, all Things ſucceeded better than afterwards; tho' the Impreſſions he gave did probably occaſion ſeveral ſucceeding Irregularities. Notwithſtanding the general Hatred he had rais'd, few ever fell from ſuch a lofty Station, with leſſer Crimes objected againſt him. But as his

Wolſey is attach'd for High-Treaſon.

He dies.

being ſo ſubſervient to his Soveraign's criminal Pleaſures, was a greater Crime than his own lewd Life, or what was objected againſt him; ſo his ſacrificing the Duke of *Buckingham* to his Reſentments, was ſuch a Villany as call'd down the Vengeance of Heaven upon him, which rarely ſuſpends its Power, in Caſe of publick Blood.

The News of the Cardinal's Death being brought to the King, he could not with-hold from expreſſing a tender Concern, and declaring, *That he had rather ſuffer'd the Loſs of twenty thouſand Pounds.* But now his Thoughts were more poſſeſs'd with another riſing Favourite, of a finer Spirit, and more
Cranmer's Riſe. real Merit, Doctor *Thomas Cranmer*, a Fellow of *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*, who in the preceding Year, meeting accidentally with *Gardiner* and *Fox* at *Weltham*, and being ask'd to declare his Thoughts concerning the King's Marriage, he propos'd a new and more rational Method: This was, 'That the 'King ſhould ingage the chief Univerſities and Divines of *Europe*, to examine 'into the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage; and if they declar'd their Opinions againſt 'it, then the Marriage in Courſe muſt be pronounc'd void, becauſe the Pope's 'Diſpenſation could not derogate from the Laws of God. As this was new, and reaſonable in it ſelf, ſo they propos'd it to the King, who was extreamly affected with it, as a Method that might have ſav'd him a vaſt Expence of Mony and Trouble; and ſaid in a coarſe way of ſpeaking, *He had the Swine by the right Ear.* He perceiv'd that this way was more like to be effectual, and would extreamly mortifie the Pope, who had ſo much deluded him; therefore Doctor *Cranmer* was ſent for to Court, where he ſo admirably behav'd himſelf, that the King conceiv'd an high Opinion both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took ſuch a deep Root in his Heart, that no Artifices nor Calumnies were ever able to remove it.

This new Method being reſolv'd on by the King, he firſt order'd Doctor *Cranmer* to write upon the Subject of the Divorce; and then ſent to procure the Concluſions of the two Univerſities of *England*. Here the King met with greater Obſtructions than from the Foreign Univerſities, by reaſon that Doctor *Cranmer*, and Mrs. *Bolen*, who was now like to be Queen, were thought Favourers of *Lutheraniſm*: Yet after a little Space, by a Majority, the Seals of both Univerſities were obtain'd; and they gave their Opinions,
The chief Univerſities and Divines in Europe declare the King's Marriage null. *That the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God and Nature.* Doctor *Crook*, a learned Man in the *Greek* Tongue, was employ'd in *Italy*, to procure the Reſolutions of Divines and Univerſities there; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that beſides the great Diſcoveries he made in ſearching the Manuſcripts of the *Greek* Fathers, concerning their Opinions in this Point, he engag'd ſeveral Perſons to write for the King's Cauſe; and alſo got the *Jews* to give their Opinions of the Laws in *Leviticus*, that they were Moral and Obligatory. The State of *Venice* would not declare themſelves, but ſaid they would be Neuters; and it was not eaſie to perſuade the Divines of the Republick to give their Opinions, 'till a Brief was obtain'd from the Pope, permitting all Divines and Canoniſts to deliver their Opinions, according to their Conſciences; which was not granted but with great Difficulty. For the Pope abhor'd this Way of Proceeding, tho' he could not decently oppoſe it; yet he ſaid in great Scorn, *That no Friar ſhould ſet Limits to his Authority.* Beſides many Divines and Canoniſts, not only whole Houſes of Religious Orders, but even the Univerſity of *Bononia*, tho' the Pope's Town, declar'd the *Levitical* Laws concerning the Degrees of Marriage, were Parts of the Law of Nature, and that the Pope could not diſpenſe with them. The Univerſity of *Padua* determin'd the ſame, as alſo that of *Ferrara*; ſo that *Crook* ſent over to *England* an hundred ſeveral Books, and Papers, with many Subſcriptions, all condemning the King's Marriage as unlawful in it ſelf. At *Paris*, the famous *Sorbon* made their Determination with great Solemnity of Maſſes and Oaths; and after three Weeks impartial Study, they agreed, *That*

the

the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not diſpence with it. At *Orleans*, *Angiers*, and *Tholouſe*, and at other Univerſities in *France*, they determin'd to the ſame Purpoſe.

The chief Nobility of England write to the Pope.

The King's Cauſe being favour'd and fortify'd by theſe, and many other Authorities, he procur'd many Members of Parliament, in a Time of Prorogation, to ſign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, 'That notwithſtanding the great 'Merits of their King, the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Importance of it to 'the Safety of the Kingdom, yet his Holineſs ſtill made new Delays; they 'therefore earneſtly preſs'd him to diſpatch it ſpeedily, otherwiſe they ſhould 'be compell'd to ſeek for other Remedies, tho' they were unwilling to drive 'Matters to Extremities, 'till it became unavoidable. This Letter was ſign'd by the two Arch-Biſhops, four Biſhops, forty two Peers, twenty two Abbots, and eleven Commoners: To this the Pope wrote an Anſwer: 'He took notice *His Anſwer.* 'of the Vehemence of their Stile: He freed himſelf from the Imputations of In-'gratitude and Injuſtice: He acknowledg'd the King's great Merits, declaring 'he had done all he could in his Favour. He had granted a Commiſſion, but 'could not refuſe to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals had with 'one Conſent judg'd, That an Avocation was neceſſary. Since then the Delays 'did not proceed from him, but the King; that he was ready to proceed, and 'would bring it to as ſpeedy an Iſſue, as the Importance of it would admit; 'and for their Threatnings, they were neither agreeable to their Wiſdom, nor 'their Religion. But the King finding the Pope reſolv'd to grant nothing, and apprehending that ſome Bull might be brought into *England* in favour of the Queen, he ſet out a Proclamation againſt any who ſhould purchaſe or publiſh any Thing from *Rome* contrary to his Royal Prerogative, threatning Impriſonment, and other Puniſhments, which were founded upon the Statute of *Proviſors* and *Premunires*. After this he caus'd an Abſtract of all the Reaſons and Authorities of the Fathers, or Modern Writers, againſt his Marriage, to be publiſh'd both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*; by which it appear'd, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, the King had clearly the Right on his Side. Yet ſtill the Queen continu'd firm to her Reſolution of leaving the Matter in the Pope's Hands; and therefore would hearken to no Propoſitions that were made to her, for the referring the Cauſe to the Arbitration of ſome ſelect Perſons on both Sides. In the Judgments that People paſs'd, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approv'd the King's Cauſe, and the Women as much favour'd the Queen.

A. D. 1531. Reg. 22/23.

A Seſſion of Parliament follow'd in the Month of *January*; in which the King caus'd all the Deciſions of the Univerſities, and the Books written for the Divorce, to be firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then they were carry'd down to the Commons, by the Chancellor *More*, and twelve Lords, both of the Spiritualty and Temporalty. There were twelve Seals of the Univerſities ſhew'd, and their Deciſions were read, firſt in *Latin*, and then tranſlated into *Engliſh*. There were alſo a hundred Books produc'd, written on the ſame Argument; upon the ſhewing of which, the Chancellor deſir'd them to report to their ſeveral Countries, *That they now clearly ſaw, That the King had not attempted this Matter out of his meer Will and Pleaſure, but for the Diſcharge of his Conſcience, and the Security of the Succeſſion to the Crown.* This Affair was alſo brought into the Convocation, where the Clergy declar'd themſelves ſatisfy'd concerning the Unlawfulneſs of the Marriage; but their unfortunate Circumſtances at that Juncture, render'd their Declaration leſs conſiderable. For Cardinal *Wolſey* by exerciſing his Legantine Authority having, as before related, fallen into a *Premunire*, they by joining in his Courts, were alſo involv'd in the ſame Guilt; and this Matter being excepted out of the late Act of Pardon, an Indictment was brought into the King's Bench, againſt all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunires*; by which they were declar'd out of the King's Protection,

The Clergy ſu'd in a Premunire

tection, their Goods forfeited, and their Persons liable to Imprisonment. Now these old Statutes were reviv'd, that the Terror of them might not only mortifie the Court of *Rome*, but also oblige the Clergy to an intire Submission, and to redeem themselves by a considerable Subsidy. They alleg'd that they had err'd ignorantly; for the King by his Favour to the Cardinal, seem'd to encourage that Authority he then exercis'd: It was a publick Error, therefore they ought not to be punish'd for it. To all which it was reply'd, that the Laws which they had transgress'd were still in Force, therefore no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. Upon which the Convocation of *Canterbury* made their Submission, and in their Address to the King, he was stil'd *The Protector, and supream Head of the Church of* England; but some disliking that, they added *as far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ.* This was sign'd by nine Bishops, fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest Part of the Lower House; and with it they offer'd the King a Composition of a hundred thousand Pounds, and promis'd for the future, not to make or execute any Constitutions, without a Royal Licence. The Convocation of *York* did with some Reluctancy acknowledge the King the *Supream Head*, and submitted with an Offer of above eighteen thousand Pounds; all which being well receiv'd, the Clergy were all restor'd and pardon'd. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament House, the Laity complain'd, That they were not included in it; for many of them were also obnoxious on the same Account, and liable to the same Punishment; therefore they address'd to the King for Ease and Security. The King return'd Answer, *That his Mercy was neither to be restrain'd, nor extorted*; which put the House of Commons under great Apprehensions. But soon after they had pass'd the Act, the King freely sent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was receiv'd with Universal Joy; and they acknowledg'd, *That in this Action, his Majesty had happily temper'd his Greatness, with his Clemency.*

They submit, and compound with the King.

These Proceedings were highly mortifying to the Court of *Rome*, and the Pope, who being about this Time much disoblig'd by the Emperor, resolv'd to unite himself to the Crown of *France*; and *Francis*, to gain him more entirely, propos'd a Match between his Second Son *Henry* and the Pope's Neece, the famous *Catharine de Medici*; which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition, so it was like to prove a great Support to his Family. The Pope joining with the *French*, and out of Danger from the Emperor, by reason of the present Progress of the *Turks*, King *Henry*'s Affairs might have easily been adjusted, if he had not proceeded so far already; for the Pope's Conscience being directed by his Interest, it was more than probable that at this Time he would give the King Satisfaction. He saw the Danger of losing *England*, the Interest of the Clergy sinking, *Lutheranism* encreasing, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany* taking Advantage from the present Employment of the Emperor; all which were melancholy Views. At the same Time King *Francis* enter'd into a League with the Protestant Princes, for the Conservation of their Privileges; and so prevail'd upon King *Henry*, that he sent over fifty thousand Crowns for the same Design. And now, as it were, declining all Assistance from the Court of *Rome*, he us'd all Methods to prevail with the Queen to submit; but nothing could remove her Resolutions. And when some Lords represented to her the great Burden of Conscience that lay upon the King's Mind, she pray'd God *to send the King a quiet Conscience, for she was his lawful Wife, and would so continue, 'till the Court of* Rome *declar'd the contrary.* Upon which the King forbore to see her, and order'd her to chuse to which of her Manors she would please to retire; she answer'd *That wherever she retir'd, nothing could remove her from being his Wife.* Upon which Answer the King took his final Leave of her at *Windsor*, upon the fourteenth of *July*, and never saw her more. Here ended all the Temporal Grandeur of Queen *Catharine* of *Spain*, after she had been twenty two Years Wife and Queen to one of the greatest Monarchs of the

The Pope joins with France.

The King finally parts with the Queen.

the Age; who tho' ſhe was a Lady of unqueſtionable Piety and Devotion, ſhe had both her Marriages attended with uncommon Misfortunes. This latter was examin'd by the Chief of all Chriſtendom, cenſur'd and pronounc'd Inceſtuous: But the former, which was ſeven Years in finiſhing by the two wiſeſt Kings in *Europe*, had the Way made to it by the Deſtruction of the Innocent Earl of *Warwick*; which made the religious Queen acknowledge, *That her Misfortunes were the Hand of Heaven, ſince her firſt Marriage was founded in Blood.*

Holling. Herbert. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

VII. King *Henry*, after four Years' mighty Struggle, had now freed himſelf from the Perſon of his Queen; but not being yet regularly divorc'd, the Affair did not end here; and the former Proceedings had ſtill further Effects upon the King, the Clergy, and the whole Body of the Nation. In the Beginning of this Year, a new Seſſion of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complain'd of the Spiritual Courts, of their Way of Proceeding *ex Officio*, and not admitting Perſons accus'd to their Purgation. But theſe Complaints were at this Time ſtifled, by Reaſon of an ill Underſtanding between the King and the Houſe of Commons, about a Bill concerning Wards; and tho' the King thought himſelf diſoblig'd, yet the Parliament being compos'd of Men very ill affected to the Clergy, he kept it ſtill in Being, to terrifie the Court of *Rome*. And in this Parliament the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards follow'd with *Rome*, was laid, by an Act for reſtraining the Payment of *Annates* or *Firſt-Fruits* to that Court. The Act ſets forth 'That they were founded on 'no Law, but being firſt given to defend Chriſtendom againſt Infidels, they 'were ſince kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted 'till they were paid; for eight hundred thouſand Ducats had been carry'd out 'of *England* to *Rome* upon that Account, ſince the Beginning of the laſt Reign. 'The King was bound by the Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder ſuch Op'preſſions; therefore all benefic'd Perſons were requir'd not to pay *Firſt-Fruits* 'for the future, under Pain of forfeiting their Goods and Livings: And thoſe 'who were preſented to Biſhopricks were appointed to be conſecrated, tho' their 'Bulls were deny'd at *Rome*; and were requir'd to pay no more than five *per* '*Cent.* of the clear Proffits of their Sees. If the Pope ſhould upon this pro'ceed to Cenſures, the Clergy were notwithſtanding commanded to perform 'all Divine Offices. But by an extraordinary Proviſo, it was deferr'd to the 'King to declare at any Time between then and *Eaſter* in the following Year, 'whether this Act ſhould take Place or not. The King, being afterwards provok'd by the Pope, by his Letters Patents declar'd the Act to be in force.

A. D. 1532. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

A new Seſſion of Parliament.

An Act againſt Annates *paid to* Rome.

Before the Parliament broke up, the Pope, upon the Motion of the Imperialiſts wrote to the King, complaining, *That notwithſtanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one* Anne Bolen *as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition ſerv'd on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen, and put away the other.* Upon which the King ſent Doctor *Bennet* to *Rome*, with a large Diſpatch, in which he complain'd, *That the Pope having proceeded upon the Suggeſtion of others, who were ignorant and raſh Men, he had carry'd himſelf inconſtantly and deceitfully, and not like Chriſt's Vicar: He had granted a Commiſſion, with a Promiſe never to recall it, and had ſent over a Decretal Bull determining the Cauſe. Either theſe were unjuſtly granted, or unjuſtly recall'd; If he had Authority to grant them, where was the Faith of a Friend, or a Pope, who had broke his Promiſe? If he had not Authority to grant them, he had juſt Cauſe to diſtruſt all that came from him. It was therefore plain that he was govern'd more by Intereſt than Conſcience; and that as he had often confeſs'd his own Ignorance in theſe Matters, ſo he wanted learned Men to adviſe him, otherwiſe he would not maintain a Marriage which almoſt all the learned Men and Univerſities in* England, France *and* Italy, *had condemn'd as unlawful.* After this

The Pope writes to the King.

His Anſwer.

this he declar'd, *That he would not queſtion his Authority, unleſs he was compell'd to it, and deſign'd only to reduce it to its firſt and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let it run on with Precipitation and Error.* This high Letter put the Pope upon a Reſolution to proceed and end this great Affair, either by a Sentence or a Treaty. Accordingly King *Henry* was cited to anſwer to the Queen's Appeal at *Rome* in Perſon, or by Proxy: Upon which Sir *Edward Karne* was ſent thither in the new Character of the King's Excuſator, to excuſe the King's Appearance, upon ſuch Grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Privileges of the Crown of *England*; and Doctor *Bonner*, a forward and ambitious Man, who would ſcruple at nothing that brought him Preferment, was ſent over with him.

The Pope cites him to Rome.

They arriv'd at *Rome* in the Month of *March*, where they found great Heats in the Conſiſtory about the King's Buſineſs: The Imperialiſts vehemently preſs'd the Pope to give Sentence; but all the wiſe Cardinals, who obſerv'd by the Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he ſhould be provok'd to ſhake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehenſive of a Breach, and ſuggeſted milder Counſels to the Pope; and the King's Agents aſſur'd him, that if he would give the King Satisfaction, the late Acts againſt *Annates* or *Firſt-Fruits*, ſhould not be put in Execution. At that Time the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was conſider'd as an Oracle in the Conſiſtory, therefore the King's Agents reſolv'd to gain him with great Promiſes; but he ſubtilly reply'd, *That Princes were liberal of their Promiſes, 'till their Turns were ſerv'd, and then uſually forgot them.* Therefore before he would proceed he caus'd Doctor *Bennet* to give him a Promiſe in Writing of the Biſhoprick of *Ely*, or the firſt that became vacant, and he alſo ingag'd that the King ſhould procure him Benefices in *France* to the Value of ſix thouſand Ducats a Year, for the Service he ſhould do him by his Divorce. This was an Argument of ſuch powerful Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it abſolutely turn'd him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter of the King's Cauſe, tho' with no ſmall Artifice. Several other Cardinals were likewiſe mollify'd and prevail'd upon by the ſame Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Excuſatory Plea in twenty eight Articles; and it was order'd that three at a Hearing ſhould be diſcuſs'd before the Conſiſtory, 'till all ſhould be examin'd: But that Court ſitting no more than once a Week, the Imperialiſts, after ſome of them had been heard, procur'd an Order, that the reſt for greater Diſpatch ſhould be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope: Which being refus'd by *Karne*, it was referr'd back to the Conſiſtory. Againſt this the Imperialiſts proteſted, and refus'd to appear any more; upon which *Karne* complain'd of their Contumacy, declaring, they were diſtruſtful of their Cauſe.

Some Cardinals gain'd to the King's Side.

During the Examination of this Plea, News were brought to *Rome* from *England*, That a Prieſt for preaching up the Pope's Power was caſt into Priſon; and that a Perſon committed by the Arch-Biſhop for Hereſie, appeal'd to the King as *Supream Head*, which was receiv'd and judg'd in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this; but the King's Agents only ſaid, *The beſt Method to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Juſtice.* At this Time a Bull being deſir'd, was granted to the King for ſuppreſſing ſome Monaſteries, and erecting ſix new Biſhopricks out of them. *Cheſter* was nam'd for one; and the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was ſo pleas'd with the Revenue deſign'd for it, that he ſecur'd it to himſelf, 'till *Ely* ſhould fall vacant. In concluſion, the Pope ſeem'd to favour the King's Excuſatory Plea, which rais'd the Clamours of the Imperialiſts; but this amounting to no more than to excuſe the King's perſonal Appearance, the new-gain'd Cardinals adviſ'd the King to ſend over a Proxy for anſwering to the Merits of the Cauſe, and not to waſte more Time in that Dilatory Plea; *and they having before declar'd themſelves againſt the King in that Plea, could now with the better Credit ſerve him in the Other.* The Vacation coming on, it was reſolv'd by the Cardinals

A Bull for erecting ſix new Biſhopricks.

nals then neither to admit nor reject the Plea; but both the Pope and College wrote to the King to send over a Proxy for determining the Matter next Winter. Doctor *Bonner* was also sent to *England* to assure the King, That the Pope was now so much in the *French* Interest, that he might confidently refer his Matter to him; and likewise to declare to him, 'That since the grand Question 'was, Whether the Pope could grant the Dispensation or not, it could not re-'gularly be committed to Legates, but must be judg'd by the Pope and the Con-'sistory.

A new Session of Parliament.

During these dilatory and fruitless Proceedings at *Rome*, a new Session of Parliament was call'd in *England*; in which the Clergy gave in their Answer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Sessions. But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he express'd his Displeasure against one *Temse*, a Member of their House, who had mov'd for an Address, That the Queen might be brought back to the Court, and declar'd, *That the Subject touch'd his Conscience, which was not to be determin'd by their House: He wish'd the Marriage was good, but many Divines had declar'd it unlawful: He did not make this Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; but as his Conscience was troubled, he desir'd the same might be reported to the House.* Shortly after, the King sent again for the Speaker, and told him, *That he had found the chief Clergy of the Realm were but half Subjects, or something less.* For it appear'd that every Bishop or Abbot, at the entering upon his Dignity, took an Oath to the Pope, inconsistent with that of their Fidelity to the King, which Contradiction he desir'd might be remov'd by the Parliament. Whereupon these two Oaths being by the King's Order read and consider'd, the Parliament so treated the Matter, as it occasion'd the final Renunciation of the Pope's Authority about two Years after. A Plague put a sudden End to this Session; about which Time, Sir *Thomas More* laid down his Office of Lord Chancellor, which was conferr'd on Sir *Thomas Audley*. He now saw how far the King's Designs tended; and tho' he was for opposing the Papal Incroachments, and chearfully concurr'd with the Suit of the *Premunire*; yet when he saw a total Rupture like to ensue, he could not keep Pace with others, but retir'd to a private Life with a Greatness of Mind equal to what the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had express'd on such Occasions. He disliked Mrs. *Bolen*, and her Father, who endeavour'd to fasten some criminal Imputations on him, in the Distribution of Justice; but his Integrity was such, as nothing could be brought against him to blemish his Reputation.

Sir Thomas More *quits his Office.*

A second Enterview between the Kings of England *and* France.

In *September* following the King created Mrs. *Anne Bolen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, that she might have a gradual Rise to that Height for which he had design'd her. And in *October* he pass'd the Seas with her, and had a solemn Enterview with the *French* King, according to former Articles; where on both Sides all pass'd all possible Compliments and Endearments, with the utmost State and Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted of all their Affairs. Extraordinary Entertainments and Diversions were made for them both at *Boloign* and *Calais*; and their Rule of Proceeding was, That while *Francis* was on *French* Ground, he gave Place, but when he came to the *English* Pale he receiv'd it. As to the Matter of King *Henry*'s Divorce, *Francis* incourag'd him to proceed to a second Marriage, promising to assist him in it, if Occasion so requir'd; and assur'd him, That he intended to restrain the Payment of *First-Fruits* to *Rome*, and would demand of the Pope a Redress of that and other Grievances, which if deny'd, Remedies should be sought in a Provincial Council. An Enterview was also propos'd between the Pope and him, at which he desir'd King *Henry* to be present, to which he was not unwilling, if he could have Assurance that his Business would finally be determin'd. The Pope about this Time offer'd to King *Henry* to send a Legate to any indifferent Place out of *England*, to form the Process, reserving only the final Sentence to himself; and propos'd to him, and all Princes, a general Truce, that so he might call a

general Council. The King of *England* in his Reply declar'd, 'That it was 'contrary to his Prerogative to ſend a Proxy to appear at *Rome*; That by the 'Decrees of General Councils, all Cauſes ought to be judg'd on the Place, and 'by a Provincial Council; and that it was more proper to judge it in *England*, 'than any other Place, That by his Coronation Oath, he was bound to main-'tain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects, and not to 'appear before any other Foreign Court. So Sir *Thomas Elliot* was ſent over with Inſtructions, to move that the Cauſe might be judg'd in *England*: Yet if the Pope had real Intentions to give the King Satisfaction, he was not to inſiſt on that Particular. And to make the Cardinal of *Ravenna* ſure, he ſent him the Offer of the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, then vacant.

The King's ſecond Marriage, with Anne Bolen.

But before any Anſwers could be return'd, the King marry'd the late advanc'd Mrs. *Bolen*, on the fourteenth Day of *November*, at *Calais*; the Office being perform'd by *Rowland Lee*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, with great Privacy, tho' in the Preſence of the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Father, her Mother, her Brother, and Doctor *Cranmer*. It was now concluded among them, That the former Marriage being declar'd void by the profoundeſt Heads in *Europe*, the King might lawfully proceed to another: And probably it was hop'd, that as the Pope himſelf had formerly propos'd the very Method, ſo he would now readily join with him. But tho' the Pope had join'd himſelf to *France*, yet he ſtill ſo much dreaded the Emperor, that he reſolv'd not to provoke him; and therefore would not be prevail'd upon by any of the Expedients which Doctor *Bennet* propos'd, which was either to determine the Cauſe in *England*, according to the Council of *Nice*, or to refer it to the Arbitration of particular Perſons nam'd by the Pope and the two Kings of *England* and *France*; for all theſe he ſaid tended to the Diminution of the Papal Authority. Wherefore a new Citation was iſſu'd out for the King to anſwer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents proteſted, *That as their Maſter could expect no Juſtice from* Rome, *where the Emperor's Power was ſo great; ſo he was a Soveraign Prince, and the Church of* England *a free Church, over which the Pope had no juſt Authority.*

A. D. 1533. Reg. 24/25

The Parliament condemns all Appeals to Rome.

In the mean Time the threaten'd Breach with the See of *Rome* was much promoted by a new Seſſion of Parliament, begun on the fourteenth of *February*, which paſs'd an Act, condemning all Appeals to the Pope; declaring, 'That 'the Crown was Imperial, and the Nation a compleat Body, with full Power 'to do Juſtice in all Caſes, both Spiritual and Temporal: And that as former 'Kings had maintain'd the Liberties of the Kingdom againſt the Uſurpations of '*Rome*, ſo they found the great Inconveniences of allowing Appeals in Ma-'trimonial Cauſes, by occaſioning unreaſonable Charges and Delays: Therefore 'it was enacted, That thoſe hereafter ſhould be judg'd in the Kingdom, and no 'Regard had to any Appeals to *Rome*, or Cenſures from it; but Sentences 'given in *England*, were to have their full Effect; and all that executed any 'Cenſure from *Rome*, were to incur a *Premunire*. Appeals were to be from 'the Arch-Deacon to the Biſhop, and from him to the Arch-Biſhop: Only in 'Cauſes that concern'd the King the Appeal was to be to the Convocation. This Matter was likewiſe diſcuſs'd in the Convocation, which at preſent wanted a Head; for in the preceding Year dy'd *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been a great Patron of Learning, a good Canoniſt, and a wiſe Stateſman, but a cruel Perſecutor of Hereticks, and too much inclin'd to believe Fanatical Stories. Doctor *Cranmer* was then in *Germany*, diſputing in the King's Cauſe with ſome of the Emperor's Divines. The King reſolv'd to advance him to that Dignity, and ſent a Meſſage to haſten his Return; but a Promotion ſo far above his Thoughts had different Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Senſe of ſo mighty a Charge; and inſtead of aſpiring to it, he was really afraid of it, and he both return'd very ſlowly to *England*, and us'd all his Endeavours to be excus'd from that Advancement. At length, by the King's Or-

der,

der, Bulls for his Conſecration were deſir'd at *Rome*, notwithſtanding the late Act againſt *Annates*; which the Pope granted, tho' it could not be grateful to him to ſend them to one who had ſo publickly diſputed and queſtion'd his diſpenſing Power: Only a ſmall Compoſition was paid, and theſe were the laſt Bulls that were receiv'd in *England* during this King's Reign. On the thirtieth of *March*, Doctor *Cranmer* was conſecrated by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and St. *Aſaph*; in which the Oath to the Pope rais'd ſome Scruples: Therefore he made a formal Proteſtation before he took it, *That he conceiv'd himſelf not bound by it in any Thing contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country*, all which he openly repeated when he took the Oath: So if this ſeem'd too artificial for a Man of his Sincerity, yet ſtill he acted fairly, and without actual Deceit.

Cranmer *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

Upon his Conſecration and Inveſtiture, he took his Place in the Convocation, where two Queſtions were then warmly debating: The firſt was, concerning the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, and the Validity of the Pope's Diſpenſation; the other was of Matter of Fact, Whether Prince *Arthur* had conſummated the Marriage or not. To determine both, the Opinions of the Univerſities and foreign Divines were conſider'd, with all the preſumptive Evidences of Prince *Arthur*'s Conſummation. After a ſolemn Debate, the King's Marriage was declar'd unlawful and null, and by ſo great a Majority in the upper Houſe, that it paſs'd under the Title of *Nemine Contradicente*. And the Church of *England* having made ſuch a full Deciſion, nothing remain'd but a judicial Sentence of Divorce. The new Queen *Anne* began to appear big with Child, which was look'd upon as a great Proof of her Chaſtity with the King before Marriage; and on *Eaſter* Eve ſhe was firſt declar'd Queen of *England*. Shortly after Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, with *Gardiner*, now Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with many Divines and Canoniſts, went and held a Court at *Dunſtable*, near Queen *Catharine*, who reſided at *Ampthil*. The King and Queen were both cited; he appear'd by Proxy, but the Queen, refuſing to ſhow any Regard to the Court, after three Citations, was declar'd contumacious; and all the Merits of the Cauſe, formerly mention'd, were examin'd. At length, on the twenty third of *May*, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the Beginning; and ſome Days after, the Arch-Biſhop gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. Upon this, on the firſt Day of *June*, ſhe was crown'd Queen of *England*, with ſuch Pomp and Solemnity, as was anſwerable to the Magnificence of the preſent Monarch, as may be ſeen at large in *Holingſhed* and other Writers. Various Cenſures paſs'd upon this; but all admir'd at the new Queen's Conduct, who in a Courſe of ſo many Years manag'd the Spirit of a King ſo violent, as neither to ſurfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Niceneſs. Her being ſo ſoon with Child, gave Hopes of a numerous Iſſue; and they who lov'd the Reformation, expected better Days under her Protection; but many Prieſts and Friars, both in Sermons and Diſcourſes, condemn'd the King's Proceedings, as prepoſterous, as well as unlawful. On the ſeventh of *September* the Queen brought forth a Daughter, chriſten'd *Elizabeth*, afterwards the renown'd Queen of *England*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was her God-Father. Great Rejoycings were made at her Birth, and ſhe was ſoon after declar'd Princeſs of *Wales*; tho' Lawyers thought it againſt Law, for ſhe could only be *Heir preſumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, becauſe a Son coming after muſt have been preferr'd.

The Convocation condemns the King's firſt Marriage.

Cranmer *gives the final Sentence.*

The Birth of Queen Elizabeth.

In the mean Time the King ſent Ambaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give Notice of his new Marriage, and to juſtifie his Proceedings: At the ſame Time he ſent Perſons to Queen *Catharine*, to command her to aſſume no other Title than *Princeſs Dowager*; and to give her Hopes of her Daughter being put next the Queen's Iſſue in the Succeſſion, if ſhe would ſubmit her ſelf

to his Will. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, declaring *She would not damn her Soul, nor ſubmit to ſuch Infamy*; and reſolv'd that none ſhould ſerve her, who did not treat her as a Queen. All her Servants ſo adher'd to her Intereſt, that no Threatnings or Promiſes could prevail upon them; and what the King did in this was thought below that Height of Mind which appear'd in his other Actions; for ſince he had ſtripp'd her of the real Greatneſs of a Queen, it was too much to refuſe her the Pageantry of the Title. The News of theſe Proceedings made great Impreſſions in foreign Parts: The Emperor ſeem'd ſwell'd with Reſentments. The *French* King was colder than King *Henry* expected; yet he promis'd to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his Account: But he was now ſo intirely gain'd by the Pope, That he reſolv'd not to involve himſelf as a Party in King *Henry*'s Quarrel; and he alſo receded from the Deſigns he once had of erecting a Patriarchate in *France*, for the Pope had lately granted him a Satisfactory Power over his own Clergy. The Emperor was not a little pleas'd with the *French* King's Coldneſs and Backwardneſs; for this might probably ſeparate thoſe two Kings whoſe Conjunction had been ſo dangerous to him. At *Rome* the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction loudly exclaim'd againſt the Attempt made on the Pope's Power, ſince a Sentence was given in *England* in a Proceſs depending at *Rome*; therefore they urg'd the Pope to proceed to Cenſures. But inſtead of putting the Matter paſt Reconciliation, there was only a Sentence given, annulling all that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had done; and the King was requir'd under Pain of Excommunication to reduce all Things to their former State, before *September* next; which Sentence was ſoon after affix'd in *Dunkirk*.

The Pope annuls Cranmer's *Sentence.*

At the ſame Time King *Henry* ſent a great Embaſſie to the *French* King, who was then removing towards *Marſeilles*, where the Pope was to meet him: The Deſign was to diſſuade him from the Journey, unleſs the Pope might be procur'd to give King *Henry* Satisfaction. The King of *France* declar'd he was ingag'd in Honour to make that Journey, but aſſur'd the Ambaſſadors, *That he would remember their Maſter's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.* At *Marſeilles*, the Marriage was concluded between the young Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards King *Henry* the Second, and the Pope's Neece; to whom the Pope gave a hundred thouſand Crowns, and many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonging to him in the Rights of the Houſe of *Medici*. There was a private Agreement made between the Pope and *Francis*, 'That if King *Henry* would refer his Cauſe to 'the *Roman* Conſiſtory, with an Exception to the Cardinals of the Imperial 'Faction, and would in all other Things return to his Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, then Sentence ſhould be given in his Favour; but this was to be kept ſecret. So that *Bonner*, not being truſted with it, and ſent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next general Council, made it with ſuch Heat and Inſolence to the Pope's Perſon, that he was threaten'd to be thrown into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or to be burnt alive; upon the Apprehenſion of which he fled away privately. But when *Francis* return'd to *Paris*, he ſent the Biſhop of that City to King *Henry*, to let him know what he had obtain'd of the Pope in his Favour, and the Terms on which it was promis'd; which ſo prevail'd upon the King, that thinking them ſecure, he immediately conſented to them. Upon which, the Biſhop of *Paris*, tho' in the middle of Winter, took a Journey to *Rome*; aſſuring himſelf of the Scarlet, if he were Inſtrumental in regaining *England*, which was then upon the Point of being loſt. What the Aſſurances were that the Pope gave may be gather'd from a Letter wrote by the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Durham*, which declares, That the Pope ſaid at *Marſeilles*, *That if the King would ſend a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give Sentence for him againſt the Queen, for he knew his Cauſe was good and juſt.*

Yet promiſes to give Satisfaction to King Henry.

Upon

Upon the Biſhop of *Paris*'s Arrival at *Rome*, the Matter ſeem'd determin'd; for it was promis'd, 'That upon King *Henry*'s ſending a Writing under his 'Hand to put Things in their former State, and his ordering a Poxy to appear for 'him, Judges ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* for making the Proceſs, and Sentence 'ſhould be immediately given. Upon Notice given of this, and of a Day that was prefix'd for the Return of the Courier, King *Henry* with utmoſt Expedition diſpatch'd a Perſon, with a formal Promiſe under his Hand; ſo now the Conteſt ſeem'd at an End, and the Wound that was thought fatal, was almoſt healed. But God thought fit to ruin the Attempt; and the Meſſenger, who had a Sea and the *Alps* to paſs, beſides ill Ways and Weather to encounter, could not obſerve the prefix'd Day: Which caus'd the Imperialiſts to ſhew their Reſentments, and violently to urge the Pope to proceed to Sentence, againſt one who had abus'd his Eaſineſs. The Biſhop of *Paris* mov'd only for a Delay of ſix Days, which he thought a reaſonable Requeſt for one who had Patience ſo many Years; but the Deſign of the Imperialiſts was to hinder all Terms of Reconciliation; therefore with the utmoſt Aggravations they urg'd, *That King* Henry *was ſeeking Delays and Conceſſions meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had gone ſo far in his Deſigns againſt the Apoſtolick See, both by Books and Libels, that it was neceſſary to proceed to Cenſures.* The inrag'd Pope was ſo fir'd with theſe Repreſentations, and the News he hear'd from *England*, that without conſulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought the Matter to the Conſiſtory; where the Imperialiſts being moſt numerous, it was hurry'd on with ſuch Precipitation, that they tranſacted that in one Seſſion, which according to Form, ſhould have been done in three. They gave the final Sentence, declaring King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Catharine* good; and requir'd him to live with her as his Wife, otherwiſe they would proceed to Cenſures. Two Days after that the Courier came with King *Henry*'s Submiſſion in due Form, and with earneſt Letters from King *Francis* in his Favour. This ſo ſenſibly affected all the indifferent and wiſe Cardinals, that they begg'd of the Pope to conſider the Matter again, before all was loſt. A new Conſiſtory was call'd; but the Imperialiſts preſs'd with greater Violence than ever, *That they would not give ſuch a Scandal as to revoke a definitive Sentence of a Marriage, and give the Hereticks ſuch Advantages by their Unſteadineſs in Matters of that Nature.* Upon which it was carry'd, That the former Sentence ſhould take Place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperor himſelf. This was amazing to all *Europe*, to ſee the Court of *Rome* throw off *England* with ſo much Contempt, as if they had been ſurfeited with the Obedience and Profits of ſo famous a Kingdom; and their Proceedings look'd as if they had been ſecretly directed by a Divine Providence that deſign'd to draw mighty Conſequences from this Breach, and did ſo infatuate thoſe who were moſt concern'd to prevent it, that they needleſly drew it upon themſelves.

But afterwards proceeds haſtily to Sentence.

Which cauſes a final Breach with King Henry.

When King *Henry* had heard this, and underſtood that he was us'd with ſo much Scorn and Indignity at *Rome*, he was extreamly inrag'd, and the more becauſe he had made ſo great a Submiſſion; therefore he reſolv'd to make a total Breach with that See, that had put him to ſuch vaſt and uſeleſs Expences, and had treated him for ſeveral Years with all the Artifices that could ariſe from Subtilty and Perfidiouſneſs. And in this Matter he had partly anticipated the Deſigns of that Court; for judging it the beſt Way to procure a Peace, was to manage the War vigorouſly, he had held a Seſſion of Parliament from the fifteenth of *January* to the thirtieth of *March*, in which he procur'd a great Change in the whole Conſtitution of the Government of the Church. The Pope's Power had then for four Years together been nicely examin'd and diſputed in *England*; in which the Repreſentatives proceeded by theſe Steps. They firſt controverted his Power of diſpenſing with the Law of God: From that they paſs'd on to examine what Juriſdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the convicting the Clergy in a *Premunire* with their Submiſſion: And

A. D. 1534. Reg. 25, 26.

The Steps towards deſtroying the Pope's Supremacy in England.

And that led them to diſpute the Pope's Right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they condemn'd: And the condemning all Appeals to *Rome*, naturally follow'd that. And now ſo many Branches of that Power being cut off, the very Root was next ſtruck at, and the Foundations of the Papal Authority were examin'd. For near a Year together there had been many publick Debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the Subject was long canvaſs'd, and all that could be alledg'd on both Sides maturely conſider'd. The ſeveral Arguments being fully open'd in many Diſputes, and publiſh'd in ſeveral Books, all the Biſhops, Abbots and Priors in *England*, excepting *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, were ſo far ſatisfy'd with them, or ſo unwilling to leave their Preferments, that they reſolv'd to comply with the Changes which the King was reſolv'd to make: *Fiſher* was in great Eſteem for Piety and Strictneſs of Life, therefore great Pains were us'd by the Arch-Biſhop and others to bring him to a Compliance, but with no Effect.

Every *Sunday* during this famous Seſſion of Parliament, a Biſhop preach'd at St. *Paul*'s, and declar'd, That the Pope had no Authority in *England*: Before this, they had only ſaid That a general Council was above him, and the Exactions of the *Roman* Court, and Appeals to it were unlawful; but now they rais'd a Strain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the ninth Day of *March* the Houſe of Commons began the noted Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and ſent it to the Lords in five Days Time; who after ſix Days longer paſs'd it without Oppoſition. In this Bill 'They ſet forth the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, grounded on the Pope's 'Power of Diſpenſing; and that as none could diſpence with the Laws of God, 'ſo the King and Parliament only could diſpenſe with the Laws of the Land: 'Therefore ſuch Licences or Diſpenſations as were formerly in uſe, ſhould for 'the future be granted by the two Arch-Biſhops, ſome of which were to be 'confirm'd under the great Seal; and they appointed that hereafter all Com'merce with *Rome* ſhould ceaſe. They alſo declar'd, That they did not deſign 'to alter any Article of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or of that which was 'declar'd neceſſary to Salvation. They confirm'd all the Exemptions granted 'to Monaſteries by former Popes, but ſubjected them to the King's Viſitation; 'and gave the King and his Council Power to examine and reform all Indul'gences and Privileges granted by the Pope: The Offenders againſt this Law 'were to be puniſh'd according to the Statutes of *Premunire*. This Act reducing the Monaſteries entirely to the King's Authority, put them in no ſmall Confuſion; and thoſe who lov'd the Reformation, rejoyc'd both to ſee the Pope's Power extirpated, and to find the Scriptures made the Standard of Religion.

It is deſtroy'd by Act of Parliament.

After this, another remarkable Act paſs'd both Houſes in ſix Days Time, and without any Oppoſition, 'Setling the Succeſſion of the Crown; confirm'ing the Sentence of Divorce, and the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, 'and declaring all Marriages within the Decrees prohibited by *Moſes* to be 'unlawful: All that marry'd within them were appointed to be divorc'd, 'and their Iſſue illegitimated; and the Succeſſion to the Crown was ſetled 'upon the King's Iſſue by the preſent Queen *Anne*, or in Default of that, to 'the King's right Heirs, for ever. All were to take a particular Oath, to main'tain the Contents of this Act, againſt all manner of Perſons whatſoever; and 'if any refus'd the Oath when requir'd, or ſhould ſay any Thing to the Slander 'of the King's Marriage, he was to be judg'd guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, 'and to be puniſh'd accordingly. And thus was the King's Marriage confirm'd 'by Parliament; and when the Commons return'd this Bill to the Lords, they ſent them another with it, which was receiv'd and paſs'd, regulating the Proceedings againſt Hereticks, 'That whereas by a Statute of *Henry* the Fourth, 'Biſhops might commit Perſons upon Suſpicion of Hereſie; and Hereſie being 'generally defin'd, *To be whatever was contrary to the Scriptures, or Canonical Sanctions*, which was liable to great Ambiguity; therefore that Statute 'was

The Act of the Succeſſion.

Another to regulate the Proceedings againſt Hereticks.

'was repeal'd, and none were to be committed for Hereſie, but upon a Preſent-
'ment made by two Witneſſes; and none to be accus'd for declaring againſt
'Things only grounded upon the Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for He-
'reticks, and they were to be brought to their Trials in open Court; and if
'upon Conviction they did not abjure, or were Relapſers, upon the King's
'Writ obtain'd, they were to ſuffer the former Puniſhment of Burning. This was a mighty Check to the Tyranny of the Popiſh Biſhops, and gave no ſmall Satisfaction to all that favour'd the Reformation.

The Submiſſion of the Clergy.

As the Parliament was proceeding in theſe uſeful Laws, there came a Submiſſion from the Clergy, then ſitting in Convocation, to be paſs'd into an Act. In it 'They acknowledg'd that all Convocations ought to be aſſembled by the 'King's Right, and promiſed upon the *Word of Prieſts*, never to make or ex-
'ecute any Canons, without the King's Aſſent: And ſince many of the re-
'ceiv'd Canons were found to be contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws 'of the Land, there was to be a Committee of thirty two, the one half out of
'both Houſes of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy, to be nam'd by the
'King, and empower'd to abrogate or regulate them, as they ſhould ſee Cauſe.
'Appeals to *Rome* were again condemn'd, and an Appeal was allow'd from the
'Arch-Biſhop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a
'Commiſſion for a *Court of Delegates*. A Proviſo was added, that 'till the
'Committee of thirty two ſhould ſettle a Regulation of theſe Canons, thoſe then
'in Force ſhould ſtill take Place, except where they were contrary to the King's
'Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land. In this Parliament another Act paſs'd, for the better regulating the Elections and Conſecrations of Biſhops;
'Condemning all Bulls from *Rome*; and appointing, That upon a Vacancy,
'the King ſhould grant a Licence for an Election, with a miſſive Letter ſigni-
'fying the Perſon nam'd to be elected: Within twelve Days after, the Dean
'and Chapter, *&c.* were requir'd to return an Election of the Perſon nam'd by
'the King, under their Seals. The Biſhop Elect was to ſwear Fealty, and a
'Writ to be iſſu'd out for his Conſecration after the uſual Manner: After
'which, he was to do Homage to the King, and be reſtor'd to the Spiritualties
'and Temporalties of the See; and Biſhops were to exerciſe their Juriſdiction
'as they had done before. All Tranſgreſſors of this Act were made guilty of
'a *Premunire*. A private Act alſo paſs'd, depriving Cardinal *Campegio*, and *Jerome di Ghinuccii* of the Biſhopricks of *Saliſbury* and *Worceſter*; the Reaſons given for it were, 'Becauſe they did not reſide in their Dioceſes, for preaching
'the Word of God, and keeping Hoſpitality, but liv'd at the Court of *Rome*,
'and carry'd no leſs than three thouſand Pounds a Year out of the Kingdom.

An Act for Election of Biſhops.

The Attainder of the Nun of Kent.

The laſt Act of a publick Nature, tho' relating only to private Perſons, was concerning one *Elizabeth Barton* call'd *The Holy Maid of* Kent; who was the firſt Occaſion of ſhedding any Blood in the Quarrel, which was much cheriſh'd by all the Superſtitious Clergy, that adher'd to the Intereſts of Queen *Catharine*, and the Pope. This *Barton*, a Nun of *Kent*, being ſuborn'd by Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange Geſticulations, and to produce ſome feign'd Miracles, accompany'd with Prophetical Sayings, ſhe drew much Credit and Concourſe to her; inſomuch that ſome Perſons of the higheſt Note, as the late Arch-Biſhop, the late Chancellor Sir *Thomas More*, and Biſhop *Fiſher*, gave no little Countenance to her; and notwithſtanding the Danger of incouraging a particular Prediction of hers, *That the King ſhould not live one Month after his Marriage with Mrs.* Bolen, ſhe was ſtill applauded for her extraordinary Gifts. But the Plot being at laſt diſcover'd, ſhe was attainted of Treaſon in this Parliament, and ſhortly after executed with her chief Accomplices; at which Time alſo ſhe confeſs'd the Names of ſuch as had been Promoters of the Deſign, among whom were *More* and *Fiſher*. Upon the firſt Diſcovery of this Cheat, *Cromwell*, now Secretary of State, ſent *Fiſher*'s Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Buſineſs, and to adviſe him to ask the King's Pardon

She is executed.

Pardon for the Incouragement he had given to the Nun. But that Biſhop excus'd himſelf, declaring, *He had only try'd whether her Relations were true or not; and that he thought it neceſſary to diſcover what ſhe ſaid concerning the King's Death, becauſe he knew that ſhe had told the ſame to the King; therefore he deſir'd to be no more troubled with that Matter.* But upon this Anſwer, *Cromwell* wrote him a ſharp Letter, ſhewing him, *That he had proceeded raſhly; being ſo partial to the Matter of the King's Divorce, that he believ'd every Thing that ſeem'd againſt it; that the higheſt Caution was to be us'd before new Revelations were receiv'd; otherwiſe the Peace of the World would be in the Power of every bold and crafty Impoſtor.* Yet in Concluſion, he adviſ'd him *to ask the King's Pardon for his Raſhneſs, for he was confident, that he was ready to forgive that, and every Thing elſe, by which he had offended him.* But *Fiſher* was ſtill obſtinate, and would make no Submiſſion, and ſo was included in the Act for Miſpriſion of Treaſon; yet it was not put in Execution, 'till he drew a heavier Storm of Indignation upon himſelf.

The Oath of Succeſſion ſworn.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, both the Regular and Secular Clergy did in all Places take the Oath of Succeſſion; and none more zealouſly promoted it than *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. And the religious Orders, being apprehenſive of the King's Jealouſies, ſent in Declarations under the Seals of their Houſes, 'That in their Opinion the King's preſent Marriage was lawful, and that they would ever acknowledge him, *Head of the Church of* England; That the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Authority out of his own Dioceſe, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithſtanding his Cenſures; That they would preach the Goſpel ſincerely according to the Scriptures, and pray for the King as *Supream Head of the Church of* England. A Meeting of the Council ſate at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited in order to take the new Oath; among whom was Sir *Thomas More*, and Biſhop *Fiſher*. *More* declar'd *He neither condemn'd ſuch as made the Act, nor ſuch as took the Oath, and was willing to ſwear to the Succeſſion of the Crown, but he could not take the Oath as it was now made*; and *Fiſher* made the ſame Anſwer, but all the reſt took the Oath. The Arch-Biſhop told *More*, *If he did not condemn thoſe who took the Oath, he was not perſuaded it was a Sin, and ſo was only doubtful of it; but he was ſure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not ſinful; ſo there was a Certainty on one Side, and only a Doubt on the other, therefore the former ought to determine him.* *More* ſaid, *If the Parliament of* England *was againſt him, he believ'd the reſt of Chriſtendom was on his Side*: In Concluſion both he and *Fiſher* declar'd, *That they believ'd it in the Power of the Parliament to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown, therefore they were ready to that Particular, but not to the reſt of the Oath, that pronounc'd the King's Marriage unlawful.* The Arch-Biſhop wiſely urg'd that this might be accepted; for if they ſwore to maintain the Succeſſion, it would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation. But ſharper Counſels were then more acceptable; ſo they were both committed to the Tower, and Pen, Ink and Paper deny'd them; and the old Biſhop was treated with ſuch Hardſhip, as to Diet and Cloaths, as can never be excus'd.

More *and* Fiſher *refuſe the Oath.*

For which they are impriſon'd.

In Winter another Seſſion of Parliament was held, in the Beginning of which that memorable Act was made, declaring The King to be the *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of* England, and appointing that to be added to his other Titles; empowering alſo him and his Succeſſors to reform all Hereſies and Abuſes in the Spiritual Juriſdiction. By another Act they gave the King the *Firſt-Fruits* and *Tenths* of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, as being the Supream Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's Room, it was thought reaſonable to give him the *Annates*, which the Popes had formerly exacted. Another Act paſs'd, declaring ſome Things Treaſon; one of which was the denying the King any of his Titles, or calling him *Heretick, Schiſmatick,*

The King by Act of Parliament made Supream Head of the Church of England.

tick, or *Uſurper of the Crown*: And by another Act Proviſion was made for erecting twenty ſix Suffragan Biſhops over *England*, for the more ſpeedy Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God. In this Parliament Subſidies were alſo granted, which had been diſus'd for about twelve Years; and now introduc'd with the higheſt Preamble of the Nation's Felicity under the King's Government theſe twenty four Years, that Eloquence and Flattery could dictate. *Fiſher* and *More* by two ſpecial Acts were attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon; and five other Clerks were in like manner condemn'd, for refuſing to take the Oath of Succeſſion. Thus all Things conſpir'd to pull down the Power of *Rome*, and to make a greater Change than ever had been known in the Kingdom of *England*.

But before theſe Things were accompliſh'd, the preſent Pope *Clement* dy'd, who was one of the greateſt Diſſemblers and State-Jugglers that ever mounted the Chair: He was ſucceeded by *Aleſſandro* of the Houſe of *Farneſi*, under the Title of *Paul* the Third. *The Pope dies.*

Herbert. Burnet. Heylin. &c.

VIII. The mighty King having paſs'd through the Traverſes and Toſſings of his famous Suit, and having with the Concurrence of his Clergy and Parliament compaſs'd what he had projected, ſeem'd now at eaſe in his own Dominions. But tho' theſe Matters were ſmoothly and ſucceſsfully carry'd in publick Aſſemblies, yet the Change was ſo ſhocking, that it caus'd many ſecret Diſcontents, which being fomented both by the Pope, and the Emperor's Agents, wrought him infinite Trouble, ſo that the reſt of his Life was fill'd with Vexations and Diſquiets. The Nobility and Gentry were in general well ſatisfy'd with the Change; but the Body of the People were more ſubject to the Power of the Prieſts, who endeavour'd to infuſe great Fears of a Change in Religion: It was continually inſinuated, That the King was joining himſelf to Hereticks, and that they were favour'd by the new Queen, Arch-Biſhop and Secretary. The Monks and Friars ſaw themſelves left to the Mercy of the King, and that their Bulls could be no longer uſeful to them; and they had ſome Intimations that *Cromwell* was forming a Project for ſuppreſſing them. So they thought it neceſſary for their own Preſervation to embroil the King's Affairs as much as was poſſible; therefore both in Confeſſions and Diſcourſes, they were inſtilling into the People a Diſlike of the King's Proceedings, which had ſuch Effect upon them, that if the Emperor's Affairs would have permitted him to make War upon the King, he might have done it with great Advantage, and found a ſtrong Party in *England* on his Side. But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal *Pool*, an *Engliſhman*, abroad, the Libels that were publiſh'd, and the Rebellions that were afterwards rais'd in *England*, wrought ſo unhappily upon the King's buſie Thoughts, that he loſt much of his former Temper and Patience, and became too ready upon ſlight Grounds to bring his Subjects to the Bar; and his new Title of *Head of the Church*, ſeem'd to have increas'd his imperious Temper, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were oblig'd to regulate their Belief by the Meaſures he ſet them. Yet it does not appear that Cruelty was natural to him, or that he thirſted after Blood; for in twenty ſix Years Reign, none had ſuffer'd for any Crime againſt the State, but *La Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and both under reaſonable Pretenſions. But in the ten laſt Years of his Life, tho' he always proceeded upon Law, yet there occurr'd many Inſtances of Severity, for which this King is rather to be pity'd, than either imitated, or ſeverely cenſur'd. If there had been the leaſt Hope of Impunity, the laſt part of his Reign would have been one continu'd Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuſe Effuſion of Blood, it ſeem'd neceſſary to execute Laws ſeverely in ſome particular Inſtances.

A. D. 1535. Reg. 26/27.

Great Diſcontents among many,

which began to ſower the King's Temper.

When the Supremacy was inveſted in the King, by Law, it was made a *Premunire* not to ſwear to it; but it was made Treaſon to deny it, or ſpeak

any Thing againſt it. As there were ſeveral of the Pope's Agents that ventur'd to break this Law, and ſometimes with no ſmall Inſolence and Obſtinacy, ſo it was thought neceſſary by the King and Council, to make a ſpeedy Redreſs of theſe Miſchiefs. Therefore ſome Priors, and other Eccleſiaſticks, that were criminal in this Matter, being found guilty by the new Statute, were this Year executed as Traitors, being the firſt that ſuffer'd in this Kind. This Piece of Juſtice was not yet become ſo familiar to the King, which caus'd him not only to mourn inwardly, but alſo to have his Head bald, and his Beard, formerly ſhaven, to be cut round; for which his Enemies maliciouſly ſaid, *It was only putting a new Countenance upon a new Dignity.* But if he proceeded thus rigorouſly againſt the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, he did no leſs puniſh the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion. Therefore, as in the laſt Year he had condemn'd *John Frith*, a Sacramentary, to the Fire, ſo he now caus'd divers *Hollanders* in *London*, who invented ſome different Religious Opinions, to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Shortly after, ſome others again were executed for denying the Supremacy; ſo that on both Sides it prov'd a ſevere Seaſon. Only, as King *Henry* found the Terrors already given, not ſufficient to keep the reſt in awe, he reſolv'd to make ſome great Examples, and proceed againſt Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas More*. As to the former, the Pope's officious Kindneſs to him in declaring him a Cardinal, when in Priſon, did haſten his Ruin; tho' he valu'd the Honour ſo little, that he ſaid, *That if the Hat were lying at his Feet, he would not take it up.* He was try'd by a Jury of Commoners, and found guilty of Treaſon, for having declar'd againſt the King's Supremacy; and was condemn'd to be beheaded, which was executed on the twenty ſecond Day of *June*. On that Day he dreſs'd himſelf with more than ordinary Care, declaring, *He was now to be a Bridegroom*; and being led out he open'd the new Teſtament at a venture, and pray'd that ſuch a Place might turn up as might comfort him in his laſt Moments. The Words on which he caſt his Eyes were, *This is Life Eternal to know Thee, the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* On the Scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and then laid his Head upon the Block, which was ſever'd from his Body in the eightieth Year of his Age. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superſtition and Severity. He had been long Confeſſor to the King's Grandmother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, and it was believ'd that he perſuaded her to thoſe Noble Deſigns of Founding two Colleges in *Cambridge*, *Chriſt*'s and St. *John*'s, and Divinity Profeſſors in both Univerſities; in Acknowledgment of which, he was choſen Chancellor of *Cambridge*. King *Henry* the Seventh made him Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, which he would never exchange for any other, ſaying, *His Church was his Wife, and he would not part with her becauſe ſhe was poor*; and he was much eſteem'd by the preſent King, 'till his ſtrict Adherence to his Marriage, the Pope's Supremacy, and the Nun of *Kent*, brought this Misfortune upon him.

Some few are executed.

The Sufferings of Biſhop Fiſher.

His Character.

It was more difficult to find Matter againſt Sir *Thomas More*; for he was very cautious, and ſatisfy'd his Conſcience by not ſwearing to the Supremacy, but would not declare againſt it. Yet he ſaid, *The Act was like a Sword with two Edges, for if a Man anſwer'd one Way, it would confound his Soul, and if another, it would condemn his Body.* This was all the Meſſage he ſent to *Fiſher*, when he deſir'd to know his Opinion about it; he had alſo ſaid the ſame to the Duke of *Norfolk* and ſome Counſellors that came to examine him. When *Rich*, the King's Sollicitor, came as a private Friend to perſuade him to take the Oath, urg'd him with the Act of Parliament, and ask'd him, *If he ſhould be made King by Act of Parliament, whether he would acknowledge him?* He anſwer'd, *He would; becauſe a King might be made or depos'd by a Parliament; but the Matter of the Supremacy was a Point of Religion, to which the Power of Parliaments did not extend.* All this being witneſs'd againſt

The Sufferings of Sir Thomas More.

againſt him, theſe Particulars were laid together, as amounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this he was judg'd guilty of Treaſon. He receiv'd his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had ſhew'd in both Conditions of Life; expreſſing great Contempt of the World, and much Wearineſs in living in it. His uſual Facetiouſneſs remain'd with him to the laſt Moment on the Scaffold; and that Way of Railery had been ſo cuſtomary to him, that Death did not diſcompoſe him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour: Which ſome too juſtly cenſur'd as little and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick, than the Chriſtian in it. He was beheaded on the ſixth of *July*, in the fifty third Year of his Age; being a Man of great Capacities and eminent Virtues, who in his Youth had freer Thoughts, but was afterwards much corrupted by Superſtition, became fierce for all the Intereſts of the Superſtitious Clergy, and wrote much in Defence of the old Abuſes. The Execution of theſe two great Men, chiefly upon a Point of Conſcience, may juſtly be reckon'd among the Blemiſhes of that Reign: Yet we cannot but obſerve the Juſtice of Heaven, in thus retaliating their own Severities to others; for as *Fiſher* grievouſly proſecuted the Preachers of *Luther*'s Doctrine, ſo *More*'s Hand was heavy upon them, as long as he had Power, and he ſhew'd them no Mercy, but the Extremity of the Law, which himſelf felt now to be very heavy indeed.

His Character.

Theſe Inſtances and Examples, unqueſtionably ſtruck a Terror into the Nation, and much haſten'd that great Work of the Reformation, ſo much deſir'd by many pious Perſons in the Kingdom. Queen *Anne* gave particular Incouragement to it, and took *Latimer* and *Shaxton* to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter* and *Salisbury*. Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* was fully convinc'd of the Neceſſity of it, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and juſtifie it by good Authorities, he made a famous Collection of the Opinions of the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion. He was a Man of rare Candor, Patience and Induſtry; and ſo on all Accounts admirably prepar'd for that Work, to which Providence did now call him; and tho' he ſeem'd in ſome Things too much ſubject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet he always ſhew'd he wanted not the Courage that became a Biſhop in ſuch critical Times. Next to him was Secretary *Cromwell*, his great and conſtant Friend; a Man of mean Birth, being the Son of a Blackſmith, but of noble and ſhining Qualities, as appear'd in two ſignal Inſtances; the one was his hearty Pleading in Parliament for his fallen and diſgrac'd Maſter the Cardinal, when others more oblig'd had abandon'd him; a rare Demonſtration of Gratitude in a Court, to a ſinking Favourite. The other was, That when he was in the height of his Greatneſs, hapning to ſee a decay'd Merchant of *Lucca*, who had pity'd and reliev'd him, when he was a poor Stranger in *Italy*, but did not as much as know him, or pretend to any Returns for the ſmall Favours formerly ſhew'd him, he treated him with ſuch extraordinary Acknowledgments, that it became the Subject of ſeveral Pens, which ſtrove who ſhould moſt celebrate his Generoſity. Having by his great Qualifications rais'd himſelf to the King's Favour, he was this Year made *Vicar General*, and Viſitor of all the Monaſteries and Churches of *England*, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was alſo impower'd to give Commiſſions ſubaltern to himſelf; and all Wills, where the Eſtate exceeded two hundred Pounds, were to be prov'd in his Court. This Power was afterwards enlarg'd, and he was made not only a Baron and Privy-Seal, but likewiſe the King's *Vice-gerent* in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and had the Precedence of all Perſons next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the ſame, that the Legates had in the Time of Popery: For as the King's Authority ſucceeded that of the Pope, ſo the King's *Vice-gerent* was the ſame in Power that the Legate's had formerly been.

The Progreſs of the Reformation, by Queen Anne,

Cranmer,

and Cromwell.

Cromwell's Greatneſs.

The King and his Miniſters being reſolv'd to proceed, the Biſhops and Abbots us'd all reaſonable Methods to free the King of any Jealouſies that might be rais'd concerning them. At *Oxford* a publick Determination was made, to which every Member aſſented, *That the Pope had no more Authority in* England, *than any other Foreign Biſhop.* But the Regular Clergy, the Monks and Friars, whoſe Houſes and Government was generally exempted from their Biſhop's Juriſdiction, and more immediately dependent on the Pope, 'till this late Change, were ſecretly averſe, tho' openly complying. And having by a thouſand Artifices gain'd the Opinion of the People, it was therefore reſolv'd that ſome effectual Means ſhould be taken for leſſening their Credit and Authority among the Vulgar. Upon which Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, propos'd a general Viſitation of all the Monaſteries and Religious Houſes in *England*; and judg'd that nothing could reconcile the Nation ſo much to the King's Supremacy, as to ſee ſome good Effects flow from it. Others thought this too bold a Step, and that it might prove too dangerous a Provocation to the Religious; yet it was known that they were guilty of ſuch prodigious Diſorders, that nothing could ſo effectually keep them in awe, as a ſtrict Enquiry into them. To this the Arch-Biſhop led the Way by a Metropolitan Viſitation, for which he obtain'd the King's Licence; he took care to ſee the Pope's Name ſtruck out of all the Churches, and to have the King's Supremacy acknowledg'd.

The Regular Clergy hate the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

A general Viſitation of the Monaſteries.

In *October* the grand Viſitation of the Monaſteries began, to the Terror of great Numbers of impious and ſcandalous Perſons of both Sexes. They were then about ſix hundred in Number, and very lowly valu'd at near two hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides vaſt Riches in many of them; and ſeveral of them had the Privilege of Sanctuaries to all that fled to them. The numerous Abuſes, ariſing from the Nature of their Inſtitutions, as well as the Practices of the Monks, caus'd many to deſire a Diſſolution; and the King himſelf urg'd it forwards upon ſeveral Accounts. He deſign'd to erect new Biſhopricks, in order to which it was neceſſary to convert ſome of their Revenues: He alſo apprehended a War from the Emperor, and for that end, he intended to fortifie his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping and Trade, upon which the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that he reſolv'd to make uſe of the Wealth of thoſe Houſes, and judg'd the beſt Way to effect it would be firſt to expoſe their Abominations, that they might loſe their Eſteem, and make way for their Suppreſſion. The Arch-Biſhop promoted the ſame, both becauſe theſe Houſes were founded upon groſs Errors and Abuſes, and ſubſiſted by them, and that theſe were neceſſary to be remov'd, if a Reformation was purſu'd. The Extent of ſeveral Dioceſes were too great to be manag'd by one Biſhop; therefore he deſign'd to have more Biſhopricks founded, and to have Houſes at every Cathedral for the Education of thoſe who ſhould be employ'd in the Paſtoral Charge. For this famous Viſitation many Commiſſioners were employ'd, and nice Inſtructions were given to them, deſiring them to inquire into all manner of Abuſes and Neglects. Theſe went all over *England*, according to their Precincts, and found in many Places moſt monſtrous Impieties and Diſorders. All the Sins of *Sodom* were found in many Houſes, great Factions and barbarous Cruelties were in others, and in ſome they found Inſtruments for Coining Mony. The Report which was made at their Return contain'd many abominable Particulars, not fit to be mention'd by a Chriſtian, or a modeſt Pen; ſome of which were Printed, but the greateſt Part are are loſt. Upon theſe Diſcoveries, ſome of the Houſes immediately ſurrender'd to the King, the firſt of which was *Langden* in *Kent*; which Example was follow'd by two others in the ſame Year, and four more in that which follow'd.

Some of them ſurrender to the King.

A. D. 1536. Reg. 27/28. The ſame Year the Parliament met in *February*, after a Prorogation of fourteen Months; and one main Buſineſs of this Seſſion was the ſuppreſſing all the Monaſteries under two hundred Pounds a Year. Accordingly an Act was made,

'Setting

'Setting forth the infinite Diſorders of thoſe ſmaller Houſes, and the many 'unſucceſsful Attempts that had been made to reform them; therefore the Re- 'ligious that were in them, were order'd to be remov'd into the larger Houſes, 'where Religion was better obſerv'd, and the Revenues of them were given 'to the King. Thoſe Houſes, which were three hundred and ſeventy in Number, were much richer than they ſeem'd to be: For an Abuſe that had run over *Europe*, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their firſt Rates, and exacting great Fines upon all Occaſions, was ſo groſs in thoſe Houſes, that ſome rated but at two hundred Pounds were in real Value worth many thouſands. In this Parliament an Act was made of another Nature, which had been long projected, which was for the intire uniting and incorporating of the Principality of *Wales* with the Kingdom of *England*; which was now compleatly effected, two hundred and fifty two Years after that Country had been conquer'd or reduc'd by King *Edward* the Firſt. In the Convocation, which ſate at the ſame Time, a Motion was made for tranſlating the Bible into *Engliſh*, which had been formerly promis'd when *Tindal*'s Tranſlation was condemn'd. The Matter was fully debated on both Sides, and at length by the Means of the Arch-Biſhop and ſome others, it was carry'd in the Affirmative; and by Queen *Anne*'s Intereſt it was ſo far promoted at Court, that Orders were given for the performing of it with all Expedition. After all Buſineſs was finiſh'd, this famous Parliament, which had done the King ſuch eminent Service, and had now ſate ſix Years, was diſſolv'd on the fourteenth of *April*.

The leſſer of them ſuppreſs'd by the Parliament.

Wales united to England.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

But before this happen'd, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Catharine*, who had often been the Subject of their Debates, dy'd at *Kimbolton*, in *Huntingtonſhire*. Her Sufferings begot great Compaſſion in the People, and all the ſuperſtitious Clergy zealouſly ſupported her Intereſts; but now her Troubles ended with her Life. She deſir'd to be bury'd among the *Obſervant* Friars, who had ſuffer'd moſt for her; and order'd five hundred Maſſes for her Soul, and that one of her Women ſhould go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give two hundred Nobles on her Way to the Poor. When ſhe found Death approaching, ſhe wrote to the Emperor, earneſtly recommending her Daughter *Mary* to his Care; and likewiſe to the King, with this Inſcription, *My dear Lord, King and Husband*: In which, 'She forgave him 'all the Injuries he had done her, deſiring him to have regard to his Soul: She 'recommended her Daughter to his tender Care, and begg'd of him to provide 'Matches for her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Year's Wages; and 'concluded thus, *Mine Eyes deſire you above all Things*. She dy'd in the fiftieth Yeath of her Age, and thirty three after ſhe came into *England*; and was a ſufficient Inſtance that Greatneſs and Happineſs are of two diſtinct Natures. She was a devout and exemplary Lady, who us'd to work much with her own Hands among her Women; and the Severities and Devotions that were known to her Prieſts, and her Alms-Deeds join'd to her Misfortunes, rais'd a high Eſteem of her in all ſorts of People. The King indeed often complain'd of her uneaſie Temper; but that perhaps was to be imputed as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to any Sowerneſs in her own. The King receiv'd the News of her Death not without Tears; and order'd her to be bury'd in the Abby Church at *Peterborough*. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her Death ſo decently as became a happy Rival; expreſſing too much Joy, both in her Behaviour and her Habit.

The Death of Queen Catharine.

Her Character.

Burnet, &c. It was but a few Months after, that this flouriſhing Queen met with a Fall more unfortunate and fatal than the other; which in all Probability was occaſion'd by thoſe who now began to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Romiſh* Party. For the King now proceeding both at home and abroad in the Point of Reformation, they found that the Intereſt the Queen had in him, was the great Obſtacle of their Deſigns: She encreas'd not only in the King's Eſteem, but in the Love of the Nation; and in the laſt nine Months of her Life, ſhe gave

The Fall of Queen Anne.

gave above fourteen thouſand Pounds in Alms to the Poor, and was much employ'd in doing of Good. But many Circumſtances contributed to her Ruin. Soon after Queen *Catharine*'s Death, ſhe brought forth a dead Son, which was believ'd to have made ſome unfortunate Impreſſion on the King's Mind. It was alſo conſider'd by ſome Courtiers, That now Queen *Catharine* was dead, the King might marry another Wife, and be fully reconcil'd with the Pope and Emperor: And the Iſſue by any other Marriage would never be queſtion'd; whereas, while Queen *Anne* liv'd, the Ground of the Controverſie ſtill remain'd, and her Marriage being accounted null from the Beginning, would never be allow'd by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party. With theſe Reaſons of State, the King's Affections too much concurr'd; for he now entertain'd a ſecret Love for the Lady *Jane Seymour*, who had all the Charms of Youth and Beauty, and her Humour temper'd between the Gravity of Queen *Catharine*, and the Gaiety of Queen *Anne*. The poor unfortunate Queen us'd all poſſible Arts to blow up an expiring Flame in his Breaſt; but the King was chang'd, and inſtead of being warm'd by her Careſſes, he began to conſider them as Artifices to varniſh over ſome other criminal Affection. Her chearful Humour was not always govern'd by the moſt nice Decency, and exact Rules of Diſcretion; and her Brother's Wife, a Woman of Infamy, being jealous of her Husband and her, poſſeſs'd the King with her own Apprehenſions, and fill'd his furious Head with many Stories. *Norris*, *Weſton* and *Brereton* the King's Servants, and *Smeton* a Muſician, were by her Enemies thought to be too officious about her; and ſomething was pretended to have been ſworn by the Lady *Wyngfield* at her Death, that determin'd the King, but we find nothing particular. It is reported beſides, that when the King held a Tournament at *Greenwich*, he was diſpleas'd at the Queen for letting her Handkerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but this ſeems a Fiction, becauſe the Parliament was ſummon'd the Day before that, and then was her Ruin determin'd.

The King jealous of her.

She is impriſon'd.

However it was, upon that Day the King confin'd her to her Chamber, and order'd her Brother, and the four forementioned Perſons to be committed to the Tower, and her ſelf to be ſent after them the Day following. On the River ſome Privy-Counſellors came to examine her, but ſhe made deep Proteſtations of her Innocence; and as ſhe landed at the Tower, ſhe fell down on her Knees, and pray'd Heav'n *ſo to aſſiſt her, as ſhe was free from the Crimes laid to her Charge.* The Confuſion ſhe was in ſoon rais'd a Storm of Vapours within her; ſometimes ſhe laugh'd, and at other Times wept exceſſively: She was alſo devout and light by Turns; and ſometimes ſhe ſtood upon her Vindication, and at other Times ſhe confeſs'd ſome Indiſcretions, which ſhe afterwards deny'd. All about her took Advantage from every Word that fell from her, and ſent it immediately to Court. The Duke of *Norfolk* and others that came to examine her, the better to make Diſcoveries told her, That both *Norris* and *Smeton* had accus'd her; which tho' falſe had this Effect on her, that it caus'd her to confeſs ſome ſlight Acts of Indiſcretion, tho' no ways eſſential, which totally alienated the King from her. Yet whether theſe ſmall Acknowledgements were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Hyſterical Emotions, is very uncertain. All the Court now turn'd againſt the miſerable Queen, and began to adore a riſing Sun; but *Cranmer* was a Stranger to thoſe Arts, and had a more noble Soul; therefore her Enemies procur'd an Order for him not to come to Court. Yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long and nice Letter in that critical Juncture, in which 'he acknowledg'd if the 'Crimes reported of the Queen were true, it was the greateſt Affliction that 'ever befel the King, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with Patience and 'Submiſſion to the Will of God: He confeſs'd he never had a better Opinion 'of any Woman than of her; and that next the King, he was more oblig'd to 'her, than to all Perſons living; and therefore he begg'd the King's leave to 'pray

Cranmer *writes for her to the King.*

'pray that ſhe might be found Innocent: He lov'd her not a little, becauſe of 'the Love which ſhe ſeem'd to bear to God, and his Goſpel; but if ſhe were 'guilty, all that lov'd the Goſpel muſt hate her, as having given the greateſt 'Slander to the Goſpel: But he pray'd the King not to entertain any Prejudice 'to the Goſpel on her Account, nor give the World reaſon to ſay, *That his* '*Love to that was founded on the Power ſhe had with him.* But Jealouſie, and the King's new Affection, had now defac'd all the Remainders of Eſteem for his once belov'd Queen: Therefore *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* were all brought to their Trial at *Weſtminſter-Hall.* They all pleaded not guilty; only *Smeton*, probably in hopes of ſaving his Life, confeſs'd Lewdneſs with the Queen; and he with the other three were pronounc'd guilty, and condemn'd to die as Traitors.

Her Trial. Three Days after the Queen of *England* by an unheard of Preſident was brought to the Bar, and indicted of High-Treaſon, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as High-Steward, and a Court of twenty ſeven Peers. Her Brother, then a Peer, was alſo try'd with her, and the Crime charg'd upon her was, That ſhe had procur'd her Brother and four others to lye with her, and had often ſaid, *That the King never had her Heart*; all which was to the Slander of the Iſſue begotten between the King and her, and was Treaſon by the Act that confirm'd her Marriage: So that the ſame Act that was made for her Marriage, was now turn'd to her Ruin; which had too near Reſemblance to a Puniſhment from Heaven. It does not appear that any living Evidence was brought againſt her; for *Smeton*, already condemn'd, could be of no uſe; and he never being brought to confront her, gave great Suſpicion, that his Confeſſion was extorted by bare Practices. All the Evidence we find, was the Declaration of a dead Woman; yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, ſo wrought on the Lords, that they found her, and her Brother guilty; and Judgment was given, that ſhe ſhould be burnt, or beheaded at the King's Pleaſure. Yet all this did not ſatisfie the inraged King; he reſolv'd likewiſe to illegitimate his Daughter *Elizabeth*, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was now remember'd that the Earl of *Northumberland* had ſaid to Cardinal *Wolſey*, *That he had ingag'd himſelf ſo far with her, that he could not recede*; which perhaps was done by ſome Promiſe conceiv'd in Words of the *Future Tenſe*, tho' no Promiſe, unleſs in Words of the *Preſent Tenſe*, could annul the ſubſequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not underſtand that Difference; or probably the Terrors of her Execution wrought ſo upon her, that ſhe confeſs'd a Contract with the Earl; tho' that Lord poſitively deny'd it, and took the Sacrament upon it, with a Wiſh that it might turn to his Damnation, if ever there were either Contract or Promiſe of Marriage between them. However ſhe was ſecretly carry'd to *Lambeth*, where upon her Examination, and her own Acknowledging a Precontract, her Marriage was regularly declar'd null from the Beginning. Theſe two Sentences paſs'd upon her were inconſiſtent and contradictory; for if ſhe never was the King's Wife, ſhe could not be guilty of Adultery; becauſe, if ſhe was not truly marry'd, there could be no Breach of the Faith of Wedlock. But the impatient King was now reſolv'd to be freed from her, and the Succeſſion of her Iſſue; and in that Tranſport did not conſider, That the Method he took, diſcover'd the Injuſtice of his Proceedings.

Her Condemnation.

Her Divorcement.

The abandon'd Queen having Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other Things ſhe reflected on her Carriage to the Princeſs *Mary*, to whom ſhe had been too ſevere a Step-Mother: Therefore cauſing one of her Women to ſit in the Chair of State, ſhe fell down on her Knees before her, and with a Flood of Tears charg'd her to go to the Princeſs *Mary*, and in that Poſture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveneſs for all ſhe had done againſt her. This generous Tenderneſs of Conſcience gave much Credit to the continual Proteſtations of her Innocence, which ſhe made to the laſt. The Day before her Death,

Her humble Carriage.

Death, ſhe ſent her laſt moving Meſſage to the King, aſſerting her Innocence, and recommending her Daughter to his Care; and particularly ſhe thank'd him *for advancing her from a Gentlewoman to be a Marchioneſs, and then to be a Queen, and now when he could raiſe her no higher on Earth, for ſending her to be a Saint in Heaven.* On the Day ſhe dy'd, the Lieutenant of the Tower wrote to Secretary *Cromwell*, 'That it was not fit to publiſh the 'Time of her Execution, for the fewer that were preſent it would be the bet-'ter; ſince he believ'd ſhe would declare her Innocence at the Hour of her 'Death; for that ſhe had made great Proteſtations of it, when ſhe receiv'd the 'Sacrament, and ſeem'd to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleaſure in 'it: She was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for ſhe ſaid *ſhe had a lit-'tle Neck*, at which ſhe laugh'd heartily. A little before Noon, on the nineteenth of *May*, ſhe was brought a pitious Sight to the Scaffold, where were preſent ſome of the chief Officers and great Men of the Court, to behold the laſt Scene of this fatal Tragedy. It ſeems ſhe was prevail'd out of Regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflexions on the Hardſhips ſhe ſuſtain'd, nor to ſay any Thing touching the Grounds on which Sentence paſs'd againſt her, only ſhe deſir'd, *That all would judge the beſt*: She highly commended the King, and ſo took her leave of the World. She was for ſome time in her private Devotions, and concluded *To Chriſt I commend my Soul*; upon which the Execu-

Her Execution. tioner, who was brought from *Calais* on this Occaſion, dextrouſly ſever'd her Head from her Body; and both were put into an ordinary Cheſt, and bury'd in the Chappel in the Tower. *Norris* was much urg'd to accuſe her, and had his Life promis'd him upon that Condition; but he generouſly rejected the baſe Offer, declaring, *That he knew her Innocent, and he would die a thouſand Deaths rather than defame her*: So he and the other three were beheaded, and all continu'd to vindicate her to the laſt Moment. *Smeton* only was hang'd, and it was ſaid, that he retracted all before he dy'd, but of that, there is no Certainty. Thus fell the unfortunate Queen in the twenty ninth Year of her Age, after ſhe had been marry'd about four Years and a half; and this uncommon Tranſaction met with various Cenſures. Some obſerv'd that ſhe who had ſupplanted Queen *Catharine*, did now meet with harder Meaſure; and they judg'd her faint Way of ſpeaking concerning her Innocence at laſt, was too great a Compliment to the King: Yet ſhe wrote a Letter to the King in ſo high a Strain both of natural Wit and Eloquence, in her Juſtification, that it may be reckon'd one of the beſt compos'd Pieces of that Time. The violent and jealous Behaviour of the King in this Matter can never be vindicated; and nothing more

The King's third Marriage with Jane Seymour. clearly diſcover'd the ſecret Cauſe of the Queen's Ruin, than his marrying *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, the very next Day after her Execution. This Lady gain'd more upon him than any of his Wives; for ſhe was ſo happy as not to out-live his Love to her.

A. D. 1536. Reg. 27, 28. IX. The active and diſturb'd King *Henry*, from the Blood of his Subjects, had now ventur'd upon that of his Wife; and upon this Turn of Affairs there ſucceeded a great Change of Counſels. There was nothing now that kept up the Breach between him and the Emperor, but the Illegitimation of the Princeſs *Mary*, now about twenty Years of Age; and if that Matter could be adjuſted, the King would meet with no further Diſturbance from him: Therefore it was propos'd, that ſhe might be reſtor'd to Favour, upon making her Submiſſion to her Father. She offer'd to confeſs the Fault of her former Obſtinacy, and in general, to yield up her Underſtanding entirely to the King: But that would not ſatisfie, unleſs ſhe would be more particular; ſo that at lengh ſhe

Holling. Speed. Herbert. Burnet. &c.

The Princeſs Mary's *Submiſſion.* was contented to do it in the fulleſt Terms that could be deſir'd: 'She ac-'knowledg'd the King to be the *Supream Head of the Church of* England *un-'der Chriſt*, and utterly renounc'd the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and 'promis'd in all Things to be obedient to the Laws then made; all which

'flow'd

'flow'd from her inward Belief and Judgment, in which ſhe would for ever 'continue: And ſhe alſo did acknowledge that the King's Marriage with her Mo- 'ther, was *unlawful* and *inceſtuous*, both by the Laws of God and Man. All this ſhe wrote with her own Hand, and ſubſcrib'd it; upon which ſhe was re- ceiv'd into Favour, and an Eſtabliſhment was made for a Family about her, in which forty Pound a Quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy-Purſe, ſo great was the Frugality of that Time. The hopeful Princeſs *Elizabeth* contin- nu'd to be educated with great Care, and was ſo forward, that before ſhe was four Years old, ſhe both wrote a good Hand, and underſtood *Italian*; and there are Letters extant written by her in that Language to the new Queen *Jane*, when ſhe was with Child, in which ſhe ſubſcrib'd her ſelf *Daughter*.

A new Parliament.

About this Time a new Parliament was ſummon'd, which met on the eighth Day of *June*: When the Chancellor told them, That the King had call'd them to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, in caſe he ſhould die without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Act made concerning his Marriage with Queen *Anne*. After ſome Debates and Conſideration, upon the thirtieth of *June* a Bill was brought in accordingly, which was ſoon diſpatch'd without Oppoſition: 'By it the Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Accomplices was 'confirm'd, as likewiſe were both the Sentences of Divorce upon the King's 'two former Marriages; and the Iſſue by both was Illegitimated, and for ever 'excluded from claiming the Crown by Lineal Deſcent: And the Succeſſion 'was eſtabliſh'd on the King's Iſſue by the preſent Queen, or any to whom he 'might afterwards marry. But becauſe it was not proper to declare who 'ſhould ſucceed in Default of that, leſt the Perſon ſo nam'd ſhould raiſe Com- 'motions, in Confidence of the King's Wiſdom, and Affection to his People, 'he was allow'd to nominate his Succeſſor, either by Letters Patents, or by 'his laſt Will ſign'd by his Hand. It was declar'd Treaſon to maintain the 'Lawfulneſs of his former Marriages, or of his Iſſue by them; and it was made 'not only Treaſon, but a Forfeiture of the Right of Succeſſion, if any of thoſe 'whom the King ſhould name in Default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp 'before them. The *Scots* complain'd of this Act, by which the King was now made Soveraign indeed, and had the Crown put intirely into his Hands, to be diſpos'd of at his Pleaſure; and his Daughters were now wholly to depend upon his Will: By this alſo he had it in his Power in a great Meaſure to pacifie the Emperor, by providing that his Kinſwoman *Mary* might ſucceed to the Crown.

The Act of Succeſſion.

The new Pope offers a Reconciliation.

About the ſame Time the new Pope *Paul*, who upon the Execution of Biſhop *Fiſher*, had thunder'd out a formidable Sentence of Depoſition againſt the King, the Queens *Catharine* and *Anne*, who were the Occaſions of the Breach, being now dead, he thought it a proper Seaſon to endeavour for a Reconciliation; and therefore order'd *Caſſali* to acquaint the King, *That he had always favour'd his Cauſe when he was a Cardinal, that he was forc'd contrary to his Inclinations to paſs Sentence againſt him; and that now it would be eaſie for him to recover the Favour of the Apoſtolick See.* But the King inſtead of harkning to the Propoſition, procur'd two Acts to be paſs'd, 'The one was 'for the utter extinguiſhing the Pope's Authority; and it was made a *Premu-* '*nire*, for any to acknowledge it, or perſuade others to it: And a ſtrict Charge 'was given to all Magiſtrates under ſevere Penalties to enquire after all Offen- 'ders. By another Act, All Bulls, and Privileges flowing from them, were de- 'clar'd null and void, excepting Marriages, or Conſecrations of Biſhops; all 'which were alſo requir'd to be brought into *Chancery*, upon which the Arch- 'Biſhop was to make a new Grant of them, which being confirm'd by the great 'Seal, was to be of full Force in Law. In this Parliament another Act paſs'd, explaining an Exception that was in the Act for the Reſidence of all Incumbents, by which thoſe who were in the Univerſities were diſpens'd with Non-Reſidence. Another Act paſs'd in Favour of the King's Heirs, if they ſhould

Acts againſt the Pope's Power.

reign before they were of full Age; 'That whatever Acts were made before they 'were twenty four Years of Age, they might repeal and annul by their Letters 'Patents. From all these Acts it appears, that the King was absolute Master both of the Affections and Fears of his Subjects, when in a new Parliament suddenly call'd, and sitting but six Weeks before it was dissolv'd, Acts of such high Importance were pass'd, without any publick Protestation or Opposition.

The Acts of the Convocation.

During this Session of Parliament the Convocation was no less busily imploy'd; and one of the first Things they did was to confirm the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. They acknowledg'd the King *Supream Head of the Church*, and proceeded to many Points of Religion, and to many Complaints of Corruptions and Abuses. Most Mens Eyes began now to be open'd, yet many being blinded by Interest and Design, several Contests were rais'd, and some Attempts made to the Detriment of *Cranmer*, *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, and other Promoters of the Reformation. But all Projects fail'd that were levell'd at *Cranmer*, who was fully establish'd in the King's Favour; and *Cromwell* was sent to them with a Message from the King, 'That 'they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the 'Rules of Scripture, which ought to be preferr'd to all Glosses or Decrees of 'Popes. This being debated it occasion'd new Discussions and Disputations, which might have been prosecuted with too much Warmth, had not the King to end Differences sent a Scheme of about ten Articles to be consider'd by that learned Body. These establish'd the Authority of Scriptures, the three Creeds, and the four general Councils; as likewise three of the seven *Romish* Sacraments, *Baptism*, the *Eucharist* and *Pennance*, with a truer Notion of *Justification*, and the Use of some Ceremonies. After some Consideration these Articles were sign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Bishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty of the lower House; to which the King join'd a Preface, declaring the Pains he and his Clergy had undergone for removing of all Differences in Religion, approving of the Articles, and requiring all his Subjects to accept them with the like Unanimity with which they were subscrib'd. These Articles did not satisfie either the strict Reformers, or the *Romish* Party: Yet the former were well pleas'd to see Things brought under Examination; and since some Things were at this Time chang'd, they did not doubt but more Changes would follow: They were glad to find the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds made the Standards of Faith, without *Tradition*, and that the Nature of *Justification* was rightly stated, and that some gross Abuses were remov'd, tho' there remain'd still some hard of Digestion. Some of the stricter Sort thought that these Articles had too much of a Political Compliance; and that it was agreeable with the Sincerity of the Gospel, still to allow of so many Errors. To which it was answer'd, That our Saviour did not deliver all Things to his Disciples, 'till they were able to bear them; and the Apostles did not at once abolish all the Rights of *Judaism*, but by a gentle Progress wean'd their Christian Converts from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by slow and easie Steps out of their Ignorance and Superstition; whereas driving forwards with Precipitation, might ruin the Design, and alienate those who by slower Methods might be gain'd; and it also might much endanger the Peace of the Nation.

Articles concluded.

When these things were known in Foreign Parts, the Court of *Rome* made great Advantage of them, to let all Princes see the Necessity of adhering to the Holy See; for as soon as *England* departed from that, it began also to change the Doctrine. The Pope had issu'd out Summons for a general Council at *Mantua*, and had cited the King to it; from which the King appeal'd to a general Council rightly constituted. And a Motion being made that the Convocation should deliver their Opinion in this Particular, they drew up a Paper, 'In which they set forth the great Good that might follow from a general 'Council rightly call'd; but that nothing could be more mischievous, than one call'd

'call'd on private Malice and Deſign: And they thought neither the Pope, nor 'any one Prince, had ſufficient Authority to call one, unleſs all Princes, who 'had intire and ſupream Government over all their Subjects, did agree and con-'cur. This was ſign'd by the whole Body on the twentieth of *July*, and ſo the Convocation diſmiſs'd. Shortly after the King publiſh'd a long and ſevere Proteſtation againſt the Council ſummon'd by the Pope; firſt denying that he had any Authority to ſummon his Subjects, and next ſhewing that no Advantage could be expected from any Council where the Pope preſided, *Since the reſtraining his exorbitant Power was one of the chief Occaſions that the World had for a Council.* Many Books were written on both Sides, upon this and other Subjects, in theſe buſie Times: But none appear'd more induſtrious than Cardinal *Pool*, who by his Mother was deſcended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth; and was likewiſe by his Father the King's near Kinſman. To this high Quality was join'd a great Sweetneſs of Temper, and Diſpoſition for Letters, which the King cheriſh'd much, and gave him the Deanery of *Exeter*, and ſome other Preferments, deſigning him the higheſt Dignities in the Church. He liv'd many Years in foreign Parts; and at *Paris* he firſt incurr'd the King's Diſpleaſure, in obſtructing the Determinations of the *French* Univerſities for his Divorce; yet after that he came to *England*, and was preſent when the Convocation declar'd the King to be their *Supream Head.* But the King ſuffering him to go out of the Nation, he could never draw him back again: Inſtead of which he wrote ſeverely againſt all the King's Proceedings, comparing him to *Nebuchadnezzar*; and addreſſing himſelf to the Emperor, he pray'd him rather to turn his Arms againſt King *Henry* than the *Turk*. This Indignity, which was High-Treaſon in a Subject, ſo far provok'd the King, that it afterwards drew a heavy Storm upon all his Kindred.

Cardinal Pool's Actions.

But nothing could ſtop the Progreſs of the vigorous King and his Miniſters, who purſuant to the Act of Parliament, now proceeded to the Diſſolution of the leſſer Monaſteries. Commiſſioners were appointed, and requir'd to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to examine the exact Value of their Revenues and Goods: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a ſecular Courſe of Life; but thoſe who deſign'd to continue in that State, were to be ſent to the larger adjacent Monaſteries; and a Penſion was to be aſſign'd to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life. There were loud Complaints made againſt the Proceedings of theſe Commiſſioners, both of their Violences and Briberies, and probably not without Reaſon, in the midſt of ſo many Temptations and Opportunities. About ten thouſand of the Religious were ſent to ſeek their Livings, with forty Shillings and a Gown to each Man. The Goods and Plate were eſtimated at a hundred thouſand Pounds, and the valu'd Rents of their Houſes at thirty two thouſand Pounds, which were really worth above ten Times as much. The Churches and Cloiſters were in moſt Places pull'd down, and the Materials ſold; all which gave a general Diſcontent, and the Monks were now as much pity'd, as they were formerly deteſted. It was thought prodigious to ſee the King devour what his Anceſtors had dedicated to God and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who often provided for their younger Children and Friends in thoſe Sanctuaries, were ſenſible of their Loſs: The People, who had been fed at the Abbot's Tables, and in Travelling found thoſe to be Places of Reception for Strangers, immediately ſaw the Inconvenience: But the more ſuperſtitious, who thought their Friends muſt now lye ſtill in Purgatory, without that Relief procur'd by their Maſſes, were out of meaſure offended at theſe Proceedings. The mighty Diſorders of theſe Houſes had now but ſmall Effects upon the People, who alledg'd That there was no Reaſon to deſtroy whole Foundations for the ſake of ſome vicious Perſons, who ought to have been expell'd and made Examples.

The Diſſolution of the leſſer Monaſteries.

Great Diſcontents.

Cromwell's *Policy.*

To remove this general Diſcontent, the politick *Cromwell* adviſ'd the King to ſell theſe Lands at very eaſie Rates to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them to retain the wonted Hoſpitality; which would be both grateful to them, and engage them to aſſiſt the Crown in all the late Alterations; and would be pleaſing to the People, when they found the the old Hoſpitality preſerv'd. And upon a Clauſe in the Act empowering the King to found a-new ſuch Houſes as he ſhould think fit, there were fifteen Monaſteries, and ſixteen Nunneries, which were more regular than the reſt, refounded, or rather repriev'd, 'till the general Diſſolution came afterwards. But all this did not ſo pacifie the People, but ſtill there was a great Outcry fomented by many of the Clergy, who laid great Weight upon this Notion, That King *Henry*, being an Heretical Prince, and actually depos'd by the Pope in the preceding Year, was no longer to be acknowledg'd; and this for five hundred Years had been receiv'd as an Article of Faith, and was decreed in the ſame Council that eſtabliſh'd Tranſubſtantiation. To allay or divert theſe Diſturbances, ſome Injuctions were publiſh'd in the King's Name by *Cromwell*, relating chiefly to the regular Behaviours, and faithful Duties of the Clergy of the Nation, which was the firſt Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. This increas'd the ill Diſpoſition; for the *Romiſh* Clergy deteſted this Preſident of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they alledg'd, they ſhould be made Slaves to his *Vice-gerent*: They alſo complain'd of thoſe heavy Taxes that were laid upon them; and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would by theſe Injunctions be brought under great Contempt. Both the Regular and Secular Clergy were ſo ſenſibly concern'd in theſe Things, that they us'd all Methods to inflame the People. The great Abbots were not wanting in the ſame Deſign; they were now burden'd with the Crouds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſs'd Houſes, and they expected to meet with the ſame Fate: Nor were the Fears remov'd by a Letter that was ſent about in the King's Name for ſilencing all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to ſuppreſs them; for this rather increas'd than leſſen'd their Jealouſie.

New Complaints.

A Rebellion in Lincolnſhire.

The People continu'd quiet 'till they had reap'd their Harveſt; but in the Beginning of *October* twenty thouſand roſe in *Lincolnſhire*, led by one Doctor *Mackrel*, Prior of *Barlings* in that County, and diſguis'd like a Cobler. They took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and ſent a Paper of their Grievances to the King; 'In which they complain'd of ſome 'Acts of Parliament, of the Suppreſſion of many Religious Houſes, of mean 'and ill Counſellors, and bad Biſhops; praying the King to redreſs their Grie-'vances by the Advice of the Nobility: But ſtill they acknowledg'd him to be 'their *Supream Head*, and that the *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits* of Livings belong'd 'of Righ to him. The King ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* to levy Forces againſt them, and to give an Anſwer to their Petition; declaring, 'It was not the 'Buſineſs of the Multitude to direct Princes what Counſellors to chuſe: The 'Religious Houſes were ſuppreſs'd by Law, and the Heads of them had under 'their Hands confeſs'd ſuch ſcandalous Enormities as were a Reproach to the 'Nation; and ſince in many of them there were not above four Perſons, who 'waſted the whole Rents in riotous Living, it was much better to apply them 'to the common Good of the Nation, than leave them in ſuch Hands: He re-'quir'd them to ſubmit to his Mercy, and to put two hundred of their Leaders 'into the Hands of his Lieutenants. The diſcontented Clergy having brought ſuch Numbers together, us'd all Methods to inſpire Heat and Spirit into them, and perſuaded them, *That if they did not now maintain their Faith and Liberties, both would be loſt.* Some of the Gentry were compell'd to join with them for their own Preſervation; and they ſent Advices to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to procure the Offer of a general Pardon from the King, which would effectually diſſipate them. At the ſame Time there was a more formidable Inſurrection in

in *Yorkſhire*, which being in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, was like to draw Aſſiſtance from that Kingdom; tho' their King was then gone into *France*, to marry *Francis*'s Daughter. This mov'd King *Henry* to uſe more Expedition in ſetling the Affairs of *Lincolnſhire*: He ſent them ſecret Aſſurances of Mercy, which ſo prevail'd on the greateſt Part, that they diſpers'd themſelves, and the moſt obſtinate repair'd to them in *Yorkſhire*. *Mackrel* the pretended Cobler, and ſome few others, were taken and executed.

Another in Yorkſhire

As to the Northern Rebellion, the Diſtance of the People from the Court, gave them Time to form themſelves into a better Method: One *Ask*, a Gentleman, commanded in Chief, and perform'd his Part with great Dexterity. Their March and Progreſs was call'd *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, having on their Banners and their Sleeves the five Wounds of our Saviour; and they took an Oath to reſtore the Church, ſuppreſs Hereticks, preſerve the King and his Iſſue, and drive from him all mean born Men and ill Counſellors. In a few Days their Number increas'd to forty thouſand; and meeting with no Oppoſition, they forc'd the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Lord *Darcy* to ſwear to their Covenant, and to go along with them. They inveſted *Skipton*, but the Earl of *Cumberland* ſecur'd it againſt them; and Sir *Ralph Evers* bravely held out *Scarborough* Caſtle, tho' for twenty Days he and his Men had no Proviſions but Bread and Water. There was alſo an Inſurrection in all the other Northern Counties, againſt whom the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury* made Head; and the King ſent ſeveral of the Nobility to his Aſſiſtance, particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*, who join'd him with ſome regular Troops. Theſe Noble Men poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Doncaſter*, and reſolv'd to ſecure that Paſs 'till the reſt of the Forces order'd by the King ſhould come up to them; for they were not in a Condition to engage with ſuch Numbers of deſperate Men; and it was probable, upon any Misfortune, the People would have riſen on all Sides. Therefore the Duke of *Norfolk* reſolv'd to keep intirely to *Doncaſter*, and ſuffer the Rage as well as Proviſions of the Rebels to ſpend, and then by gaining a little Time, they might pobably fall into Factions, and ſo diſſolve their Power. They were now decreas'd to thirty thouſand; but the King's Forces were not above the ſixth of that Number. The Duke of *Norfolk* politickly propos'd a Treaty, and caus'd ſome to go amongſt them as Deſerters, and ſpread Reports that their Commanders were making private Terms for themſelves. They were perſuaded to ſend their Petitions to the Court; and the King to ſatisfie them of their Security, diſcharg'd a Rendezvous that he had appointed at *Northampton*, and ſent them a general Pardon, excepting ſix by Name, and reſerving four to be afterwards nam'd: But this threw them all into ſuch Apprehenſions, that it made them more reſolv'd and deſperate; yet the King, to give his People ſome Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the Uſe of all the Ceremonies of the Church.

more formidable.

The Rebels Demands.

At length three hundred were imploy'd to carry the Rebels Demands to the King, which were, 'A general Pardon to be granted; a Parliament to be held 'at *York*, and Courts of Juſtice erected there: That ſome Acts of Parliament 'might be repeal'd; That the Princeſs *Mary* might be reſtor'd to her Right of 'Succeſſion, and the Pope to his wonted Juriſdiction; That the Monaſteries 'be again reſtor'd; That *Audley* Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwell* Privy-Seal, 'be remov'd from the King, and that ſome of the Viſiters of Monaſteries be im-'priſon'd for Bribery and Extortion. But theſe being rejected, the Rebels reaſſum'd their Courage; upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* adviſ'd the King to gentle Methods: He in his Heart wiſh'd that all their Demands might be granted; and the Lord *Darcy* afterwards accuſ'd him, as if he had incourag'd them to make them. The King ſent him a general Pardon without any Exception, to be us'd according to his Diſcretion. In the mean Time the Rebels, finding that with the Loſs of Time they loſt Strength, reſolv'd to attack him and force him from *Doncaſter*: But at two ſeveral Trials, when they had agreed

agreed to pass the River, there fell such Rains, as made it impracticable; which being magnify'd as a Miracle, caus'd very discouraging Impressions. The King sent a long Answer to their Demands, in which 'He assur'd them he would live 'and die in the Defence of the Christian Faith; but the Multitude ought not to 'prescribe to him, and the Convocation in that Matter. As to the Monasteries, he gave the same Answer as he had done to the Men of *Lincolnshire*. For the Laws, 'They were not to presume to alter what was establish'd; and 'he had govern'd them twenty eight Years with Security to their Estates, and 'Clemency to their Persons. And whereas it was reported that when he be-'gan to Reign, he had many of the Nobility in his Council, and now none 'but those of mean Extract; this was false, for at first he found but two No-'blemen of his Council, and at present there were seven Temporal Lords and 'four Bishops in it. He found it necessary to have some that were conver-'sant in the Laws of *England*, and Treaties with Foreign Princes; therefore 'he had call'd *Audely* and *Cromwell* to the Board. If they had any Complaints 'to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but would not suffer 'them to direct him what Counsellors to employ; nor could they judge of 'the Bishops that were promoted, who were unknown to them: He charg'd 'them not to believe Lies, nor to be govern'd by Incendiaries, but to submit 'to his Mercy. Accordingly on the ninth Day of *December*, he sign'd a Proclamation of Pardon without any Restrictions.

The King's Answer.

A. D. 1537. Reg. 28, 29.

When this was fully known, and the Rage of the People abated, they were willing to take the Advantage of it; and all the Artifices that some of the Clergy and their Commanders could use, had no other Effect but to draw such Numbers together as brought them under new Guilt, and caus'd them to forfeit the Benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renew'd their Oaths of Allegiance, promising all future Obedience; and *Ask* was invited to the Court and well treated by the King, that he might learn from him all the secret Correspondences they had in other Parts of the Kingdom; for the Disposition to rebel was general, only all had not the like Opportunities. It was particularly believ'd that the great Abbots cherish'd the Rebellion; for which some of them were afterwards try'd and attainted. The Lord *Darcy* earnestly pleaded his great Age, being then fourscore, and the eminent Services he had done the Crown for fifty Years together, and that he was compell'd for his own Preservation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put into Prison. This gave the Clergy an Occasion to infuse into the People, that the King's Pardon was precarious; so that eight thousand flock'd together again, and endeavour'd to surprize *Carlisle*; but the Duke of *Norfolk* set upon them and routed them, and by Martial Law hang'd their Captains and seventy other Persons. Others design'd to have surpriz'd *Hull*, but were likewise defeated, and many of them executed. Many other small Insurrections were soon dispers'd; and the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Vigour and Vigilance was so remarkable, that he was ready for them in all Places, before they could make their Numbers considerable; so that in a few Months from the Beginning, the Country was absolutely at rest. *Ask* left the Court without leave, but was soon retaken and hang'd at *York*. The Lords *Hussy* and *Darcy* were arraign'd at *Westminster*, and condemn'd by their Peers; the one for the *Lincolnshire*, and the other for the *Yorkshire* Rebellion. *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*, and *Darcy* on the Tower-Hill; the last being much lamented upon the Account of his old Age and former Services. In his Trial he accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of favouring the Rebels; but his late Services were such, as the King would not seem to have any Jealousie of him. After these and other Executions, the King proclaim'd a general Amnesty in *July*, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition; and the threatning Storm dissipated without the Effusion of much Blood but what was drawn by the Sword of Justice. At the same Time *James* King of *Scotland*, returning from *France* with his new Queen, Daughter to

They are all quieted.

The Lords Hussy and Darcy are executed.

to the *French* King, and touching on the Court of *England*, many of the People fell down at his Feet, begging him to aſſiſt them, and he ſhould have all; but he was then bound up by his Father-in-law, and therefore return'd home without giving them any Incouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly promoted by the *Romiſh* Clergy, under the Pretence of Religion.

To crown the King's Happineſs, not long after, upon the twelfth Day of *October*, he had a Son born at *Hampton-Court*; who three Days after, with great Splendor and Solemnity was baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*; the Arch-Biſhop, and the Duke of *Norfolk* being his God-Fathers. After he was Chriſten'd by one of the Biſhops, his Name was aloud proclaim'd by *Garter* King at Arms, and call'd Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*; and ſo attended by the two Princes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, he was carry'd to the Queen's Apartment with great State and Magnificence. But the Joy of his Birth was much allay'd by the Departure of the admirable Queen, who, contrary to the common Opinion of many Writers, dy'd twelve Days after the Birth of this Prince, as appears from unqueſtionable Manuſcripts; having been well deliver'd, and without any Inciſion, as others have maliciouſly reported. On the twelfth of *November*, her Body was with great Solemnity convey'd to *Windſor*, and there magnificently interr'd in the midſt of the Choir. This was a great Affliction to the King; for of all his Wives, ſhe was the deareſt and moſt charming to him; and his Grief for that Loſs is given as the Reaſon, why he continu'd two Years a Widower.

The Birth of King Edward *the Sixth.*

The Death of Queen Jane.

Holling. Herbert. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

X. The prevailing King was now deliver'd from all his Apprehenſions of Diſturbances at home; he was Maſter of his own Subjects, and no longer to be diſobey'd. For he had not only broken the Rebellion of his People, and by Alliance ſecur'd himſelf from the Dangers threaten'd by the Pope; but all the *Romiſh* Expectations from the Princeſs *Mary* were now clouded by the Birth of Prince *Edward*. Being thus incourag'd, he reſolv'd to proceed in his Deſigns of ſuppreſſing the reſt of the Monaſteries, and reforming ſome other Points of Religion. Accordingly a new Viſitation was appointed to enquire into the Converſation of the Monks, how they ſtood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy; and likewiſe to examine what Impoſtors were among them, either in Images or Relicks, which might work upon the Superſtition of the credulous Vulgar. Some few Houſes of greater Value, were prevail'd with the former Year to ſurrender to the King. Many of the Houſes that had not been diſſolv'd, tho' they were in the former Act, were now ſuppreſs'd; and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to ſurrender to the King by ſeveral Motives: Some had been culpable during the late Rebellion, and ſo offer'd a Reſignation to prevent a future Storm: Others approv'd of the Reformation, and were willing to comply: Some were found guilty of ſuch horrid Diſorders, that to prevent a ſhameful Diſcovery, they offer'd their Houſes to the King, and others had made ſuch Waſtes and Dilapidations, that having provided for themſelves, they had no Concern for others. Many Abbots and Monks were willing to accept of Penſions for Life, which was generally proportion'd to the Value of their Houſes, and Innocence of their Lives. Some who favour'd the Reformation, deſir'd to convert their Houſes to better Uſes, for Preaching, Study and Prayer; and Biſhop *Latimer* earneſtly preſs'd the Vice-gerent *Cromwell*, that two or three Houſes might be reſerv'd for ſuch Purpoſes in every County. But the Reſolution was at once taken to extirpate all; and the Viſiters proceeded with that Vigour and Expedition, that a hundred and twenty one Houſes were this Year reſign'd to the King, and thirty three more before the Parliament met. And what further promoted the Downfal of the Monaſteries, beſides the ſhameful Diſorders of the Houſe, was that many of the Abbots and Priors were found guilty of Rebellion and Treaſon, for which ſeveral were executed.

A. D. 1538. Reg. 29 30.

Many of the larger Monaſteries ſurrender.

Yet

Yet all theſe perſonal Blemiſhes did not work much on the Peoples Mind, to whom it ſeem'd unreaſonable to extirpate noble Foundations, for the Crimes of ſome Individuals. Therefore another Method was purſu'd, which had better Effect: They diſcover'd many Impoſtures about Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which Pilgrimages were uſually made. Among many other, *The Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*, had been highly eſteem'd, and drawn many Pilgrims to it. It was obſerv'd to bow, and roll its Eyes, and at particular Times look well pleas'd or angry, to the great Admiration of the credulous Multitude: But all this was diſcover'd to be a Cheat, and it was brought to St. *Paul*'s Croſs, where all the Springs were openly ſhown, that govern'd its ſeveral Motions. Many other notorious Impoſtures were alſo diſcover'd, both as to Relicks and Images, which contributed much to the undeceiving the People. The richeſt Shrine in *England* was *Thomas Becket*'s at *Canterbury*, whoſe Actions and Behaviour may be read in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second. By the Incouragement of the Court of *Rome*, his Shrine grew to be of ineſtimable Value: He had two Holy Days appointed for him, and a Jubilee every fifty Years, with Indulgences granted to all who viſited his Tomb; which in the Year 1420 brought no leſs than a hundred thouſand Pilgrims to the Place. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his ſeditious Practices, or the Love of his rich Shrine, did moſt incite King *Henry* to Unſaint that Prelate. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was ſo heavy, that it fill'd two Cheſts, which were as much as ſixteen Men could carry out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been ſo much worſhipp'd, was prov'd to be an Impoſture; for the true Skull was with the reſt of his Bones in his Coffin. His Bones were burnt, according to ſome; but others ſay they were ſo mingled with other Bones, that nothing but a Miracle could have diſtinguiſh'd them afterwards.

Several Impoſtures diſcover'd.

Becket's Shrine broken.

When theſe Tranſactions were known at *Rome*, all the eloquent Pens were there employ'd to repreſent King *Henry* as the moſt ſacrilegious Tyrant that ever reign'd; who made War with Chriſt's Vicar on Earth, and his Saints in Heav'n; and he was compar'd to the worſt Princes that the World ever ſaw. In many of theſe Cardinal *Pool's* Stile was ſufficiently known, and they were all at leaſt much incourag'd by him; which provok'd the King to ſhow implacable Reſentments againſt him and his Family. The Pope proceeded further; for now he publiſh'd all thoſe Fulminations with which he had threaten'd him three Years before: In which 'He profeſs'd himſelf to be God's Vicar on Earth, 'who had Power to eradicate and deſtroy, and had Authority over all the Kings 'in the World: And therefore after he had enumerated all King *Henry*'s Crimes, 'he requir'd him to appear within ninety Days at *Rome*, and his Accomplices 'within ſixty Days; which if refus'd, he declar'd him to have fallen from his 'Crown, and them from their Eſtates. He put the whole Kingdom under an '*Inderdict*; and abſolv'd all his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance: He 'declar'd him and his Accomplices Infamous; and put their Children under 'Incapacities. He requir'd all the Clergy to go out of *England* within five 'Days after the prefix'd Time ſhould expire; leaving only ſo many as might 'ſerve for baptizing Children, or giving the Sacrament to ſuch as dy'd in Peni-'tence. He charg'd all his Subjects to riſe in Arms againſt him, and that none 'ſhould aſſiſt him. He abſolv'd all other Princes from their Confederacies with 'him, and obteſted them to have no Commerce with him. He requir'd all 'Chriſtians to make War on him; and to ſeize on the Perſons and Goods of 'all his Subjects, and make Slaves of them. He charg'd all Biſhops to publiſh 'the Sentence with due Solemnities: and ordain'd it to be affix'd at *Rome*, *Tour-'nay* and *Dunkirk*. This was firſt given out in the Year 1535; but it had been all this Time ſuſpended, 'till the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, and the Rumour of burning of *Becket*'s Bones, did ſo inflame the Pope, that he reſolv'd upon the utmoſt Extremities. Therefore this Year he publiſh'd the Bull, which

The Pope's Bull againſt the King.

which he declar'd *He had long ſuſpended at the Interceſſion of ſome Princes, who hop'd that King* Henry *might have been reclaim'd by gentler Methods; and therefore ſince his Impieties daily encreas'd, he was compell'd to proceed to his higheſt Cenſures.* The Pope alſo wrote to the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, to excite them againſt King *Henry*; and if this had been an Age of *Croiſades*, no doubt one had been undertaken againſt him. And thus the Breach between King *Henry* and the Pope was now paſt Reconciliation; and at *Rome* it was declar'd equally meritorious to fight againſt him, as againſt *Turks* and Infidels; and Cardinal *Pool* made it more meritorious, in a Book of his writing.

The Thunders of the Vatican had now loſt their Force; yet to prevent any Inconveniences that might ariſe, the King procur'd all the Biſhops and eminent Divines of *England*, to ſign a Declaration againſt all Churchmen who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and all who aſſum'd ſuch Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Chriſt. Many of the Biſhops did alſo ſign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for ſeveral Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were ſubject to the Word of God, as well as Biſhops ought to be obedient to their Laws. There was alſo another Declaration ſign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Biſhops, eleven Biſhops, and twenty Divines, aſſerting the Diſtinction between the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. And to give the cleareſt Lights, this Year the *Engliſh* Bible was finiſh'd and publiſh'd; and *Cromwell* procur'd a general Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it, for which *Cranmer* wrote his Thanks to *Cromwell*, *Rejoicing to ſee the Day of Reformation now riſen in* England, *ſince the Word of God did ſhine over it all, without a Cloud*. Not long after *Cromwell* iſſu'd out Injunctions to the Clergy, requiring them all to ſet up Bibles in their Churches, and to incourage all to read them; with ſome other Particulars which ſtruck at ſome of the main Points of the former Superſtition, both concerning Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Uſe of the Scriptures gave the moſt deadly Blow; yet all the Clergy ſubmitted to the Injunctions without Murmuring.

The Biſhop's and Clergy aſſert the Power of the King.

The Bible publiſh'd in Engliſh.

Thus the Reformation increas'd and ſucceeded daily; yet ſtill the Doctrines of the Real Preſence, and of Tranſubſtantiation were retain'd with great Strictneſs by the King and moſt Divines. Biſhop *Gardiner*, a ſubtle Man and ſecret Enemy to the Reformation, us'd one Topick which prevail'd much with the King, That his Zeal againſt Hereſie was the greateſt Advantage that his Cauſe could have over all *Europe*; and therefore he preſs'd him to begin with the *Sacramentaries*, the Deniers of the Corporal Preſence; and thoſe being condemn'd by the *German* Princes, he had the leſs Reaſon to fear the imbroiling his Affairs by his Severities againſt them. Accordingly a conſiderable Divine, call'd *Lambert*, was brought before the King, and with great Solemnity try'd in his Preſence, and condemn'd to be burnt for denying the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt. His Execution in *Smithfield* was very barbarous: For there was not Fire enough under him to conſume him ſuddenly; ſo that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he remain'd alive; yet he bore it with admirable Patience, and continu'd to cry out, *None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt!* This gave ſome Satisfaction and Life to the *Romiſh* Party, and added Vanity to the King, who now made ſome new Promotions in the Church. Doctor *Bonner* was advanc'd to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, by the Death of *Fox*; and *Stokesby* dying not long after, he was tranſlated to *London*. *Cromwell* thought he had rais'd a Man that would be a faithful Friend to *Cranmer* in his Deſigns of Reformation, who indeed needed Aſſiſtants; not only to ballance the Oppoſition made him by other Biſhops, but to diminiſh the Prejudices he ſuffer'd by the Weakneſs and Indiſcretion of many of his own Party. For ſuch great Complaints were brought to Court of the Raſhneſs of the new Reforming

Lambert's *Sufferings.*

Preachers, that *Cranmer*'s Intereſt was ſunk ſo low, that he had ſcarcely any to depend on but *Cromwell*. There now wanted a Queen in the King's Boſom to ſupport them; therefore *Cromwell* continually endeavour'd to ingage the King in ſuch an Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*, as might prevail with him both in Affection and Intereſt, to carry on what he had thus began. And the Beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, was ſo repreſented to him, that he reſolv'd to effect that Match.

A. D. 1539. Reg. 30 31.

A new Parliament.

But before this could be accompliſh'd, a new Parliament was ſummon'd to meet on the twenty eighth Day of *April*; to which all the Miter'd Abbots had their Writs. After many Struggles by *Cranmer*, and ſome of the Reformers to oppoſe the preſent Proceedings, the famous Bill paſs'd againſt Diverſity of Opinions in Religion. The Subſtance of it was, 'That the King being ſenſible 'of the Benefit of Union, and the Miſchief of Diſcord, in Matters of Reli-'gion, had come to the Parliament in Perſon, and there laid open many Points 'of high Learning; and that with the Aſſent of both Houſes, he ſet forth

The Act of the Six Articles.

'theſe ſix Articles. 1. That in the Euchariſt, there was no Subſtance of Bread 'and Wine, but only the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt. 2. That Chriſt 'being entirely in each Kind, the Communion in both was not neceſſary. '3. That Prieſts by the Law of God ought not to marry. 4. That Vows of 'Chaſtity, taken after the Age of twenty one Years, ought to be kept. 5. That 'private Maſſes were lawful and uſeful. 6. That Auricular Confeſſion was 'neceſſary, and ought to be retain'd. Such as did ſpeak or write againſt the 'Firſt of theſe, were to be burnt, without the Benefit of Abjuration; and it 'was made Felony to diſpute againſt the other Five: And ſuch as did ſpeak 'againſt them, the firſt Offence was *Premunire*, and the ſecond Felony. 'Marry'd Prieſts, who did not put away their Wives, were made guilty of 'Felony; in thoſe that liv'd incontinently, the firſt Offence was a *Premunire*, 'and the next Felony; and the Female Criminals to be puniſh'd after the ſame 'manner. Thoſe that contemn'd Confeſſion and the Euchariſt, and abſtain'd 'from it at the accuſtom'd Times, for the firſt Offence incurr'd a *Premunire*, 'and the ſecond was Felony. All Proceedings were to be made in the Forms 'of Common Law, by Preſentments and a Jury; and all Churchmen were 'commanded to read the Act in their Churches once a Quarter. Theſe were call'd the ſix bloody Articles, which were bravely oppos'd by Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* in the Parliament, who declar'd himſelf bound in Conſcience to vote againſt the Act, tho' he was ſure it would paſs. This Act was receiv'd with great Joy by all the *Romiſh* Party, who concluded they had gain'd their Cauſe: The unhappy Reformers were now expos'd to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any Part of it, but that they were not deliver'd up to the Cruelty of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, but were to be try'd by Juries: Yet the Denying the Benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without Precedent, and was forcing a Martyrdom upon them, ſince they could have no Advantage from their Apoſtacy. However they might have ſome Comfort from what the King declar'd to the *German* Ambaſſadors, who were diſguſted at the Act, *That he did not deſign to put it in Execution, but upon great Provocation.*

This Act being paſs'd, to the Satisfaction of the *Romiſh* Party, another for Suppreſſing all Monaſteries found a more eaſie Admittance. The Words of the

An Act for Suppreſſing the Monaſteries.

Act ſeem to run otherwiſe. 'For by it no Monaſtery was directly ſuppreſs'd, 'but only the Reſignations made, or to be made, were confirm'd; and the King's 'Right founded either on their Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of 'Treaſon, was declar'd good in Law: All Churches belonging to them, and 'formerly exempted, were put under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop, or of 'ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the King. Which laſt Proviſo produc'd a great Miſchief to the Church; for many that purchas'd Abby-Lands, had this Clauſe put in their Grants, That they ſhould be Viſiters of the Churches; and by this they ſtill do, or pretend to continue exempted from the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction.

riſdiction. As the Monaſteries were to be ſuppreſs'd, ſo to counter-ballance their Loſs, another Bill was brought in to 'empower the King to erect what 'Biſhopricks he thought fit, and to aſſign what Limits and Diviſions, and ap- 'point them what Statutes he pleas'd. The firſt Draught of the Preamble of this Act was written by the King himſelf; and indeed he us'd extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand. All Papers in Matters of Religion, publiſh'd by Authority, were revis'd by him, and in many Places large Corrections were made by his own Hand; which manifeſted both his great Judgment, and his extraordinary Application to Buſineſs: And as he was fond of his two acquir'd Titles of *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supream Head of the Church*, ſo he affected nothing more, than to diſcover his Learning and Underſtanding in Matters of Religion. He alſo writ a Liſt of all the new Biſhopricks he deſign'd to erect, which were for the Benefit of nineteen ſeveral Counties, and he had form'd a glorious Deſign of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change made in the Councils and Miniſtry before this took Effect, caus'd but too ſmall a Part of his Deſigns to be accompliſh'd.

And erecting new Biſhopricks.

In this Parliament ſeveral other Statutes were made; particularly an Act to inforce due Obedience to the King's Proclamations, which in ſome Caſes was made Treaſon. An Act was alſo made, eſtabliſhing the Precedence of the Biſhops; by which the two Arch-Biſhops firſt, then the Biſhops of *London* and *Durham*, and then *Wincheſter*, as Prelate of the Garter; and all other Biſhops were to take Place according to the Date of their Conſecrations. Laſtly, a Bill of Attainder paſt, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given againſt the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and others, that had been condemn'd at Common Law; but of ſome that were newly attainted without a Trial: Of theſe ſome were abſent, and others in Priſon; but it was not thought convenient to bring them to make their Anſwers. The principal of theſe were the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*. It was queſtion'd whether this could be done in Law or not: The Judges deliver'd their Opinion, that it was againſt natural Juſtice to condemn any without hearing them, and then when the Parliament proceeded as a Court, they were oblig'd to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they acted otherwiſe, yet ſince they were the Supream Court of the Nation, it could not be revers'd. In concluſion, the latter Part of this was inſiſted on, and the former neglected; ſo the Act paſs'd: And this Counſel was aſcrib'd to *Cromwell*; and he being the firſt that was executed upon ſuch a Sentence, gave occaſion to many to obſerve the Juſtice of Heaven, in making ill Counſels turn upon thoſe that give them.

Other Acts.

When the Parliament was prorogu'd, the King remember'd his trueſt Friend *Cranmer*, and the Apprehenſions he might have from the ſix Articles; therefore he ſent both *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Norfolk* to dine with him, and aſſure him of the Conſtancy of his Kindneſs to him. At the Table they expreſs'd great Eſteem for him, and acknowledg'd he had oppos'd the Articles with ſo much Learning and Gravity, that thoſe who moſt differ'd from him, could not but highly value him; and that he needed not fear any thing from the King. *Cromwell* ſaid, the King made that Difference between him and the reſt of his Council, that he would not ſo much as harken to any Complaints made againſt him; and comparing him to Cardinal *Wolſey*, he ſaid, *The one loſt his Friends by his Pride and Oſtentation, and the other gain'd his Enemies by his Humility and Mildneſs.* The Arch-Biſhop was not only incourag'd by the King, but was alſo allow'd by him to write his Reaſons againſt the ſix Articles, for the King's Uſe; all which he perform'd, to the great Hazard of his Perſon and Fortunes. But the Act fell much heavier upon many other Perſons; *Shaxton* and *Latimer* not only reſign'd their Biſhopricks, but being preſented for Words ſpoken againſt the Articles, they were put in Pri-

The King's Care for Cranmer.

ſon, where they continu'd 'till a Recantation diſcharg'd one, and the King's Death freed the other. There were about five hundred others preſented on the ſame Account; but upon the Interceſſions of *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and others, they were ſet at Liberty, and a Stop was put to the Execution of this Act 'till *Cromwell*'s Fall. The Biſhops of the *Popiſh* Party took unjuſtifiable Methods to inſinuate themſelves into the King's Confidence; for they took out Commiſſions by which they acknowledg'd, 'That all Juriſdiction, Civil and Ec-'cleſiaſtical, flow'd from the King, and that they only exercis'd it at the King's 'Courteſie; and as they had this of his Bounty, ſo they were ready to deliver 'it up, when he ſhould think fit to call for it: And therefore the King did 'empower them in his Steed, to Ordain, give Inſtitution, and exerciſe all the 'other Parts of the Epiſcopal Function, which was to laſt during his Pleaſure. By this they were in Reality made *the King's Biſhops*; in which *Bonner* ſet an Example to the reſt; but it does not appear that *Cranmer* took out any ſuch Commiſſion all this Reign.

The Biſhops hold their Sees by a new Tenure.

And now follow'd the final Diſſolution of the Monaſteries of *England*, of which fifty ſeven had ſurrender'd this Year, and twelve of them Parliamentary Abbies. When all had thus reſign'd, Commiſſioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to ſeize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to thoſe Houſes, and to eſtabliſh the Penſions that were to be given to the Abbots and Monks, and to pull down the Churches, or ſuch other Parts of the Fabrick, as they judg'd ſuperfluous, and to ſell all the Materials. The number of the Monaſteries firſt and laſt ſuppreſs'd were ſix hundred and forty five; of which twenty eight were in this Reign Mitred or Parliamentary Abbies, whoſe Abbots ſate in the Houſe of Lords, which were as following. St. *Albans*, in *Hartfordſhire*; St. *Peter*'s, in *Weſtminſter*; St. *Auſtin*'s, in *Canterbury*; *Glaſſenbury*, in *Somerſetſhire*; St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, in *Suffolk*; St. *Bennet*'s in the Holm, in *Norfolk*; *Bardney* and *Croyland*, in *Lincolnſhire*; St. *Mary*'s in *York*, and *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*; *Shrewsbury*, in *Shropſhire*; *Eveſham*, in *Worceſterſhire*; *Gloceſter*, *Tewxbury*, *Winchelcomb*, and *Cirenceſter*, in *Gloceſterſhire*; *Abington* and *Reading*, in *Barkſhire*; *Malmesbury*, in *Wiltſhire*; *Peterborough*, in *Northamptonſhire*; *Thorney*, in *Cambridgeſhire*; *Ramſey*, in *Huntingtonſhire*; *Battel*, in *Suſſex*; *Hide* by *Wincheſter*, in *Hampſhire*; St. *John*'s, in *Colcheſter*, and *Waltham*, in *Eſſex*; *Coventry*, in *Warwickſhire*; and *Taveſtock*, in *Devonſhire*. The valu'd Rents of all the Abby Lands in *England* were exceeding low; but the real Worth and Value of them was judg'd at that Time to amount to above fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. So that never any King in *England* had ſuch mighty Advantages of inriching the Crown, and making noble Foundations. But whether out of Policy to ſatisfie the Gentry, by ſelling them at low Rates, or out of Eaſineſs to his Courtiers, or out of his unmeaſur'd Expences, all this melted away in a few Years, and his great Deſigns were never accompliſh'd. He deſign'd to have founded eighteen new Biſhopricks, but he founded only ſix; and other noble Projects alſo became abortive. In particular one that was deſign'd by the famous Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, which was a Royal Seminary for Ambaſſadors, Statſemen and Hiſtorians; which would ſupply one Loſs proceeding from the Fall of Abbies, in moſt of which was kept a Chronicle of the Times. However the King laid out great Sums in building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other Ports of *England*; and in the demoliſhing theſe Houſes, he had ſo tender a Regard to Learning, that he not only preferr'd many able Perſons he found there, but took ſpecial Care to preſerve the choiceſt Books of their well furniſh'd Libraries. All the Ground that *Cranmer* gain'd this Year, in which there was ſo much loſt, was a Liberty that all private Perſons might have Bibles in their Houſes; and tho' it was violently oppos'd by *Gardiner*, yet a particular Patent for that Purpoſe was iſſu'd out, and put to the Management of the Vicegerent *Cromwell*.

All the Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd.

The Mitred Abbies.

This

This great Miniſter was now projecting a Match for the King, that might ſupport him and his Friends; and tho' Perſons were propos'd both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, yet *Cromwell*'s Management prevail'd, and the King fix'd upon *Anne*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, whoſe eldeſt Siſter had been marry'd to the Duke of *Saxony*. *Homs Holbin*, the famous Painter of that Age, took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the nice King never lik'd the Original, as he admir'd the Picture. The Duke of *Saxony* diſcourag'd the Match, becauſe the King was making backward Steps in the Matter of the Reformation; but *Cromwell* purſu'd it with a fatal Aſſiduity. It was ſaid, the Lady had great Charms in her Perſon; but ſhe could ſpeak no Language but *Dutch*, which the King underſtood not; nor was ſhe bred to Muſick, which he admir'd: And ſhe had a Stiffneſs in her Breeding, not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at length concluded; and in the end of *December*, the Lady was brought over into *England*. The King was impatient to ſee her, and went *incognito* to *Rocheſter*; but the Sight of her damp'd all his Ardour. There appear'd ſuch Unpoliteneſs in her Perſon and Behaviour, that the King ſwore, *They had brought over a* Flanders *Mare to him*, and immediately conceiv'd an incurable Averſion to her. He reſolv'd to break the Match, if it were poſſible; but his Affairs then requir'd the Friendſhip of the *German* Princes; ſo that he did not think it adviſable to put any Affront upon the Dukes of *Cleve* and *Saxony*. The Emperor had at this Time made a haſty Journey through *France*; and *Francis* and he had a magnificent Enterview, where as the King was inform'd, by the Pope's Inſtigation a Project was forming againſt him. *Francis* was alſo contriving how to take *Calais* from him; it was eaſie for him to have engag'd the King of *Scotland* againſt him; and the People in the North were thought to retain their former Diſpoſition to rebel; ſo that a War made on the King in ſuch Circumſtances, would probably find him at a great Diſadvantage. This caus'd the King to be more tender of offending the *Germans*; but hearing there had been a Contract between the Duke of *Lorrain* and his intended Bride, he reſolv'd to try if that would furniſh him with a fair Excuſe to break off the Match. The King expreſs'd his great Trouble and Uneaſineſs, both to *Cromwell*, and many of his other Acquaintance; upon which one of them ſaid, *That mean Perſons had this Advantage over Princes and great Men; that the former choſe their own Wives, while the latter were oblig'd to take ſuch as were brought them.* But nothing could be founded on that Pre-contract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, when their Children were under Age, and which was afterwards broken and annull'd by their Parents. So *Cranmer* and *Tonſtall* being requir'd to give their Opinions as Divines, declar'd, There was nothing in it to hinder the King's marrying with the Lady.

A new Treaty of Marriage with the King.

At length the King finding himſelf preſs'd on all Sides, on the ſixth Day of *January*, marry'd her; but expreſs'd his Diſlike of her ſo manifeſtly, that all about him were apprehenſive of it; and the Day after he told *Cromwell*, as an intimate Friend, *That he had not conſummated the Marriage, and believ'd he never ſhould: He ſuſpected ſhe was no Virgin, and had ſuch ungrateful Smells about her, as had increas'd his Averſion to an inſuperable Degree.* This was a mortal Stab to *Cromwell*, who well knew how delicate the King was in theſe Matters, and that ſo great a Misfortune muſt needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief Promoter of it. He us'd all Methods to overcome theſe Inclinations, but to no Effect; and tho' the King liv'd five Months in her Company, and lay often in Bed with her, yet his Averſion rather increas'd, than abated. She ſeem'd not much concern'd at it, and expreſs'd a great Readineſs to concur in every Thing that might diſengage him from a Marriage ſo highly unacceptable to him. Inſtruments were brought over, to ſhew that the Contract between her and the Prince of *Lorrain* was void; but the King's Advocates took ſome Advantage, becauſe it was not declar'd whether the Contract

A. D. 1540. Reg. 31, 32.

The King's fourth Marriage, with Anne *of* Cleve.

He Diſlikes her.

tract was in the Words of the Preſent, or of the Future Tenſe, and reſolv'd to make uſe of that upon a proper Occaſion.

Notwithſtanding the King's inſuperable Diſlike of this Match, he was ſo far from diſcarding the chief Promoter of it, that two Days after a Seſſions of Parliament was call'd, he created *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*, upon the fourteenth of *April*; the Male Line of the *Bourchiers*, who had born that Title, being extinguiſh'd. So that being now Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Rolls, and above all, the King's Vicegerent, he was arriv'd at the Height of his Grandeur, and equal to that of any Subject in *England*. This laſt Title of Earl, was too much like Lightning before a dreadful Storm of Thunder; for ſuddenly after, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had ſecret Reſentments againſt him, arreſted him of High-Treaſon, and ſent him Priſoner to the Tower, to the great Surprize of all his Friends. He had many Enemies: The Meanneſs of his Birth caus'd the prouder Sort of the Nobility to be diſguſted, when they ſaw the Son of a Blackſmith advanc'd above them all. The *Romiſh* Clergy had conceiv'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt his Actions and Authority: They imputed the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, and the Injunctions laid on them, to proceed chiefly from his Counſels; and it was believ'd, that principally by his Means the King and the Emperor continu'd in ſuch Miſunderſtandings. The King by his late Informations was now ſenſible, that no Accommodation was like to be made between the Emperor and the *French* King; and he was ſure that either of them would court his Friendſhip, in caſe of a War, which made him leſs concern'd for the Favour of the *German* Princes. This caus'd *Cromwell*'s Counſels to be of leſs Moment; with which concurr'd a more near and ſecret Reaſon: The King did not only hate his new Queen, but had now ſetled his Affections upon the Lady *Catharine Howard*, Neice to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which both rais'd the Intereſt of that Relation, and depreſs'd *Cromwell*, who had made this late Match. The King was alſo too willing to throw upon him all the Errors that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hop'd to regain the Affections of his People. The King had alſo Informations brought him, That he ſecretly incourag'd thoſe who oppos'd the ſix Articles, which highly provok'd his Majeſty; ſo that his Fall was as inevitable, as it was unexpected.

Cromwell ſent to the Tower.

All forſake him but Cranmer.

In his Fall he had the common Fate of all diſgrac'd Miniſters, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted by his Enemies: Only the generous *Cranmer* ſo retain'd his former Simplicity, that he could never learn theſe Court Arts. Therefore the next Day he wrote earneſtly to the King in his Favour, 'Declaring he had found that he had ever lov'd the King above all Things, and 'had ſerv'd him with ſuch Fidelity and Succeſs, that he believ'd no King of 'England had ever a more faithful Servant: And he wiſh'd the King might 'find ſuch a Counſellor, who was both willing and able to ſerve him as he 'had done. So great a Soul had *Cranmer*, that he could not be turn'd by the Changes of his Friend's Fortunes, nor the Dread of an imperious Prince; for had not the King's Kindneſs been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruin'd him. But the King was now reſolv'd to ruin *Cromwell*; and that unjuſt Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties anſwer for themſelves, which he had too much promoted, was now turn'd upon himſelf. He had ſuch Enemies in the Houſe of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was diſpatch'd in two Days, during the Abſence of *Cranmer*, when no one durſt venture to plead for him. He met with more Juſtice in the Houſe of Commons, where it remain'd ten Days; but in Concluſion, a new Bill was drawn againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords, where it paſs'd theirs and the Royal Aſſent. It conſiſted of an Accumulation of ſeveral Crimes, Miſdemeanors and Suggeſtions, and of ſeveral Heretical Principles and Practices, and indeed of ſome great Improbabilities; for which he was attainted both of High-Treaſon and Hereſie. In all this Matter,

A Bill of Attainder againſt him.

Matter, he is thought to have met with great Hardſhips; not only becauſe he was not permitted to anſwer, but becauſe the principal Matters objected againſt him might eaſily have been clear'd, he being able to have produc'd the King's Orders for moſt of them.

Cromwell's Fall was the firſt Step to the King's Divorce; for immediately after, an Addreſs was mov'd to be made to him by the Lords, that he would permit his Marriage to be examin'd. *Cranmer* and others were ſent down to deſire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they order'd twenty of their Number to go along with the Lords in one Body to the King. The Matter being concerted before, he granted their Deſire, and Commiſſion was ſent to the Convocation to diſcuſs it. *Gardiner* open'd the Cauſe to them, and they appointed a Committee for Examination of Witneſſes. The Subſtance of the whole Evidence amounted to theſe Particulars; That the Matter of the Pre-contract between the Queen and the Prince of *Lorrain*, was not fully clear'd; That the King had marry'd her againſt his Will, without an inward Conſent; and that he had never conſummated the Marriage, ſo that they ſaw he could have no Iſſue by the Queen. Upon theſe Grounds the whole Convocation with one Conſent annull'd the Marriage, and declar'd both Parties free; which was the groſſeſt Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign. For as they knew that there was nothing material in the Pre-contract; ſo by vacating the Marriage, becauſe the Conſent was not internal and free, they made a moſt pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties. But in reality, the King was reſolv'd to be freed from the Queen, and the Clergy reſolv'd not to diſoblige him; and they rather ſought out Reaſons to give Colour to their Sentence, than paſs'd it on the Force of thoſe Reaſons. *Cromwell* in the Tower was requir'd to ſend a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but being overwhelm'd with the Greatneſs of his Fall, he ended with theſe abject Words, *Written with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highneſs's moſt heavy, and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and poor Slave*, Thomas Cromwell: And under his Subſcription he wrote, *Moſt ſacred Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.* The Judgment of the Convocation, and their Reaſons, were reported to the Parliament; and both Houſes reſted ſatisfy'd. The following Day ſome Lords were ſent to the Queen, who had retir'd to *Richmond*, and told her, The King was reſolv'd to declare her his adopted Siſter, and ſettle four thouſand Pounds a Year upon her, if ſhe would conſent to it; which ſhe chearfully embrac'd: And it being left to her Choice, either to live in *England*, or return to her Brother, ſhe preferr'd the former; and was likewiſe prevail'd on to write to her Brother, that all this was done with her free Will; that the King had us'd her like a Father, and that he and the other Allies ſhould not take the Matter amiſs. When Affairs were thus prepar'd, the Parliament paſs'd an Act conforming the Judgment of the Covocation, without Oppoſition.

The King's laſt Marriage annull'd.

The King and Queen ſeparate.

In this Parliament there paſs'd ſeveral other Acts; particularly one for Suppreſſing the Knights of St. *John of Jeruſalem*, ſince call'd the Knights of *Rhodes* and *Malta*, who ſucceeded the Knights *Templars*. Another Act paſs'd to mitigate one Clauſe in the Act of the ſix Articles; 'by which the Pains of 'Death for the Marriage or Incontinency of the Clergy, were chang'd into a 'Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act paſs'd, 'Authoriſing 'thoſe Committees of Biſhops and Divines, nominated by the King, both for 'the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to proceed in it; and appointing, That what 'ſhould be concluded by them, and publiſh'd with the King's Approbation, 'ſhould bind the Subjects. But a Proviſo was added, 'That nothing might 'be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force; which Contradiction in the Proviſo's ſeems to have been made to keep all Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings under the Inſpection of the Secular Courts. Another peculiar Act paſs'd, 'That no Pretence 'of a Pre-contract ſhould be us'd to annul a Marriage duly ſolemniz'd and conſummated;

Several Acts paſs'd.

'ſummated; and no Degrees of Kindred, but thoſe enumerated in the Laws of 'Moſes, might hinder a Marriage. This laſt Clauſe was added to enable the King to marry to the Lady *Catharine Howard*, who was Couſin German to *Anne Bolen*, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law.

Subſidies granted. The Province of *Canterbury* gave the King a Subſidy of four Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happineſs under his Protection. A Subſidy was alſo demanded of the Laity, but it was much oppos'd in the Houſe of Commons: Many alledg'd They had given the King the Abby Lands, in Hopes that no Subſidies ſhould be demanded for the future; and it ſhew'd a ſtrange Profuſeneſs, that one ſhould be demanded within one Year after. But it was anſwer'd, That the King had been at great Charges in fortifying his Coaſts, and ſupporting ſuch foreign Leagues as preſerv'd the Nation in Safety; therefore a Tenth, and four Fifteens were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were paſs'd; and in Concluſion, the King ſent a general Pardon, out of which *Cromwell*, and ſeveral

The Parliament diſſolv'd. others were excepted, and on the twenty fourth Day of *July* the Parliament was diſſolv'd.

And now the unfortunate *Cromwell*, who had been ſix Weeks a Priſoner, was brought to his Execution, notwithſtanding all his Endeavours for his Preſervation. Once he wrote to the King in ſuch melting Terms, that he caus'd the Letter to be read thrice, and was ſenſibly affected with it; but the Charms of *Catharine Howard*, and the Endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at length prevail'd: So a Warrant was ſent to cut off his Head on *Tower-Hill*, on the twenty eighth of *July*. Being brought to the Scaffold, his Kindneſs to his Son made him very cautious in what he ſaid, 'He 'thanked God for bringing him to die in that Manner, which was juſt, on the 'Account of his Offences againſt God and his Prince. He declar'd he doubted 'of no Article of the Catholick Faith, nor of any Sacrament of the Church. 'He ſaid he had been ſeduc'd, but now he dy'd in the Catholick Faith; and

Cromwell *beheaded.* 'deny'd that he had ſupported the Preachers of evil Opinions. Then praying fervently for the King, and the Remiſſion of his own Sins, upon giving the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarouſly. Thus fell that wonderful Miniſter of State, who had rais'd himſelf meerly by the Strength of his

His Character. natural Parts. For tho' his Extract was mean, and his Education and Learning as low; yet his mighty Wiſdom and Dexterity in Buſineſs, mounted him through various Aſcents, 'till he had gain'd the utmoſt Height of a Subject. He carry'd his Greatneſs with an admirable Temper and Moderation; and fell more under the Weight of a popular Odium, than any real Guilt, with which he was charg'd. Yet he cannot be excus'd in two Particulars: His too boldly dipping his Hands in Sacrilege, and his too ready joining in condemning Perſons unheard. The laſt of which prov'd his own Fate; which ſeems more like the Vengeance of Heaven, than the Puniſhment of Men. With him fell the Office of the King's *Vicegerent*; and none after ever aſpir'd to that Title and Character, that prov'd ſo fatal to him who firſt bore it, The King is ſaid to have lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miſeries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Family afterwards, were look'd upon as ſo many Scourges of Providence, for their implacable Proſecution of this unfortunate Miniſter.

With his Fall, the Progreſs of the Reformation ſtopt; for *Cranmer* could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hop'd to ſee him made the next Sacrifice; and ſome complain'd of him in the Houſe of Commons, and Informations were brought to the King, that the chief Incouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him. In the mean Time the King purſu'd his

The King's fifth Marriage, with Catharine Howard. Amours, and marry'd the Lady *Catharine Howard*, and ſhortly after upon the eighth Day of *Auguſt*, ſhew'd her publickly as Queen. Still the Eccleſiaſtical Committees were imploy'd by the King, and gave their laſt finiſhing to a Book formerly

formerly prepar'd, but at this Time corrected and explain'd in many Particulars. This was purſuant to the late Act of Parliament, and was an Explanation of Faith, Juſtification, the Apoſtles Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, Free-Will, Good Works; all writ in a plain and maſculine Stile, and accommodated to any Capacity. This was publiſh'd by Authority, and the People requir'd by the King to read it, and print it in their Hearts. Tho' this Book in many Particulars condem'd the *Romiſh* Tenets, yet that Party reaſſum'd much Courage, and *Bonner* began to ſhow his Severity and Cruelty, which occaſion'd *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, three Preachers, to be condemn'd for Hereticks. When they were carry'd to *Smithfield*, three others, *Abel*, *Featherſton*, and *Powel*, who were attainted for denying the King's Supremacy, were coupled with them in the Hurdles that carry'd them; the King affecting in this an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Juſtice. In the end of this Year, the King began to endow his new Biſhopricks: *Weſtminſter* was the firſt; after which he endow'd *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter* and *Peterborough*, and laſtly *Oxford* and *Briſtol*. And here ends the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, which was now digeſted and form'd into a Body. What follow'd was not in a Thread, but by Starts, ſometimes in favour of the one, and ſometimes of the other Party. Nor was he truly ſteady in his Councils as to State Affairs; for ſince *Cromwell*'s Death he had no Miniſter about him, that had a juſt Aſcendent over him. So that the King was now left too much to himſelf, at a Time when Years, Sickneſs and Oppoſition had made him more humorous and impatient than formerly; ſo that more Errors were committed in the laſt ſeven Years of his Government, than in all his Reign beſides.

Several ſuffer for Religion.

Hollingſ. Speed. Herbert. Burnet. &c.

XI. In the latter Part of this Reign, by the Commotion of the unſetled Times, and the growing Indiſpoſitions of the King, Bloodſheds and Executions became more frequent in the Nation than formerly. A little Rebellion now appearing in *Yorkſhire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was an Accomplice, the King took Order to ſuppreſs it in due Time, and commanded that Knight to be put to Death at *York*. Shortly after follow'd the Execution of the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*; which was probably occaſion'd by the late Rebellion, as being judg'd of her Son Cardinal *Pool*'s Inſtigation. The old Lady, above ſeventy Years of Age, being brought to the Scaffold, erected in the Tower, was commanded to lay her Head on the Block; but ſhe poſitively refus'd, ſaying, *So ſhould Traytors do, but I am none*. Nor did it avail, that the Executioner told her *It was always cuſtomary*; but turning her gray Head every Way, ſhe cry'd out, *If you will have my Head, get it as you can*: So he was conſtrain'd to take it off barbarouſly. And thus ended the laſt of the right Line of the famous *Plantagenets*. There ſtill remain'd one of that Name, *Arthur* a natural Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, who this Year dy'd with Joy at *Calais*.

A. D. 1541. Reg. 32 33.

The Execution of the Counteſs of Salisbury.

The End of the Plantagenets.

In Summer, the King with his fair and beloved Queen went to *York*, to meet his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, who promis'd to give him an Enterview in that City. He was an extraordinary Prince, a great Promoter both of Learning and Juſtice; but ſtill unmeaſurably addicted to his Pleaſures. The Clergy of *Scotland* were very apprehenſive of his ſeeing his Uncle *Henry*, leſt he ſhould perſuade him to follow the Copy he had ſet to his Neighbours; and they us'd ſuch Perſuaſions, that being ſeconded by a Meſſage from *France*, they diverted him from his Purpoſe; which provok'd his Uncle, and gave Occaſion to a Rupture not long after. King *Henry* being arriv'd at *York*, he iſſu'd out a popular Proclamation, 'That all who had been aggriev'd for want of Juſtice, 'by any whom he had formerly imploy'd, ſhould repair to him and his Council 'for Redreſs; all which was done to caſt all paſt Miſcarriages on *Cromwell*, and to put the People in Hopes of better Times.

The King and Queen go to York.

He was now ſo captivated with the Charms of his Queen, at his Return to *London*, he gave publick Thanks to God for the Happineſs he enjoy'd by her Means. But this prov'd very ſhort-liv'd Pleaſure; for the next Day the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came to him, and deliver'd him a melancholy Account of the Queen's lewd Life, as it had been brought him by one *John Laſſels*; who had told him from his Siſter, an old Servant belonging to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and concern'd in the Queen's Education, that the Queen had often been wicked with two Perſons nam'd *Deirham* and *Mannock*, with other ſcandalous Circumſtances not fit to be related. By the Advice of the Lord Chancellor and other Privy-Counellors, *Cranmer* put down the Particulars in Writing, and deliver'd it to the King, as not well knowing how to open it in Diſcourſe. When the King ſaw it, he was much confounded, but he lov'd the Queen ſo tenderly, that he at firſt look'd upon it as a Forgery; ſo that if full Evidence had been wanting, it had certainly turn'd to the Arch-Biſhop's Ruin. The King imported the Matter to ſome other Counſellors, and with the utmoſt Secrecy ſent to examine *Laſſels* and his Siſter; which being confirm'd by them, he order'd *Deirham* and *Mannock* to be arreſted upon ſome other Pretences. But they being examin'd, not only confeſs'd what was inform'd, but reveal'd ſome other Circumſtances that ſhew'd the Queen had laid aſide all Senſe of Modeſty, as well as the Fear of a Diſcovery; three ſeveral Women having been Witneſſes to her lewd Practices. The Report of this ſtruck the King into a moſt profound Penſiveneſs, and caus'd him with a Flood of Tears to lament his Misfortune. The Arch-Biſhop and ſome other Counſellors were ſent to examine the Queen; who at firſt deny'd every Thing, but finding it was already known, ſhe confeſs'd all and ſet her Hand to it. It alſo appear'd that ſhe had intended to continue in that impious Courſe of Life, for ſhe had brought *Deirham* into her Service; and at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s Means, one *Culpepper* was brought to her in the Night, and ſtay'd many Hours with her in a Cellar; and at his Departure, ſhe gave him a Gold Chain. *Culpepper* being examin'd, confeſs'd the Crime; for which, both *Deirham* and he ſuffer'd; and others were indicted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment.

The Queen's ill Life diſcover'd.

A. D. 1542. Reg. 33 34. This unfortunate Affair occaſion'd a new Parliament to be ſummon'd on the ſixteenth of *January*; in which a Committee was particularly appointed to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in general, that ſhe confeſs'd, but no Particulars are mention'd. Upon which they paſs'd an Act in the Form of a Petition: 'After deſiring the King not to be griev'd at this Misfortune, they 'pray'd, that the Queen and her Complices, with her Procureſs the Lady *Roch-'ford*, might be attainted of Treaſon: And that all thoſe who knew of the 'Queen's vicious Courſe before her Marriage, might be attainted of Miſpriſion 'of Treaſon, for not revealing to the King in due Time; among whom were 'her Father and Mother, and her Grand-Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*. 'It was alſo declar'd Treaſon to know any thing of the Incontinence of any 'Queen of *England* for the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made 'Treaſon, in any whom the King intended to marry, judging they were Vir-'gins, not to reveal it, if they were not really ſuch. This remarkable Act being paſs'd, the Queen, and the Lady *Rochford*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the twelfth of *February*; about ſeventeen Months after ſhe was marry'd to the King, and had founded her Greatneſs in the unfortunate Blood of *Cromwell*. The Queen confeſs'd the Miſcarriages of her former Life, before the King marry'd her, which had brought her to this fatal End; but did poſitively deny, before God and his Angels, and upon the Salvation of her Soul, that ſhe was ever guilty of betraying her Soveraign's Bed; yet the unbounded Looſeneſs of her former Courſe of Living, inclin'd the World to believe the moſt ſcandalous Things that could be reported. But all obſerv'd the Judgments of Heaven upon the Lady *Rochford*, who had a principal Part in the Death of Queen *Anne*

An Act of Attainder againſt the Queen.

The Queen beheaded.

Anne Bolen, and her own Husband; and her appearing ſo vile a Woman, tended much to raiſe their Reputations again, in whoſe Fall her Spite and other Artifices had ſo criminal a Share. The Attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not diſcovering her former Lewdneſs, was thought extream Severity; for in them it would have been a hard Piece of Duty to have diſcover'd ſuch a Secret: Yet tho' they lay ſome Time in Priſon, the King pardon'd them all when his Rage was a little qualify'd. That other Proviſo, which oblig'd a young Lady to diſcover her own Frailties, if the King ſhould pleaſe to make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tyranny: Upon which, thoſe who thought fit to rally the Sex, took Occaſion to ſay, That after this no one, reputed a Virgin, could be induc'd to marry the King: So that it was not ſo much Choice, as Neceſſity, that caus'd him to marry a Widow two Years after.

In this Parliament there paſs'd another Act that made way for the Diſſolutions of Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations of that Nature. The Courtiers had been practiſing with the Preſidents and Governors of ſome of theſe, to make Reſignations to the King; which were conceiv'd in the ſame Stile with the Surrenders of Monaſteries. Eight of theſe were already procur'd; but they could not make any great Progreſs, becauſe by their local Statutes it was provided, that the Conſent of all the Fellows, was neceſſary to make their Deeds good in Law; which were not ſo eaſily obtain'd. Therefore all ſuch Statutes were now annull'd; and none for the future were any more to be ſworn to them. In this Parliament it was obſerv'd, That the Kings of *England* for many Years had govern'd *Ireland* by no other Title than *Lords* of that Iſland; King *Henry* now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and warlike Nation with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this Time in that Country, he gave Orders to be declar'd King of *Ireland*; which was alſo proclaim'd in *England* during this Parliament, and afterward finally enacted in the thirty fifth Year of this Reign.

The Kings of England *firſt ſtil'd Kings of* Ireland.

This gave Offence to *James* King of *Scotland*; and by the Inſtigation of the *French* King, a War broke out between the two old contending Kingdoms. King *Henry* ſet out a Declaration, importing that the Crown of *Scotland* ow'd Homage to that of *England*; and cited many Precedents to ſhew that it had been done not only by their Kings, but by Conſent of their States; for which he appeal'd to Original Records. The *Scots* aſſerted they were an independent Kingdom, and the Homages they paid were for Lands in *England*, or elſe were extorted by Force of Arms. And thus a War began in *October*, when the Duke of *Norfolk* made an Inroad into *Scotland* with twenty thouſand Men; but after he had burnt ſome ſmall Towns, and waſted *Teviotdale*, he return'd into *England*. In the End of *November*, an Army of fifteen thouſand *Scots*, with a good Train of Artillery, was gather'd together, with a Deſign to march into *England* by the Weſtern Road. King *James* repair'd thither in Perſon; but he was at this Time violently diſturb'd in his Fancy, and imagin'd the Ghoſt of one whom he had unjuſtly put to Death, follow'd him continually; ſo that he not only left his Army, but Commiſſion'd *Oliver Sinclare*, then called his *Minion*, to command in chief. This highly diſguſted the Nobility, who were weary'd out with the Inſolence of that Favourite; inſomuch that they refus'd to march, and were beginning to ſeparate. While they contin'd in this inglorious Diſorder, five hundred *Engliſhmen* appear'd; and the *Scotch* apprehending it was an advanc'd Part of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Army, refus'd to fight: So the *Engliſh* ſet upon and diſpers'd them, and took all their Ordinance and Baggage, and a thouſand Priſoners, of whom two hundred were Gentlemen, the Earl of *Glencarn* and *Caſſiles* being the chief. This unexpected News ſo overcharg'd the melancholy King, that he dy'd ſhortly after; leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to ſucceed him. The *Scotch* Lords that were taken, were brought to *London*, and lodg'd in the Houſes of

A War with Scotland.

The Death of King James *the Fifth.*

the *Engliſh* Nobility: *Caſſiles* was ſent to *Lambeth*, where he receiv'd thoſe Seeds of Knowledge, which afterwards produc'd a plentiful Harveſt in *Scotland*. The other Priſoners were alſo ſo well inſtructed, that they ſoon had very different Thoughts of the Changes made in *England*, than what the *Scotch* Clergy had taught them; who had given the greateſt Incouragement to this War. The King's Death, and the Crown falling to his Daughter, caus'd the *Engliſh* Council to make uſe of this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Iſland; therefore they ſent to the *Scotch* Lords, and propos'd the marrying the young Prince *Edward* with their Queen; which was ſo acceptable, that they promis'd to promote it to their utmoſt Power. But that unfortunate Princeſs was not born under ſuch happy Stars, tho' ſhe was Mother to him, in whom this long deſir'd Union took Effect. However upon giving Hoſtages for Performance of their particular Promiſes, the Lords were ſent home honourably; being highly pleas'd both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the Way of Religion which they had ſeen in *England*.

A. D. 1543. Reg. 34/35.

A Parliament call'd.

Shortly after a Parliament was call'd, in which the King had large Subſidies granted him of ſix Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was now propos'd for the Advancement of true Religion, by *Cranmer* and ſome other Biſhops; for the Spirits of the *Romiſh* Party were much ſunk ſince the Death of the laſt Queen; yet at this Time a Treaty was ſet on Foot between the King and the Emperor, which began to raiſe them again: For ſince the King had Thoughts of ingaging in a War with *France*, it was neceſſary for him to make the Emperor his Friend. *Cranmer*'s Motion was much oppos'd, and the timorous Biſhops forſook him; yet ſtill he puſh'd the Matter as far as he was able, tho' in moſt Points Things went contrary to his Deſire. By

An Act about Religion.

the Act 'of *Tindall*'s Tranſlation of the Bible was condemn'd; but Bibles of another Tranſlation were ſtill allow'd to be kept, only all Prefaces and Annotations were to be daſh'd or cut out: All the King's Injunctions were confirm'd: No Books of Religion might be printed without Licence; there was to be no Expoſition of the Scripture in Plays or Enterludes; nor none of the Laity might read the Scripture, or explain it in any publick Aſſembly. Noblemen, Gentlemen and their Wives, or Merchants, might have Bibles; but they were forbidden to ordinary Perſons, Tradeſmen, and Husbandmen. Every Perſon might have the Book ſet out by the Biſhops, and the Pſalter, and other Rudiments of Religion in *Engliſh*. All Churchmen that preach'd contrary to that Book, were to recant for the firſt Offence, to carry a Faggot and abjure for the ſecond, and to be burnt for the third: The Laity for the third Offence were only to ſuffer Loſs of Goods and perpetual Impriſonment; but they were to be proceeded againſt within a Year, and the accus'd Parties were allow'd Witneſſes for their Purgation. The Act of *the Six Articles* was here confirm'd, and Liberty was left to the King to change this Act, or any Proviſo in it. As this Act about Religion was a great Mitigation of former Severities, ſo it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the King's Mercy for their Lives; ſince he could now chain up, or let looſe the Act of *the Six Articles* upon them, at his Pleaſure. This Proviſo was highly grateful to the King, who much affected to have his People depend intirely upon him.

A League with the Emperor.

Soon after the Concluſion of this Parliament, on *Trinity-Sunday* a League Offenſive and Defenſive was ſworn between the King and the Emperor; for *England*, *Calais*, and the adjacent Places, and for all *Flanders*, with many other Particulars ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. Here Aſſurances were given, that tho' the King would not declare the Princeſs *Mary* Legitimate, upon which the Emperor much inſiſted, yet ſhe ſhould be put in the Succeſſion to the Crown next Prince *Edward*. By this Treaty the Emperor gain'd much; for having ingag'd the Crowns of *England* and *France* in a War, and drawn off King *Henry* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now more at leiſure to proſecute his aſpiring Deſigns in that Country.

But

But the Negotiation did not ſo well ſucceed in *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Arran*, next in Blood to the Infant Queen, was eſtabliſh'd in the Government during her Minority. King *Henry* ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him to induce him to promote the Queen's Match with Prince *Edward*, and to offer the young Princeſs *Elizabeth* to his Son. This was ſo acceptable, that it was agreed and confirm'd in Parliament, That the young Queen ſhould be bred in *Scotland* 'till ſhe was ten Years old, and the King of *England* to ſend a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceeding twenty, to wait on her, after which Age ſhe was to be ſent into *England*; and in the mean Time, ſix Hoſtages were to be given. But all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal *Beaton*, together with the Queen-Mother, violently oppos'd this Deſign; and it was alledg'd, That a Match with the *French* would be more advantageous to the Nation, who being at ſo great a Diſtance could not ſo eaſily oppreſs them as the *Engliſh*: For if the *French* oppreſs'd them, it would be the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* to protect them; but if they came under the Yoke of *England*, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that Antipathy then form'd between the two Nations, and being inflam'd by the Clergy, turn'd the People in general to prefer a Match with *France* before the other propos'd with Prince *Edward*. The *French* ſent over the Earl of *Lennox* to make a Party againſt the Governor, together with the Governor's natural Brother; who together us'd ſuch Threatnings and Artifices, as had their full Effects upon him: For he turn'd off wholly from the Intereſts of *England*, and gave himſelf up to the *French* Councils. When they had thus reſolv'd to break the Match with *England*, the Lords who had left Hoſtages with King *Henry* for the faithful Performance of their Promiſes, now little regarded either their own Honour, or the Safety of their Hoſtages. Only the brave Earl of *Caſſiles* thought it unworthy of him to break his Faith in ſuch a mean manner; therefore he went into *England*, and generouſly deliver'd himſelf Priſoner to King *Henry*; who expreſs'd the higheſt Value for him, and call'd him a ſecond *Regulus*, but treated him after a better manner. For he gave him his Liberty and a noble Preſent, and ſent him back honourably to *Scotland* with all his Hoſtages; but he reſolv'd to take a ſevere Reparation of thoſe who had fail'd him in that Kingdom.

Affairs in Scotland.

At the ſame Time he reſolv'd upon a War againſt *France*, their great Supporter on all Occaſions; for which there were many Reaſons and Provocations. Among others one was, That King *Francis* had fail'd in the Matter of ſhaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promis'd to ſecond him. But before this was undertaken, the King reſolv'd upon another Marriage, in which he met with ſome Difficulty, by Reaſon of the late Act concerning the Virginity of the Perſon to be marry'd with him: Therefore at length he fix'd upon the Lady *Catharine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who as ſhe was a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and ſome Maturity of Years, ſo the King for the moſt part liv'd happily with her. She was a ſecret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a Storm, which at this Time fell on ſome of her Party at *Windſor*, particularly *Perſon*, *Teſtwood*, *Filmer* and *Marbeck*, all but the laſt of whom were burnt alive; tho' ſome of their Accuſers were afterwards convicted of Perjury. Others were alſo accus'd and threaten'd by the *Romiſh* Party, but none ſo induſtriouſly aim'd at as the Arch-Biſhop himſelf. The Plot againſt him was laid very deep by Biſhop *Gardiner* and ſeveral others, and a long Paper of his Heretical Principles and Practices were deliver'd to the King; who in this ſhew'd himſelf ſo true a Friend to him, and the other ſo true a Chriſtian, that it ſunk and vaniſh'd into Air. Shortly after when *Cranmer* gain'd the moſt apparent Advantage over his Enemies and Accuſers, he would make no other Uſe of it than to diſplay his Readineſs to forgive, and to do Good for Evil; for which he became ſo celebrated, that it was commonly ſaid, *That the beſt way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury.*

The King's ſixth and laſt Marriage, with Catharine Parr.

Cranmer's *Behaviour.*

XII. We

A. D. 1544. Reg. 35 36.

XII. We are now arriv'd at the latter Scenes and Tranſactions of this buſie and memorable Reign; when a new Parliament was ſummon'd that paſs'd the laſt remarkable Act for the Succeſſion of the Crown. By this it was enacted, 'That in Default of Heirs of Prince *Edward*'s Body, or of Heirs by the King's preſent Marriage, the Crown ſhould devolve on the Lady *Mary*; and in Default of Heirs of her Body, or if ſhe did not obſerve ſuch Limitations or Conditions as ſhould be declar'd by the King's Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will under his Hand, it ſhould next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her Heirs; or if ſhe had none, or ſhould not keep the Conditions declar'd by the King, it ſhould fall to any other nominated by the King's Letters Patents, or his laſt Will ſign'd with his Hand. An Oath was alſo appointed both againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining the Succeſſion according to this Act, which all were requir'd to take under the Pains of Treaſon, and it was made Treaſon to ſay or write any thing contrary to this Act, or to the Slander of any of the King's Heirs nam'd in it. By this, tho' the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Treaſon to declare them Spurious. In another Act, 'The Stile of King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, in Earth the Supream Head, was united and annex'd for ever to the Imperial Crown of *England*. Another Act was paſs'd, qualifying the Severities of the Act of *The Six Articles*; 'by which none were to be impriſon'd, but upon a legal Preſentment, except upon the King's Warrant; and none was to be challeng'd for Words, but within a Year, nor for a Sermon, but within forty Days. All this was to prevent ſuch Conſpiracies as had been diſcover'd the former Year. Another Act renew'd the Authority given to thirty two to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Law, which *Cranmer* much promoted; and to effect it, drew out of the Canon Law a Collection of many things inconſiſtent with the preſent Eſtabliſhment, to ſhow that ſuch a Book ought not to continue in Credit in *England*: But he could not bring this to a good Iſſue, during this Reign. By another Act all the King's Loans were diſcharg'd, and ſuch as had receiv'd Payment, requir'd to bring back the Mony into the Exchequer. This was cenſur'd as a direct Piece of Injuſtice; and it was thought ſtrange, that ſince the King had done this once before, he could have the Credit to raiſe more Mony, and be tempted to do it a ſecond Time. Laſtly, a general Pardon was granted, out of which, *Hereſie* was excepted; and ſo the Parliament was prorogu'd 'till the next Winter.

Hall. Holling. Speed. Herbert Burnet &c.

The laſt Act of Succeſſion.

Other Acts.

The King makes War both with France *and* Scotland.

The valiant King was now ingag'd in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*; and to make his Treaſure more effectual, he embas'd the Coin in a very extraordinary Manner. The Earl of *Hartford* was ſent with an Army into *Scotland*, who landing a little above *Leith*, burnt both that Town and the Capital City *Edinburgh*; but did not ſtay to take the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, or to fortifie *Leith*, but waſted all the Country between that and *Berwick*. He perform'd too much, if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little, if it was deſign'd to ſubdue them: For this did only more highly inflame their Spirits, by which they were ſo implacably united againſt *England*, that the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been thrown off by *France*, and had join'd with the *Engliſh* Intereſt, could form no Party in his Country, but was conſtrain'd to fly into *England* for Preſervation. In the mean time *Audley*, the Chancellor, deceaſing, *Wriotheſly*, who was of the *Romiſh* Party, was put in his Place; and in his Room, Doctor *Petre*, a great Friend to *Cranmer*, was made Secretary of State; ſo equally did the King preſerve the Ballance between both Parties. And being ready to croſs the Seas, he left a Commiſſion for the publick Adminiſtration, during his Abſence, to the Queen, the Arch-Biſhop, the Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*: And if there ſhould be Occaſion to raiſe any Forces, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant.

nant. He gave order alſo to tranſlate the Prayers, Proceſſions and Litanies, into the *Engliſh* Tongue, which gave the Reformers ſome new Hopes that he had not quite abandon'd of correcting of ſuch Abuſes, as had crept into the Worſhip of God.

He goes into France.

Affairs being thus ſetled at home, the gallant King having ſent his Forces before him, croſs'd the Seas with his uſual Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloath of Gold. He landed at *Calais* on the fourteenth of *July*; and the Emperor preſs'd his marching directly to *Paris*. But he judg'd it of more Importance to take *Boloign*; and after a two Months brave Siege, it was ſurrender'd to him; ſo that in a ſhort time, he is obſerv'd to have gain'd that, which neither his Father, nor the former Kings of *England* could ever win. After a triumphant Entrance into the Place, he found that the very next Day, the Emperor, to carry on his Deſigns in *Germany*, had unfairly concluded a Treaty with the *French* King, upon the nineteenth of *September*, which is ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the thirtieth of that Month, the King return'd into *England* with freſh Laurels; and to prevent future Inſults, he caus'd Fortifications to be made at *Graveſend*, and *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, and many other Places. He alſo took an exact Account of his Ordnance; and he himſelf invented certain ſmall Pieces of Artillery, not unlike *Drakes*, for Defence of his Waggons, as alſo certain Forms of Bulwarks: For as he was a great Soldier, ſo he had a ſingular Capacity in apprehending all the new Inventions daily appearing; and as the Muſket was firſt in uſe in this Reign, ſo in this Year the Piſtol came firſt in requeſt among the *French* Horſe.

He takes Boloign

A D.
1545.
Reg. 36/37.

The following Year, the *French* King reſolving to recover *Boloign*, and to take *Calais*, and ſo expel the *Engliſh* out of *France*, intended firſt to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea. Accordingly he ſet out a great Fleet of a hundred and fifty larger Ships, and ſixty of a leſſer Sort, beſides many Gallies brought from the *Streights*. But after the *French* Fleet had view'd the *Engliſh* Coaſt, unſucceſsfully attempted to land, both in the Iſle of *Wight* and *Suſſex*, and had ingag'd in a Sea-Fight for ſome Hours, they return'd without any conſiderable Action: Nor did they perform any thing at Land. But King *Henry*'s Fleet made a ſucceſsful Deſcent upon *Normandy*, and deſtroy'd the Country; ſo that this Year prov'd likewiſe glorious to the King. The Emperor had now effected what he had long deſign'd; and therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under Colour of that, he might the better keep up the War. The Princes of *Germany* ſaw what Miſchiefs were threaten'd them; and the famous Council of *Trent* was now open'd, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was alſo concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees; and an Army was rais'd. The Emperor was alſo reviving ancient Conteſts with ſome of the Princes; and a firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they might be ruin'd; therefore they ſent Ambaſſadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* join'd his Endeavours, but he wanted a *Cromwell* in the Court to manage the Temper of the King; who was ſo exaſperated with the ill Treatment from *France*, that he would not come to any Agreement; nor would he reſtore *Boloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had now almoſt prevail'd with the King to make further Steps in a Reformation; but *Gardiner*, then Ambaſſador in the Emperor's Court, wrote to the King, that the Emperor would certainly join with *France* againſt him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from the Deſign; and in *Auguſt* this Year the only great Friend *Cranmer* had in the Court dy'd, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who for many Years continu'd in the Height of Favour; which was ever preſerv'd, not only by an Agreement of Diſpoſitions between the King and him, but by the conſtant Succeſs that attended his valiant

Several Tranſactions abroad.

The Death of Charles Brandon.

ant Exploits. By his Death *Cranmer* was in a great Measure left alone, without Friend or Support.

The Parliaments meets. In *November* following, a new Parliament was held, where towards the Expence of the King's Wars, the Spirituality gave him a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years. The Temporalty also not only gave him a Subsidy for the War, but confirm'd all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colleges, Hospitals, and other Foundations, for saying Masses for departed Souls; and they empower'd the King during his Life to grant Commissions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found that this would probably give new Discontent to the Gentry, to whom these belong'd; so he made but a small Progress in it, and many were reserv'd to be devour'd by his Son's Courtiers. The King dismiss'd the Parliament with a long Speech, which was the last he ever spoke in that Place. In it, *The King's Speech.* 'After he had thank'd them 'for their Bills in his Favour, he earnestly exhorted them to Charity and Con-'cord in Matters of Religion; and to forbear all Terms of Reproach, such as '*Papist* and *Heretick*: He complain'd much of the Obstinacy of some Church-'men, and of the Indiscretion of others, who both gave ill Examples, and sow'd 'the Seed of Discord among the Laity: He, as God's Vicar on Earth, thought 'himself oblig'd to see these Abuses reform'd. He also reprov'd the Temporal-'ty for the ill Use they made of the Scriptures; for instead of being taught by 'it to live better, and to be more Charitable to one another, they only rail'd 'at each other, and made Songs out of it, to disgrace those that differ'd from 'them; so he exhorted them to serve God, and to love one another, which 'he would esteem the best Expression of their Duty and Obedience to him. The King had appointed a Distribution of five hundred and fifty Pounds a Year in several Cathedrals, for the Poor, and about four hundred Pounds a Year for High-ways; so this Year some Bishops were appointed to see whether these Payments were made as he had order'd or not. The two Universities were now in great Danger of having their Colleges suppress'd by the late Act of Parliament; but upon their Applications to the King by Doctor *Cox*, Tutor to Prince *Edward*, they were deliver'd from their Fears.

A. D. 1546. Reg. 37/38. We are now enter'd upon the last Year of this King's Reign; in which the War with *France* was manag'd with doubtful Success; yet the Losses were greater on the *English* Side. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of *Surry*, who was brave but unsuccessful, he was not only blam'd, but recall'd, and the Earl of *Hartford* sent to command in his Room. But *Surry* being of an aspiring Spirit, and disdaining to see the Earl of *Hartford* axalted above him, dropt some Words of a high Resentment, and violent Contempt, which not long after caus'd his Ruin. The King was now single in the War, which was very chargable to him; and observing the Progress that the Council of *Trent* was making, where Cardinal *Pool* was one of the Legates, he had reason to expect some severe Decree to be made against him, since none was so much hated by the Court of *Rome* as himself: Therefore he harkned to Counsels of Peace. And tho' he was not old, yet he was extreamly corpulent, and felt such Decays in his Strength, as he judg'd he could not live long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involv'd in so great a War, a firm Peace was concluded in *June*, which was manag'd much to the King's Honour and Wisdom, tho' the taking and keeping of *Boloign* for eight Years, according to Articles, cost him above a million and three hunded thousand Pounds. The Peace was proclaim'd in *London* with a general Procession; and all the richest Silver Crosses out of the Parish Churches were carry'd, and the finest Copes worn, for the greater Solemnity; which was the last time that they were publickly us'd. The two Kings had new Projects for Reformation on foot, and the Animosities which the former War had rais'd between them, were converted into a firm Friendship; which became so strong in King *Francis*, that he never was seen to rejoice at any Thing, after he heard of King *Henry*'s Death.

A Peace with France.

In

In this Year dy'd the famous *Martin Luther*, in the ſeventy third Year of his Age. Luther's Death.

There was at this Time a new Proſecution of thoſe that deny'd the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt; and *Shaxton* was accus'd of ſome Words about it, but he abjur'd and comply'd ſo entirely, that ſoon after he preach'd a Sermon at the Execution of *Anne Aiſcough*, a Gentlewoman who was firſt barbarouſly rack'd, and then burnt at *Smithfield*, with two others. In this Year there were alſo two burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, on the ſame Account. But the chief of the *Romiſh* Party were not ſatisfy'd with theſe ſmaller Sacrifices; therefore they perſuaded the King that *Cranmer* was the Source of all the Hereſie in *England*, but becauſe of his great Favour to him none durſt appear againſt him: So they deſir'd that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform againſt him. The King ſeem'd to conſent to this, and they reſolv'd to execute it the next Day; but in the Night the King ſent for the Arch-Biſhop, and generouſly told him the whole Deſign. He thank'd the King for not ſuffering him to be ſurpriz'd, and ſubmitted to it; only he deſir'd he might be heard to anſwer for himſelf before indifferent Judges who underſtood theſe Matters. The King was amaz'd to ſee him ſo little apprehenſive of his Ruin, and kindly told him, *He muſt take Care of him, ſince he took ſo little Care of himſelf.* He therefore gave him Inſtructions to appear before the Council, and to deſire to ſee his Accuſers before he was ſent to the Tower; and that he might be us'd by them, as they would deſire to be us'd in the like Caſe: And if he could not prevail by the Force of Reaſon, then he was to appeal to the King in Perſon, and was to ſhew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; which was ſo well known to them all, that they ſoon ſtopp'd when they once ſaw that. According to his Expectation, being ſummon'd before the Council next Morning, he came over to *White-Hall*, where he was unhandſomly detain'd in the Lobby, before he was call'd in. When he appear'd, and had obſerv'd the Method the King had order'd him to uſe, and had at laſt ſhown the Ring, they all roſe in great Confuſion, and went to the King, who had deſignedly abſented himſelf that Day. He ſeverely repremanded them, and expreſs'd his Eſteem and Kindneſs for the Arch-Biſhop in ſuch Terms, that his Enemies were glad to retreat, by pretending they only deſign'd to clear his Innocence in a publick Trial; and were now ſo convinc'd of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him. Cranmer in Danger.

But what they durſt not attempt in Relation to the Arch-Biſhop, they thought they might more ſafely experience againſt the Queen, who was known to love the Reformation, and to have Sermons in a Privy-Chamber; which could not be ſo ſecretly carry'd, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other Reſpects was ſo exact, and ſhe expreſs'd ſuch a tender Care of the King's Perſon, as ſhe gain'd much upon his Affections; but his Peeviſhneſs being increas'd by his Diſtempers, made him often uneaſie, and ſometimes to her. They frequently diſcours'd of Points of Religion, and often concerning the Reformers; and once in Defence of them ſhe provok'd the King's Humour ſo far, that before he was cool, he expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure to Biſhop *Gardiner*; who greedily ſeiz'd on this Opportunity to perſuade the King, That ſhe was a great Cheriſher of Hereticks. Chancellor *Wriotheſly* join'd with him in the ſame Artifice, and fill'd the angry King's Head with many Conjectures and Surmiſes; inſomuch that he ſign'd the Articles upon which ſhe was to be impeach'd. But the Chancellor careleſly dropping the Paper, it was accidently taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carry'd it to her. Upon which ſhe repair'd to the King, and ingeniouſly brought in a Diſcourſe about Religion; and after a little Oppoſition, ſhe artificially yielded, and ſeem'd convinc'd by the King's Arguments, and told him, *That ſhe only argu'd with him by way of Inſtruction; ſometimes to ingage him in Diſcourſe, and to divert his Pains*; and this ſhe Deſigns againſt the Queen.

ſeconded with ſuch nice Flattery, that he was perfectly ſatisfy'd, and reconcil'd to her. The following Day, as they were walking in the Garden, the Chancellor came thither with a Deſign to have carry'd her to the Tower; but the King ſtepping aſide, chid him ſeverely for his Attempt, and was heard to call him *Knave* and *Fool*. The good natur'd Queen innocently interpos'd to mitigate his Diſpleaſure; but the King handſomly told her, *She of all others had leaſt Reaſon to plead for him*. Thus the Deſign vaniſh'd, and *Gardiner*, who promoted it, intirely loſt the King's Favour.

The Fall of the Duke of Norfolk *and his Son the Earl of* Surry.

But the chief of the Party, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, fell under deeper Misfortunes. The Father had many Years been Treaſurer, and had ſerv'd the King with great Fidelity and Reputation: His Son was a Man of rare Qualities, great Wit, and more than ordinary Learning; but particularly hated the Earl of *Hartford*, and deſpis'd an Alliance with him, which his Father had projected; which was to unite his Family to the *Seymours*, by marrying his Son to the Earl of *Hartford*'s Daughter, and his Daughter the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, to *Hartford*'s Brother, Sir *Thomas Seymour*. But both his Children refus'd to comply in this Matter: The *Seymours* were apprehenſive upon the King's Death, of the Oppoſition they might meet with from the Earl of *Surry*, who was of a high Spirit, had a vaſt Fortune, and was the Head of the *Romiſh* Party; and it was likewiſe ſuſpected, that he kept himſelf unmarry'd in Hopes of gaining the Princeſs *Mary*. The Duke's Family was alſo fatally divided: His Dutcheſs had been ſeparated from him about four Years, and now turn'd Informer againſt him: His Daughter hated her Brother, and was a Spy upon him; and one *Holland*, a Jilting Miſtreſs of the Duke's, did alſo betray him, and diſcover'd all ſhe could; yet all amounted to no more than ſome Complaints of the Father, who thought his great Services too little regarded, and ſome indiſcreet Threatnings of the Son. It was alſo alledg'd, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms belonging to the Prince of *Wales*, and his Son gave the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor; but this ſeem'd rather a Pretence to create a Clamour among the People, and to cover the Want of more material Objections againſt them. One *Southwell* indeed alledg'd Matters of a higher Nature againſt the Earl of *Surry*; which he deny'd, and deſir'd a Trial by Combate, and to fight in their Shirts. But all Challenges avail'd nothing, for the Father and the Son were, upon Reaſons of State, mark'd out for Ruin, and both ſent Priſoners to the Tower.

A. D. 1547. Reg. 38.

The Earl of Surry *beheaded.*

The Earl of *Surry* being but a Commoner, was try'd by a Jury of nine Knights and three Eſquires; by whom he was found guilty of Treaſon, and had Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, which was executed on the nineteenth of *January* at *Tower-Hill*. This was generally condemn'd as an Act of great Hardſhip and Severity, which loaded the *Seymours* with a popular *Odium* that they could never overcome. He was much pity'd, as a Man of great Parts and Courage, and other noble Qualifications; but yet was thought to have too much dipp'd his Hands in the Blood of *Cromwell*, and others of his Party. The Storm fell next upon the old Duke, who ſaw a Parliament call'd to deſtroy him by an Act of Attainder, ſince there was not Matter enough to ruin him by common Law: Therefore to prevent that, he made ſuch an humble Submiſſion to the King, as might have mollify'd the moſt obdurate Diſpoſition. He wrote to him, 'That he had ſpent his whole Life in his Service, without entertaining one 'Thought to his Prejudice; and that he had obey'd all his Laws, and was re-'ſolv'd to obey all that ever he ſhould make. He earneſtly begg'd that he might 'be hear'd with his Accuſers Face to Face; and that the King would take all 'his Lands, and Goods, and only reſtore him to his Favour, and grant him 'ſuch an Allowance for his Subſiſtance, as he thought fit. Becauſe this had no Effect, he proceeded further, and ſet his Hand to a Confeſſion of ſeveral Crimes; 'as Firſt, his revealing the Secrets of the King's Council; Secondly, his 'concealing his Son's Treaſon in giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor; 'and

The Duke of Norfolk's *Submiſſion.*

'and Thirdly his own giving the Arms of *England*, with the Labels of Silver 'belonging only to the Prince; which he acknowledg'd to be High-Treaſon, and 'therefore humbly begg'd the King's Mercy and Compaſſion. But all this had 'no Effect upon the King, who, as one expreſſes it, never hated or ruin'd 'any Body by halves.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to *Weſtminſter*, but he ſent his Pleaſure to them by a Commiſſion. He declar'd his Intention was to have his Son *Edward* crown'd Prince of *Wales*; and therefore deſir'd they would make all poſſible Haſte in the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that ſo the Places which he held by Patent might be diſpos'd of to others, who ſhould aſſiſt at the Coronation: Which, tho' it was a very ſlight Excuſe for ſo high a Piece of Injuſtice, yet had that Effect, that in ſeven Days both Houſes of Parliament paſs'd the Bill. On the twenty ſeventh of *January*, the Royal Aſſent was given by thoſe commiſſion'd by the King; and the Execution was poſitively order'd to be the next Morning. There was no ſpecial Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Anceſtors were wont to give, according to Records in the Herald's Office; ſo that this was condemn'd by all Perſons as a moſt inexcuſable Act of Tyranny. But the Death of the King that Night put a Stop to the Execution, which, tho' it was conceal'd three Days from the Nation, yet we are aſſur'd it was reveal'd by an extraordinary Viſion to the Duke that Morning, by which he narrowly and fortunately eſcap'd. Yet both Parties made their Inferrences from this Calamity that befel him. The *Romaniſts* ſaid it was God's juſt Vengeance upon him, for his too great Obſequiouſneſs to the King in many Particulars. But the Reformers ſaid, it was a juſt Return upon him, for what he had acted againſt *Cromwell*, and many others upon the Account of Opinions. The Arch-Biſhop would not concern himſelf in that Affair, but retir'd himſelf to *Croydon*; whereas Biſhop *Gardiner*, who had continually been his Friend, ſtill kept to the Court.

He is Attainted in Parliament.

He eſcapes narrowly.

The King was now overgrown with Corpulency and Fatneſs, and became ſo exceeding unwieldy, that he could not go up or down his Stairs, but as he made uſe of an Engine for that Purpoſe. He had an old Ulcer in his Leg, which became very uneaſie to him; and all the Humours of his Body ſinking down thither, he was much afflicted, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his late Severities may be in a great meaſure imputed. His Servants durſt ſcarcely ſpeak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching End, leſt they might be brought within the Statute that made it Treaſon to foretel the King's Death. His Will was made ready, and was ſign'd, or rather ſtamp'd, on the thirtieth Day of *December*. He had finiſh'd one at his laſt going over to *France*; and all the Change he made in this was, that he order'd *Gardiner*'s Name to be ſtruck out, for in his former Will he was nam'd one of the Executors. When Sir *Anthony Brown* endeavour'd to perſuade him not to put that Diſgrace upon an old Servant, he continu'd poſitive in his Reſolution, and declar'd, *That he knew* Gardiner's *Temper ſufficiently; and tho' he could govern him, none of them would be able to do it, if he were put into ſo high a Truſt.* The moſt material Clauſe in this Will was, That in the Succeſſion of the Crown, he preferr'd the Children of his ſecond Siſter by *Charles Brandon*, to the Children of his eldeſt Siſter, the Queen of *Scotland*. On his Death-Bed he finiſh'd the Foundation of *Trinity*-College in *Cambridge*, one of the nobleſt in *Europe*; and likewiſe founded Chriſts-Church Hoſpital near *Newgate*; yet this laſt was not ſo fully ſetled as was needful, 'till his Son compleated what he had begun. On the twenty ſeventh of *January* his Spirits ſunk ſo low, that it was apparent he had not long to live; and when all declin'd touching upon ſo unwelcome a Subject, Sir *Anthony Denny* had the Honeſty and Courage to do it, deſiring him to prepare for Death, and to call upon God and Jeſus Chriſt for Mercy. Upon which the King expreſs'd his Sorrow for the Sins of his paſt Life; yet he ſaid, *he truſted in the Mercies of Chriſt, which were greater than*

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Will.

his Sins. Then *Denny* ask'd him if any Churchman ſhould be ſent for, and he anſwer'd, *If any, it ſhould be Arch-Biſhop* Cranmer. Upon which *Cranmer* was ſent for to *Croydon*; but before he arriv'd, the King was ſpeechleſs. Therefore *Cranmer* deſir'd him to give ſome Sign of his Dying in the Faith of Chriſt; upon which he tenderly ſqueez'd his Hand, and ſhortly after dy'd, upon the twenty eighth Day of *January*, and fifty ſixth Year of his Age; after a moſt active and wonderful Reign of thirty ſeven Years, nine Months, and five Days. His Funeral Obſequies were as pompous and magnificent as his Reign, as appears from *Sandford* and others; being bury'd at *Windſor*, where he had begun a noble Monument, and founded a College for thirteen poor Knights, and two Prieſts. Nor were theſe laſt Rites perform'd by his own Subjects only; but a ſolemn Obſequy was kept for him by King *Francis*, at the Cathedral of *Paris*, notwithſtanding his Excommunication, and all the Fulminations of the Court of *Rome*.

His Death and Obſequies.

His Character. To ſay ſomething of the Perſon and Qualifications of this wondrous Prince; his Hiſtory will be his trueſt Character and Deſcription, which contain'd an uncommon Variety, in all his Capacities; as a Man, a King, and a Chriſtian. He had all the Qualifications of Nature and Education, with no leſs Perfections of Body and Mind. His Perſon was extraordinary tall and majeſtick, of a mighty Strength and Activity; his Looks great and ſurprizing, and his whole Countenance beſpoke the Monarch. His Mind was ſtill more capacious than his Body, vigorous and vaſt, his Temper generous and fiery, his Spirit magnanimous and invincible, and his Judgment profound and penetrating; ſo that with all his Failings he was every way a proper Inſtrument to effect thoſe great Works deſign'd by Providence. As to Matters of State, never Prince proceeded upon truer Maxims for this Kingdom, which was to make himſelf Arbiter of *Europe*; in which, inſtead of being a bare Spectator, he was ſo much an Actor, that there was no Treaty or State Aſſembly in Chriſtendom, in which he had not his particular Agent and Intereſt; which was one of his extraordinary Ways of ſpending Mony. At home, it was his Manner to treat much with his Parliaments, where he ſometimes made uſe of rough Methods; yet none of his Predeceſſors underſtood the Temper of Parliaments better than himſelf, or more dexterouſly prevail'd upon ſuch a numerous Body. His Diſpoſition was certainly very aſpiring, and his Ambition very extenſive; which by Means of Flattery and ill Counſel, in the latter Part of his Reign produc'd Effects very formidable to his Subjects: So that he has been too juſtly charg'd with Cruelty, Rapaciouſneſs and Luſt; all which have been unmeaſurably aggravated by his Enemies, whoſe Numbers were very great. His Cruelties appear both from the Number and Manner of the Executions in his Reign, which were generally towards the latter End of it, at a Time when he had met with unſufferable Provocations and Oppoſitions, and when leſs Severities might probably have ruin'd him and all his Deſigns: And really it is extraordinary wonderful that ſuch Alterations in the Nation ſhould be made with ſo little Bloodſhed. His Rapaciouſneſs appears from his Sacrilegious ſwallowing ſuch vaſt Quantities of Church Revenues: To palliate which, beſides its being done by the Repreſentatives of the Nation, it has been alledg'd that the Religious Orders of the Kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threaten'd Invaſion from abroad, and that he had no other Means but their Revenues left to defend himſelf. However he had laid noble Deſigns for Reparation, and tho' he accidentally fell ſhort of them, yet he actually founded ſix Biſhopricks, endow'd Deaneries, Prebends, and other Offices, in fourteen ſeveral Sees, and founded *Chriſt-Church* Hoſpital, *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, Profeſſors in both Univerſities, and many Grammar Schools. As to his Luſts, they are as much aggravated as any other of his Vices; of which the Number of his Wives are but a weak Proof. Fornication in Princes is never to be excus'd by a Chriſtian Politician; yet this may be alledg'd for him, that he was not ſo exorbitant as many other Princes,

Princes, and we find but one Miſtreſs that he kept, which was in his younger Years, when incourag'd by a Churchman, and indulgent Confeſſor. It is true, the general Steps he made were ſometimes bold and deſperate, yet with all his Crimes he was one of the moſt glorious Princes of his Time; and if his Crimes were ſtill greater, it would be no juſt Aſperſion upon the Reformation he effected; ſince Providence often brings about the nobleſt Deſigns by the moſt exceptionable Inſtruments, when the beſt Men have been deny'd that Honour. In ſhort as his Reign affords the greateſt Varieties, ſo in his Character there was a wonderful Mixture of Virtues and Vices; and the Hand of Heaven ſeem'd to lye heavy upon him and his Family; for notwithſtanding all his extraordinary Methods to obtain Poſterity, and his peculiar Eſtabliſhments of the Succeſſion, from ſix ſeveral Wives he was not able to produce one Grand-Child.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Sixth.*

Containing 6 Years, 5 Months, and 9 Days.

Holling. Speed. Stow. Hayward. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

I. THE Imperial Crown of *England*, that had for thirty ſeven Years been worn by the moſt martial and vigorous Monarch of the Age, now devolv'd upon a Child of little more than nine Years of Age; but a Child of thoſe promiſing Virtues, and admirable Abilities, that might well beſpeak him a Man in Wiſdom and Underſtanding. This Prince had a moſt noble Education given him by his Father, who at ſix Years of Age put him under the Government of Doctor *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*; the one his Preceptor for Philoſophy, Morality and Divinity, and the other for Languages and Mathematicks. He was alſo provided with Maſters for the *French* Tongue, and other Parts of Learning becoming a Prince, who was Heir to ſuch famous Dominions. He gave early Indications of a rare Diſpoſition to Knowledge, of a moſt wonderful Probity of Mind, and of the higheſt Veneration for Religion and Piety: So that once in his Childiſh Diverſions, ſomewhat being wanted which he and his Companions could not reach, one of them laid a great Bible on the Floor to ſtep on, which he beholding with Indignation, reverently took it up, and gave over his Play. He was ſo forward in Languages, that beſides his Proficiency in *French*, *Italian* and *Spaniſh*, at eight Years of Age he frequently wrote *Latin* Letters to the King, to the laſt Queen, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*. In all things he was a Prince of extraordinary Hopes; but ſuch unuſual Beginnings ſeem'd rather to threaten the too early End of a Life, that was to produce ſuch aſtoniſhing Things.

A. D. 1547. Reg. 1.

The great Abilities of Prince Edward.

His Father's Death was conceal'd from the Publick for three Days; during which time, his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were ſent by the Council to *Hartford* where he reſided, to conduct him to the Tower of *London*. Having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Siſter the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, they told him that his Father was actually dead; which News was receiv'd with ſuch real Sorrow, that it was hard to know whether Tears did more obſcure or illuſtrate their Beauties. At the Tower, his Father's Executors, with the reſt of the Privy-Council, receiv'd him with a profound Reſpect due to their King; ſo tempering their Sorrows for their Maſter's Deceaſe with their Satisfaction for his Son's ſucceeding him, that by an Exceſs of Joy they might not ſeem too ſoon to have forgot the one, nor by Extremity of Grief to apprehend Ill from the other. The firſt Thing they did was the opening of King *Henry's*

He is receiv'd by the Lords of the Council.

Henry's Will, by which they found that he had nominated ſixteen Perſons to be his Executors, and Governors of his Son 'till he ſhould be eighteen Years of Age. These were the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Wriotheſly*, the Lord *St. John* great Maſter, the Lord *Ruſſel* Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great-Chamberlain, Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentations, Lord Chief Juſtice *Montague*, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treaſurer of *Calais*, and Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. By the Conſent of theſe Sixteen, the King and his Siſters were to be diſpos'd in Marriage; but with this Difference, that it was only order'd that the King ſhould marry by their Advice; but the Siſters were ſo limited in their Marriages, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succeſſion if they marry'd without their Conſents; it being of greater Importance to the Good of the Nation, who ſhould be their Husbands, if they come to the Crown, than who ſhould be the King's Wife: And King *Henry* was empower'd by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what Limitations he ſhould think fit to appoint. Beſides theſe Sixteen there was a Privy-Council nominated to be their Aſſiſtants in the Government; and if any of the Sixteen dy'd, the Survivers were to continue in the Adminiſtration, without a Power of ſubſtituting others in the Rooms of the Deceas'd. He alſo charg'd them to pay all his Debts, the Legacies he left, to perfect all the Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing he had promis'd. It was now propos'd that one ſhould be choſen out of the Sixteen, to whom Ambaſſadors ſhould addreſs themſelves, and who ſhould have the chief Direction of Affairs; but ſhould be reſtrain'd from acting without the Conſent of the major Part of the reſt. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence in ſecular Affairs fell to him by his Office, oppos'd this much, and ſaid it was changing the King's Will, who had made them equal in Power and Dignity; and if any were rais'd above the reſt in Title, it would be impoſſible to keep him within juſt Bounds, ſince great Titles made way for exorbitant Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had ſo prepar'd his Friends, that it was voted that he ſhould be declar'd *The Governor of the King's Perſon, and the Protector of the Kingdom*; with this Reſtriction, that he ſhould not act without the Advice and Conſent of the reſt. Upon this Advancement, and the Oppoſition made againſt it, two ſeveral Parties were form'd, the one headed by the new Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: The Favourers of the Reformation were for the Former, and the Oppoſers of it were for the Latter.

King Henry's Teſtament.

A Protector choſen.

After this the Chancellor was order'd to renew the Commiſſions of the Judges and Juſtices of Peace; and King *Henry*'s Great Seal was to be us'd, 'till a new one ſhould be made. Then all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their Truſt faithfully; and the Privy-Counſellors were brought into the King's Preſence, who all expreſs'd their Satisfaction in the Choice of the new Protector; and it was order'd that all Diſpatches to Foreign Princes ſhould be ſign'd only by him. All that held Offices were requir'd to come and renew their Comiſſions, and to ſwear Allegiance to the King; and even the Biſhops themſelves took out ſuch Commiſſions as were granted in the former Reign; only by thoſe they were ſubaltern to the King's Vicegerent, but none being now in that Office, they were immediately under the King: And by them they were to hold their Biſhopricks only during the King's Pleaſure, and were impower'd in the King's Name, as his Delegates, to perform all the Parts of the Epiſcopal Function. The ill Conſequences of this unjuſtifiable Method being ſoon foreſeen, the Biſhops afterwards promoted, were not put under ſuch unreaſonable Obligations, but were appointed to hold their Biſhopricks during Life. After a Diſpatch of ſome Buſineſs relating to *Scotland*, the Protector knighted the young

The Biſhops Commiſſions.

young King, being authoriz'd to do it by Letters Patents; and the King at the ſame time knighted Sir *John Hublethorn*, the Lord Mayor of *London*. An Account of ſome Diſturbances being now preſented to the Council, concerning the pulling down ſome Images in Churches, Orders were ſent to the Juſtices of the Peace, to take Care of the Peace and Government of the Nation, to meet frequently, and every ſix Weeks to advertiſe the Protector of the State of the Country where they reſided.

King Edward's *Coronation.*

On the thirteenth Day of *February*, the Obſequies of the late King were ſolemniz'd with the utmoſt Degree of Pomp and Magnificence. Shortly after follow'd the Diverſions of the Coronation; before which, according to the late King's Intentions, the Protector was made Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lords *Liſle* and *Wriotheſly* Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton*; *Seymour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* and *Sheffield* were made Barons. In order to the King's Coronotion, the Office of that Ceremony was now review'd, and much ſhorten'd: One remarkable Alteration was, that formerly the King was always preſented to the People at the Corners of the Scaffold, and they were ask'd, *If they would have him to be their King?* Which look'd more like a Rite of an Election, than a Ceremony of Inveſting one who was already King. This was now chang'd, and the People were deſir'd only to give their Aſſents and good Will to his Coronation, as they were bound by their Duty of Allegiance. On the nineteenth Day of *February*, the King rode in great State and Splendor from the Tower, to the Palace of *Weſtminſter*; and the following Day he was crown'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, according to the Form preſcrib'd. We are aſſur'd that when three Swords were deliver'd to him as King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, he ſaid, *He wanted another Sword yet, the Holy Bible, the Sword of the Spirit, without which they could all do nothing.* At this Time a general Pardon was proclaim'd to all Offenders, ſix only excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney*, Mr. *Forteſcue*, Mr. *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid the Oath of Supremacy; all which ſix continu'd unpardon'd, 'till the firſt of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, and then were reſtor'd.

Burnet.

The Lord Chancellor, who was eſteem'd the Head of the *Romiſh* Party, now gave an Advantage againſt himſelf, which ſoon occaſion'd his Diſgrace. He granted a Commiſſion to the Maſter of the Rolls and three Maſters of Chancery, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were preſent; only the Decrees were to be brought to him to be ſign'd, before they ſhould be Inroll'd. This being perform'd without any Authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Act of Preſumption, ſince by this he devolv'd that Truſt on others which was depoſited in his own Hands. Several Lawyers complain'd of this Practice to the Protector, being apprehenſive of ſome dangerous Innovations in that high Court. The Judges being deſir'd to give their Opinions, made Report, *That what the Chancellor had acted, was againſt Law, that he had forfeited his Place, and was liable to Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure.* But he carry'd it with a high Hand, and with Threats both to the Judges and Lawyers; and when it was urg'd, That he had forfeited his Place, he alledg'd *He had it from the late King, who had likewiſe nominated him one of the Executors during his Son's Minority*: To which it was anſwer'd, *That the Major Part had Power over any of the reſt, otherwiſe one of them might rebel, and pretend the reſt could not bring him to Puniſhment.* Being driven from this Hold, he became more humble, and acknowledg'd he had no Warrant for granting the Commiſſion, *but thought he might lawfully do it by his Office*: He ask'd Pardon for his Offence, and begg'd that he might loſe his Place with as little Diſgrace as was poſſible; upon which it was reſolv'd the Seal ſhould be taken from him, and a Fine laid upon him as ſhould be thought proper. He was per-

The Lord Chancellor turn'd out.

permitted to go home with the Seal; but the Lord *Seymour* and ſome others were ſent to demand it of him. He was alſo confin'd to his Houſe, and kept under the Terror of an arbitrary Fine; but upon giving a Bond of four thouſand Pounds to be paid upon Demand, he was freed from his Confinement. Yet he was not remov'd from the Truſt of the King and Government; for probably the Council look'd upon that to be out of their Power. The Protector, the better to ſecure himſelf, took out a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, 'by which he was confirm'd in his Authority, 'till the King ſhould 'be eighteen Years of Age; he was alſo authoriz'd to bring in new Counſel-'lors, beſides thoſe enumerated in the Patent, who were both the Executors 'and Counſellors nominated by the late King: The Protector, with ſo many 'of the Council as he thought fit, were empower'd to adminiſter the Affairs of 'the Kingdom; but the Council was limited not to act any thing without his 'Advice and Conſent. And thus was he as fully eſtabliſh'd in his extraordinary Authority as Law could do it: He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own Creatures into it, or ſelect a Cabinet-Council out of it, at Pleaſure: And the other Executors having by this Patent deliver'd up their Authority to him, were only Privy-Counſellors as the reſt, without retaining any Authority peculiar to themſelves, as was particularly provided by King *Henry*'s Will.

The Protector's Patent.

The firſt foreign Affair that requir'd great Conſideration, was the *German* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League; by which the Emperor, if ſucceſsful, was in a probable Way, both to extirpate *Lutheraniſm*, and to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Germany*. But he politickly diſguis'd his great Deſign to other Princes: To the Pope he pretended it was only to extirpate Hereſie; to other Princes, that it was only to ſuppreſs ſome Rebels, and deny'd all Intentions of ſuppreſſing their new Doctrines; all which he manag'd ſo artificially, that he divided *Germany* it ſelf, and gain'd ſome *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: And having, by granting an Edict for Liberty of Religion, obtain'd a liberal Supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, he made Peace with both thoſe Princes, and reſolv'd to imploy the Mony the *Germans* had given him, againſt themſelves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he us'd all Means to ingage King *Henry* and *Francis* in a War; but that was compos'd chiefly by their Interpoſition: And now when the War was to be purſu'd with great Vigour, they loſt both thoſe Princes; for as *Henry* dy'd in *January*, ſo *Francis* dy'd the *March* following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and fall off; and the divided Command of the Duke of *Saxony* and Prince of *Heſſe*, loſt them great Advantages the former Year, in which they might have eaſily driven the Emperor out of *Germany*. The Pope deſir'd to ingage the Emperor in a War with *Germany*, that *Italy* might be unmoleſted; in order to which, and the imbroiling the Emperor with the *Lutherans*, he publiſh'd his Treaty with him, to ſhew the World that the Deſign of the War was to extirpate Hereſie, tho' the Emperor was making great Proteſtations to the contrary in *Germany*. He alſo open'd the Council of *Trent*, which tho' formerly deſir'd by the Emperor, was now unſeaſonable to his Affairs: For the Proteſtants all declar'd, That they could not eſteem it as a free General Council, ſince it was ſo intirely at the Pope's Devotion: Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council to relax their Proceedings againſt Hereſie; but the more he obſtructed it by his Delays, the more vigorouſly the Pope drove it on, to open the Eyes of the *Germans*, and engage them more unanimouſly againſt the Emperor, who now gave them ſuch ſecret Aſſurances of tolerating the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, that the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* declar'd for him; and this, join'd with the Hopes of an *Electorate*, drew in *Maurice* of *Saxony*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble, the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologn* would make no Reſiſtance, but retir'd, and many Cities ſubmitted; and

The Emperor's Deſigns in Germany.

The Council of Trent.

and *Maurice* by falling into *Saxony*, forc'd the Elector to ſeparate from the Prince of *Heſſe*, and return to the Defence of his own Dominions. This was the general State of the Affairs in *Germany*: So that it was a difficult Point to determine, what Anſwer the Protector ſhould give to the Duke of *Saxony*'s Chancellor, whom he ſent over to beg an Aid in Mony, for carrying on the War. It was certainly of great Importance to the Safety of *England* to preſerve the *German* Princes; and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of ſuch Conſequence under an Infant King. However at preſent they promis'd within three Months to ſend the Duke fifty thouſand Crowns by certain Merchants to *Hamburgh*; but reſolv'd to do no more 'till new Emergencies ſhould lead them to new Counſels.

The German *Princes ſue to* England.

The Nation was now in an ill Condition for a War with ſuch a mighty Prince, the Government in ſeveral Things disjointed, labouring under great Diſtractions at home; the People generally cry'd out for a Reformation, they deſpis'd the *Romiſh* Clergy, and lov'd the new Preachers. The Prieſts were for the moſt part very ignorant and ſcandalous in their Lives and Converſations; and were many of them degraded Monks crept into ſmall Benefices. Theſe were zealouſly engag'd againſt all Changes, and were encourag'd in their Oppoſition, by the Protection they expected from *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tonſtall*, who were Men of great Reputation, and in high Stations: And above all the Princeſs *Mary* did openly declare againſt all Changes, 'till the King ſhould be of Age. But on the other Hand the diligent *Cranmer*, who poſſibly had been too obſequious to King *Henry*, being now at Liberty, reſolv'd to proceed more vigorouſly: The Protector was firmly united to him, as alſo the young King's Tutors; and he himſelf was as much ingag'd as could be expected from ſo young a Perſon; for both his Knowledge and Zeal were far above his Years. Doctor *Ridley*, now made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Doctor *Latimer* by his popular Sermons, were both very ſerviceable in this Affair. Moſt of the Privy-Council were conſenting towards a further Reformation; and according to the Power inveſted in them, it was reſolv'd to begin with a general Viſitation of all *England*, which was divided into ſix Precincts; and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regiſter, were appointed for each. But before they were ſent out, Letters were written to all Biſhops, giving them Notice of it, and ſuſpending their Juriſdiction, while the Commiſſion laſted. The greateſt Difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the Want of able and prudent Men; and thoſe that were moſt eminent were to be imploy'd in *London* and the Univerſities. Therefore the only Thing by which the People could be univerſally inſtructed, was a Book of Homilies; ſo the twelve firſt Homilies in the Book, ſtill known by that Name, were compil'd to be us'd by every Miniſter. Orders were alſo given, that a Bible ſhould be kept in every Church, which tho' it was commanded by King *Henry*, yet had not been generally obey'd; and for underſtanding the New Teſtament, the Paraphraſe of *Eraſmus* was publiſh'd in *Engliſh*, and appointed to be ſet up in every Church. They alſo renew'd the Injunctions made by *Cromwell* in the late Reign, which after his Fall had been neglected, as thoſe for inſtructing the People, for removing of Images, and aboliſhing all Cuſtoms abus'd to Superſtition; for reading the Scriptures in *Engliſh*, for frequenting Sermons and Catechiſing, for the exemplary Lives of the Clergy, and the other Parts of their Functions.

Diviſions in England.

A Viſitation of all Churches.

Whilſt theſe and many other Things were tranſacting towards a Reformation, a War with *Scotland* was under a cloſe Conſultation: But the Protector being apprehenſive that *France* would engage in the Conteſt, ſent an Embaſſie to congratulate the new King *Henry* the Second, to deſire a Confirmation of the laſt Peace, and to complain of the *Scots*, who had broken their Faith with King *Edward* on the Point of the Marriage of their Queen. The *French* King refus'd to confirm the Treaty, 'till ſome Articles were firſt explain'd, and diſown'd what had been done by his Father's Agent *Poligny*; and for the *Scots*,

The War with Scotland.

he declar'd he could not abandon them, if they were in Diſtreſs. The *Engliſh* alledg'd that *Scotland* was ſubject to *England*, but the *French* had no Regard to that, and would not ſo much as look on the Records that were offer'd to prove the Subjection; declaring, That they would eſteem the Cauſe as they found it, and not look back to a Diſpute of two or three hundred Years old. This caus'd the *Engliſh* Council to be more cautious in beginning one War, which in all Probability would bring another upon them from *France*. The Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was ſurrender'd, and all the Penſioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them much Service: The *Scots* were now much elevated; for as *England* was under the Government of a Child, ſo the Court of *France* was govern'd by the *Scotch* Queen Dowager's Brothers. The *Scots* began to make Inroads upon *England*, and Deſcents into *Ireland*; Commiſſioners were ſent to the Borders to treat on both Sides; and the Protector rais'd a powerful Army, which he bravely reſolv'd to command in Perſon. But the Meetings on the Borders were ſoon ended; for the *Scots* had no Inſtructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *Engliſh* were order'd to treat of nothing elſe, 'till that ſhould be firſt concluded. As to the Records that were ſhown to prove the Homages of the *Scotch* Kings to the *Engliſh*, they had no great Effect; for the *Scots* either ſaid they were forc'd or extorted from ſome weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France*, for their Lands in that Country. They alſo ſhew'd their Records, by which their Anceſtors had aſſerted themſelves free and independent of *England*.

All Hopes of Peace vaniſhing, on the twenty firſt Day of *Auguſt* the Protector took out a Commiſſion to be General, and to make War in *Scotland*; in order to which he left Commiſſions of Lieutenancy to his Brother and other Noblemen, and during his Abſence devolv'd his own Power on the Privy-Council.

The Protector enters that Kingdom with an Army.

He came upon the Borders by the End of *Auguſt*, and enter'd the *Scotch* Ground the ſecond of *September*; where he found the Paſſes abandon'd, and ſmall Forts that were in his March were ſurrender'd upon Summons. On the ninth, he arriv'd at *Falſide*, where there was a long Struggle in ſeveral Parties, in which thirteen hundred of the *Scots* were ſlain. And now they were in Sight of the *Scotch* Army, which for Numbers of regular Men was one of the greateſt they had ever brought together, conſiſting of thirty thouſand Men, with a fair Train of Artillery both of Braſs and Iron Guns. On the other Side, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of about fifteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, but all excellently well appointed. The *Scots* were now inflam'd with the old National Quarrel to *England*; it was rumour'd that the Protector was come to carry away the Queen, and enſlave the Kingdom; and for their Incouragement, it was ſaid, that the *French* were coming with a great Fleet to their Aſſiſtance. The Protector ſent a Meſſage to the *Scots*, 'Inviting them by 'all the moſt inſinuating Arguments, to conſent to the Marriage; and if that 'would not be granted, he deſier'd Ingagements from them, that their Queen 'ſhould be contracted to no other Perſon, at leaſt 'till ſhe came of Age, and 'by the Advice of the Eſtates, ſhould chuſe a Husband for her ſelf. All this the Protector offer'd, that he might be diſingag'd from this unſeaſonable War upon honourable Terms; but the *Scotch* Lords thought this great Condeſcenſion the Effect of Fear, and believ'd the Protector was ſtraiten'd for Want of Proviſions; ſo inſtead of publiſhing this Offer, they reſolv'd to fall upon him the next Day: And all the Return that was made, was, *that if the Protector would march back without any Act of Hoſtility, he ſhould not be moleſted*; which the Protector rejected, as knowing that ſo mean an Action at this nice Conjuncture would ruin his Reputation. At the ſame Time a Perſon went officiouſly with the Trumpeter, and challeng'd the Protector in the Earl of *Huntley*'s Name, to decide the Conteſt in their private Valour; but the Protector anſwer'd, *He was oblig'd to fight no Way but at the Head of his Army*; yet the Earl of *Warwick* accepted the Challenge, but it appear'd that *Huntley* had given no Commiſſion for it.

On

On the tenth of *September* the two Armies drew out, and ingag'd in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*; in the beginning of which Action, a Cannon Ball from the Ships cut off a whole Lane of Men, and ſo diſorder'd the *Highlanders*, that their Commanders could not make them keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* made a brave Charge, but ſtill was repuls'd; and the *Engliſh* upon this broke in with ſuch a dreadful Fury upon the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms and fled. About fourteen thouſand were kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and five hundred Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This Loſs quite diſhearten'd the *Scots*, ſo that they all fled to *Striveling*, and left the whole Country to the Mercy of the Protector; who the next Day went and took *Leith*, and the Soldiers in the Ships burnt ſome of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and recover'd ſome *Engliſh* Ships that had been taken from the *Scots*. The Protector ſent ſome Ships to the Mouth of the *Tay*, and took the Caſtle of *Broughty*, that commanded that River, and likewiſe waſted *Edinburgh* it ſelf, with other Places. If he had follow'd this remarkable Blow, and march'd directly to *Striveling*, where the Governor of *Scotland* and the young Queen were retir'd, it is probable that under that great Conſternation he might have taken the Place, and put an End to the War. But the Party his Brother was making at Court, gave him ſuch an inward Alarm, that he drew off before he had finiſh'd his Work; and the *Scots* making Overtures for a Treaty, which was only to gain Time, he order'd them to ſend their Commiſſioners to *Berwick*, and ſo march'd back. The ambitious Earl of *Warwick*, who had a large Share in the Honour of the Victory, but knew that the Errors in Conduct would much diminiſh the Protector's Glory, which otherwiſe might have been too exorbitant, was not diſpleas'd at it. Yet ſtill he wanted not new Opportunities of Triumphing; for in his Return he took all the Caſtles in the Counties of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and caus'd all the Gentry to ſwear to be true to King *Edward*, and to promote the Marriage. After twenty five Days Continuance in *Scotland*, the Protector return'd into *England*, cover'd with Glories, having in the whole Expedition loſt but ſixty Men, taken eighty Pieces of Cannon, bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by Garriſons, and gain'd ſeveral ſtrong Places. And now it may eaſily be imagin'd how much this rais'd his Reputation in *England*, eſpecially ſince he had done ſuch great Services in *France*, ſo that all had great Expectations under his Government. And if the Breach between his Brother and him had not loſt him the preſent Advantages, this Action had laid a Foundation of prodigious Fortunes to him.

The Battel of Muſſelburgh.

The Scots *defeated.*

The Protector returns to England.

The *Scots* ſent no Commiſſioners to *Berwick*, but inſtead of that, they ſent ſome to *France*, to offer their Queen to the *Dauphine*, and to throw themſelves on the Protection of that Crown; and ſo the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, return'd back, with no ſmall Share in the other's Glory. This remarkable Man was Son to that *Dudley* who was attainted and executed in the firſt Year of the late Reign, and was one of extraordinary Abilities, had not inſatiable Ambition and profound Diſſimulation ſtain'd his other noble Qualities. By means of the *Scots* the Wars were continu'd, and manag'd the following Year by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* with various Succeſs. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was alſo ſent with fifteen thouſand Men; againſt him, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, was ſent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thouſand *French*; who entering into a Conſultation how to remove the young Queen beyond the *Engliſh* Power, provided a Fleet, and ſailing round the North of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in readineſs to ſtop their Paſſage, yet ſhe was convey'd ſafely into *France*, being about ſix Years of Age, and was long afterwards marry'd to the *Dauphine* of *France*.

The young Queen of Scots *carry'd into* France.

A. D. 1547. Reg. 1.

II. The Protector having obtain'd ſuch ſignal Advantages, proceeded in the Buſineſs of the Reformation, and to ſummon a new Parliament. As to the former, great Inferences were made from one Particular, that on the ſame Day in which the Images were burnt in *London*, the *Engliſh* Army obtain'd a ſignal Victory in *Scotland*, which was the ſame Day of the Victory of *Floddon* Field, thirty four Years before. All ſubmitted to the new Viſiters, only the two Biſhops *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, for refuſing the Injunctions, were both impriſon'd. Upon the fourth of *November* the Parliament was open'd; the Day before which the Protector gave too publick an Inſtance how he was elevated by his Proſperity: For by a Patent he was authoriz'd to ſit under the Cloath of State, on the right Hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Privileges that any Uncle of the Crown ever had, with a *Non-obſtante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rich* was made Lord Chancellor; and the firſt Act that paſs'd was 'A Repeal of all Statutes that had made any thing Trea-'ſon or Felony in the late Reign, which was not ſo before; particularly of 'the *Six Articles*, and the Authority given to the King's Proclamations, as 'alſo of the Acts againſt *Lollards*. All who deny'd the King's Supremacy, or 'aſſerted the Pope's, the firſt Offence was forfeiture of Goods, the ſecond a '*Premunire*, and the third Treaſon: But if any intended to deprive the King 'of his Eſtate or Title, that was made direct Treaſon. It alſo repeal'd the 'Power the King had of annulling all Laws made, 'till he was twenty four 'Years of Age, and reſtrain'd it only to the annulling them for the time to 'come, but that it ſhould not be of force for the declaring them null from the 'Beginning. In paſſing of this Act five Biſhops diſſented; and another Act paſs'd with the ſame Diſſent, 'For the Communion in both Kinds, and 'that the People ſhould always Communicate with the Prieſt; and by it Irre-'verence to the Sacrament was condemn'd under ſevere Penalties. Another Act paſs'd without any Diſſent, 'That the *Conge d'elire*, and the Election 'purſuant to it, ſhould ceaſe for the future, and that Biſhops ſhould be nam'd 'by the King's Letters Patents, and thereupon conſecrated; and ſhould all hold 'their Courts in the King's Name, excepting the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; 'and were to uſe the King's Seal in all their Writings, excepting Preſentati-'ons, Collations, and Letters of Orders, in which they might uſe their own. After an Act againſt idle Vagabonds, came the Act for giving the King all the Chantries, which the late King had not ſeiz'd by virtue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer*, with ſeven other Biſhops diſſented, but could not prevent the Act from paſſing at laſt. Laſt of all came the King's general Pardon, with the common Exceptions, among which the Duke of *Norfolk* was named. And thus ended this Seſſion; when the Protector, being eſtabliſh'd in his Power without Contradiction, took out a new Commiſſion, in which beſides his former Authority, he was empower'd to ſubſtitute one in his Room, during his Abſence.

Holling. Hayward Heylin. Burnet. &c.

A Parliament meets.

The Six Articles repeal'd.

Other Acts.

The Affairs of Germany.

During theſe Tranſactions at home, the poor *German* Princes, who rely'd upon the Aſſiſtance of *England*, were ruin'd by the Emperor: The Duke of *Saxony* was defeated and taken Priſoner; the Prince of *Heſſe* was perſuaded to ſubmit, and by an Artifice detain'd Priſoner; upon which all the Princes and Towns of the *Smalcaldick* League ſubmitted, and purchas'd their Pardon, at what Terms the Conqueror was pleas'd to impoſe. Now all *Germany*, except *Magdebury* and *Breme*, was at the Emperor's Mercy; ſome Cathedrals were again reſtor'd to the Biſhops, and Maſs was ſaid in them; a Diet was alſo held, in which the Emperor obtain'd a Decree, by which Matters of Religion were referr'd wholly to his Care. The Pope inſtead of rejoicing at this Blow given to the *Lutherans*, was extreamly concern'd at it: For the Emperor had now in one Year finiſh'd a War, which he hop'd would have imbroil'd him his whole Life; ſo that *Italy* was more than ever expos'd to his Arms, where he had many

many Reaſons to be jealous of his Power. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors became very uneaſie to the Legates at *Trent*, and urg'd a Reformation of Abuſes, and endeavour'd to reſtrain them from proceeding in Points of Doctrine; upon which they took advantage from the Death of one who ſeem'd to have ſome Symptoms of the Plague, and remov'd the Council to *Bononia* in *Italy*. By this all the Advantages the Emperor had from the Promiſes of the Proteſtants to ſubmit to a free General Council aſſembled in *Germany*, were defeated: And it was judg'd a wonderful Turn of Providence, that when *Lutheraniſm* was ſo near its Extirpation, a Stop was put to it by what was leaſt imagin'd; ſince it was highly probable that perfecting ſuch a Deſign would have reconcil'd the wideſt Differences between the Pope and the Emperor. So unexpected an Accident caus'd the Favourers of the Reformation to aſcribe it to the immediate Care that Heaven had of that Work, at a Time when all human Supports were remov'd. However upon the Emperor's Advantages, the Foreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary, were now forc'd to come into *England*: *Peter Martyr* and *Bernard Ochinus* came over firſt, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* follow'd. They were invited over by the generous *Cranmer*, who entertain'd them at *Lambeth*, 'till Proviſion was made for them; *Martyr* was ſent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*, where ſhortly after the latter dy'd. In this Year there were ſome Differences between the *French* and *Engliſh*, concerning ſome new Forts, which were made about *Boloign*, on both Sides, yet a Truce was concluded; for the Protector, who began to have Troubles in his own Family, had no Deſire to ingage in a War againſt *France*.

The Foreign Reformers repair to England

The great Work of the Reformation was ſtill carry'd on by continu'd Steps and Progreſſions; and much Care was taken to remove what related to Ignorance and Superſtition. As *Candlemaſs* and *Lent* were approaching, *Cranmer* procur'd an Order of Council againſt the carrying of Candles on *Candlemaſs*-Day, of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*. By a Proclamation, the creeping to the Croſs, and taking Holy Bread and Water were aboliſh'd; and Power given to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to certifie, in the King's Name, what Ceremonies ſhould be afterwards laid aſide. Shortly after, a general Order follow'd for a Removal of all Images out of Churches, of which ſome were of a very groſs Nature: The only Occaſion given to cenſure this Order, was that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's Uſe. Eighteen Biſhops, and ſome Divines, were now imploy'd to examine the Offices of the Church, and to ſee which of them needed Amendment. They began with the *Euchariſt*, and the firſt Step now made was a new Office for the Communion, and the Diſtribution of the Sacrament; which differ'd not much from what is ſtill in Uſe, and was printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with ſuch Reverence and Uniformity, as might incourage the King to proceed further. *Auricular Confeſſion* was alſo examin'd, which being then us'd as a mere Trade, it was now thrown out of the Church, and private Confeſſion was declar'd indifferent. After this a general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under Conſideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worſhip of God, and be no more canton'd to the ſeveral Uſes of diſtinct Dioceſes. It was reſolv'd to have a Liturgy, as might bring the Divine Worſhip to a fit Medium, between the Pomp of Superſtition, and a naked Flatneſs: And it was reſolv'd to have nothing chang'd meerly in Oppoſition to receiv'd Practices, but rather in Imitation of what Chriſt did, in the Inſtitution of the two Sacraments of the Goſpel, that conſiſted of Rites us'd among the *Jews*, but bleſs'd by him to higher Purpoſes, to comply with what had been formerly in uſe, as much as was poſſible, thereby to gain the People. It was alſo reſolv'd to have the whole Worſhip in the vulgar Tongue; and the Morning and Evening Prayers were put almoſt in the ſame Method, in which they are ſtill us'd, only there was no Confeſſion or Abſo-

A. D. 1548. Reg. 2.

The Progreſs of the Engliſh *Reformation.*

Abſolution. The Liturgy thus compil'd, was publiſh'd with a Preface concerning Ceremonies; the ſame that is ſtill in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary Judgment and Temper. Of all theſe Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions the Reader may ſee a large Account in Doctor *Burnet*'s ſecond Volume of *The Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

The Affairs of State took up the Council, as much as the Matters of Religion imploy'd the Biſhops; the War with *Scotland* became chargeable, and was ſupported from *France*, but the Sale of the Chantry Lands brought in ſome Mony to the Council. About the ſame time Biſhop *Gardiner*, who was lately releas'd from his Impriſonment, again rais'd ſome Diſturbances againſt the Reforming Preachers; for which, not without ſome Hardſhip, he was ſent to the Tower. Another Accident alſo rais'd no ſmall Diſputes in the Court, which was the ſecond Marriage of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, which was try'd at this time, for his firſt Wife being convict of Adultery, he and ſhe were ſeparated. He had mov'd at the end of the late Reign, that he might be ſuffer'd to marry again; therefore a Commiſſion was then granted, and was renew'd in the preſent Reign to ſome Delegates to examine what Relief might be given to the innocent Perſon in ſuch a Caſe. But this being new, and *Cranmer* proceeding in it with his uſual Exactneſs, which was often accompany'd with Slowneſs, the Marqueſs became impatient, and marry'd a ſecond Wife. This gave Offence to the Council, who order'd them to be parted 'till the Delegates ſhould give Sentence; which after famous Debates, and Conſideration of all Arguments, was at length given in his Favour, and his ſecond Marriage confirm'd. Yet four Years after, he was adviſ'd to have a ſpecial Act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence.

The Marqueſs of Northampton's *Divorce.*

Affairs in Scotland.

The War with *Scotland* ſtill continu'd, where being incourag'd by a great Supply from *France*, the Clergy could not be ſatisfy'd, 'till they had put all things out of their Power, by ſending away their Queen into *France*, as was before-mention'd. The *Engliſh* had fortify'd *Hadington*, a *Scotch* Town well ſituated, and in a fruitful Country; upon which the Governor of *Scotland*, joining with the *French*, ſate down before it; a great Recruit ſent to the Garriſon from *Berwick* was intercepted and cut off, but they were well ſupply'd with Ammunition and Proviſions. Some Caſtles that the *Engliſh* had gain'd were taken by Surprize, and others by Treachery: A Fleet was ſent to waſte the Coaſt of *Scotland*, under the Admiral's Command; but he only made two Deſcents, in both which he had ſuch ill Succeſs, that he loſt near twelve hundred Men. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* advanc'd with a conſiderable Army to the Relief of *Hadington*, broke up the Siege, and well ſupply'd the Place. But as *Deſſy* the *French* General march'd back to *Edinburgh*, his Soldiers committed great Outrages upon the *Scots*, ſo that *Shrewsbury* might have taken great Advantages, ſince the *Scots* were ſo weary of their imperious Friends the *French*; but he march'd back, having perform'd his Commiſſion. *Deſſy* follow'd him, and made a great Inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any Share of the Spoil, and treated them in all Things as a conquer'd People; and being juſtly apprehenſive of them, he fortify'd himſelf in *Leith*, which before was but an inconſiderable Village. He alſo attack'd the Fort which the *Engliſh* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it; but he was recall'd upon the loud Complaints that were ſent to the Court of *France* againſt him. Now the People began to be ſenſible of their Slavery, and to deteſt thoſe who had adviſ'd the ſending their Queen to *France*, particularly the Clergy; and were by that the more diſpos'd to hearken to ſuch Preachers, as diſcover'd their Superſtition and Corruptions. And thus ended this Year's War between *England* and *Scotland*, with a Mixture of good and bad Succeſs. The *Engliſh* had preſerv'd *Hadington*, but loſt all Hopes of the Marriage, and were in danger of being ingag'd in a War with *France*, at a time when the King's Affairs were in an ill Condition, his People divided and diſcontented at home, and his Treaſure much exhauſted by the preſent Expences.

The

The Protector had us'd ſeveral Methods to bring the *Scots* to a ten Years Truce, but with no Effect; for he had now moſt unhappy Troubles rais'd in his own Family by the Ambition of his Brother the Admiral, who being alſo Uncle to the young King, expected to have ſtill a larger Share in the Government. This aſpiring Man had formerly made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth* the King's Siſter, but finding no hopes of Succeſs, he made early Applications to King *Henry*'s Queen Dowager, who comply'd with him a little undecently; for it was afterwards objected to him, that he marry'd her ſo ſoon after the King's Death, that if ſhe had conceiv'd immediately after this Marriage, it might have been dubious whether it was by the late King or himſelf. Yet the Marriage was for ſome Time conceal'd, and the Admiral ſubtilly mov'd the King and his Siſters, to write to the Queen in his Favour: The Princeſſes excus'd themſelves, that it was not proper for them to interpoſe in ſuch a Matter; but he prevail'd upon the young King, and upon his Letter the Queen publiſh'd her Marriage. The Admiral being by this poſſeſs'd of great Wealth, and finding the King frequently repairing to the Queen's Lodgings, he endeavour'd to gain him, and all that were about him; and often took Occaſion to furniſh the King with ſmall Sums of Mony. Having thus inſinuated himſelf to the King's Acquaintance, his Deſign was this; that whereas, in former Times, when Infant Kings had two Uncles, one was Protector of the Realm, and the other Governor of his Perſon, ſo now theſe two Truſts might be divided, and that he might be made Governor of the King's Perſon. This is the moſt probable Foundation of the Breach between the unfortunate Brothers; for the vulgar Story of the Quarrel between their Wives about Precedence, ſeems an ill-grounded Fiction: For there was no Pretence of a Competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*; only the latter being of a moſt haughty Spirit, might probably inflame her Husband's Reſentments, over whom ſhe had an unreaſonable Power, which gave riſe to the Story, and to other Miſchiefs. At firſt the Protector was eaſie to be reconcil'd to his Brother; but after the numerous Provocations he receiv'd from him, he too much threw off Nature. When he was in *Scotland*, the Admiral was daily forming a Party againſt him; and the good Advices given him by *Paget*, to treat ſuch as Enemies as were making a Breach between them, had no Effect to cure a Mind impetuouſly hurry'd on by a fatal Ambition. During the laſt Seſſion of Parliament the Admiral prevail'd with the King to write a Meſſage with his own Hand to the Houſe of Commons, to make him Governor of his Perſon; and when his Brother and his Friends endeavour'd to divert him from this Deſign, he declar'd, *That if he was croſs'd in his Attempt, he would make this the blackeſt Parliament that ever was in* England. Upon this he was ſent for to appear before the Council, but he refus'd to come; but when they threaten'd to turn him out of all his Places, and to ſend him to the Tower, he ſubmitted, and he and his Brother ſeem'd perfectly reconcil'd.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral his Brother.

The Admiral's Deſigns.

The Parliament being broke up, in the Month of *September*, the Admiral's Wife, the Queen Dowager dy'd, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon; upon which he boldly renew'd his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. But finding it vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would conſent, and knowing that if ſhe marry'd without their Conſent, ſhe would be excluded the Succeſſion, he reſolv'd to ſecure the King's Perſon, 'till he had made a ſufficient Change in the Government. Accordingly he fortify'd his Houſe in the Country, prepar'd Magazines, liſted great Numbers of Men, and openly complain'd *That his Brother deſign'd to inſlave the Nation, and govern all*; and he alſo enter'd into a Treaty with ſeveral of the Nobility, who envy'd his Brother's Greatneſs, promiſing that they ſhould be of the Council, and that he would diſpoſe of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters. The Protector imploy'd many to divert him from theſe deſperate Deſigns; but his reſtleſs Ambition being incurable, he was oblig'd to proceed to Extremities, and to ſend him Priſoner

He is ſent Priſoner to the Tower.

ſoner to the Tower, together with his Confederate *Sharington*, who being Vice-Treaſurer of the Mint at *Briſtol*, had ſupply'd him with Mony, and had coin'd much baſe Mony for his Uſe. Many were ſent to perſuade him to a better Temper of Mind, and his Brother was again willing to be reconcil'd to him, if he would retire from the Court and publick Buſineſs; but he was ſtill violent and intractable. Upon which many Articles were drawn up againſt him, both of his Deſigns againſt the State, and of his Maleverſation in his Office, ſeveral Pirates having been entertain'd by him; and many Witneſſes and Letters under his own Hand, were produc'd againſt him. The greateſt Part of the Council went to the Tower, and examin'd him; but he refus'd to give any particular Anſwers, but declar'd he expected a fair and open Trial. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the young King with it, and deſir'd him to refer the Matter to the Parliament then ſitting; which he granted with a Caution and Reſpect becoming one of riper Years. Upon which ſome Counſellors were again ſent to him to ſee what they could draw from him; but he ſhew'd a peculiar Sullenneſs, and after he had anſwer'd to three of the Articles, denying ſome Particulars, and excuſing others, he refus'd to proceed any further.

He is intractable.

A D. 1549. Reg. 3.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The old Parliament met in the latter End of the Year 48, but no Bills were finiſh'd before *February* following: The firſt was concerning the marry'd Clergy, which was finiſh'd by the Commons in ſix Days, but lay ſix Weeks before the Lords; nine Biſhops and four Temporal Lords proteſting againſt it. 'By 'it, it was declar'd that tho' it was better for Prieſts to live unmarry'd, and 'free from worldly Cares; yet ſince the Laws compelling it had occaſion'd 'great Filthineſs, and other Inconveniences, they were all repeal'd. Another Act paſs'd, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finiſh'd; eight Biſhops, and three Temporal Lords only proteſting againſt it. There was a long Preamble, 'ſetting forth the Inconvenience of the former Offices, and the Pains 'taken to reform them; and that divers Biſhops and Divines had, by the Aid 'of the Holy Ghoſt, with an uniform Agreement concluded on the new Book: 'Therefore it was Enacted, That all Divine Offices ſhould be perform'd accor-'ding to that; and whoever us'd other Offices, for the firſt Offence ſhould ſuffer 'ſix Months Impriſonment, loſs of Benefice for the ſecond, and perpetual Im-'priſonment for the third. There was alſo another Act paſs'd concerning Faſting, declaring, 'That tho' all Days and Meats were of themſelves alike, 'yet Faſting, being a great Help to Virtue, and to the ſubduing the Body to 'the Mind, and a Diſtinction of Meats conducing to the Fiſhing Trade, it was 'Enacted, That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and *Ember* Days ſhould 'be Fiſh-Days, under ſeveral Penalties, excepting to the Weak, or thoſe that had 'the King's Licence. Theſe and ſome other Things being paſs'd, and Subſidies granted to the King, the Parliament was prorogu'd in *March* to *November*.

The Admiral attainted.

But what occaſion'd as great Diſcourſe as any Thing in this Parliament was the Attainder of the Admiral; which was begun in the Houſe of Lords, who had been too much accuſtom'd to paſs ſuch Bills in the late Reign. All the Judges and the King's Council deliver'd their Opinions, that the Articles produc'd againſt him were Treaſon. When the Evidence was produc'd, many Lords gave it ſo fully, that all the reſt with one Voice conſented to the Bill; only the Protector, for the ſake of natural Pity, deſir'd Leave to withdraw. The Lords diſpatch'd it in two Days; but in the Houſe of Commons many argu'd againſt ſuch unjuſt Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the Party to make his Anſwers. At length a Meſſage was ſent from the King, deſiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun; and the Lords who had given Evidence againſt him in their own Houſe, were ſent down to the Commons. Upon which the Bill paſs'd, and had ſhortly after the Royal Aſſent. On the ſeventeenth of *March* the Council ſign'd a Warrant for his Execution, to which both

both the Lord Protector, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſet their Hands. And on the twentieth he was beheaded on Tower-Hill; but we find not his Behaviour on the Scaffold, only that he declar'd, *That he had never committed, or meant any Treaſon againſt the King or Kingdom.* Thus fell *Thomas* Lord *Seymour*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*; a Man of high Thoughts, of great Violence of Temper, and unmeaſurably aſpiring; ſo, as other ambitious Men, he was like a Bubble, which is ſwell'd by every ſmall Breath, and broken by every great Blaſt. This Execution caus'd divers Cenſures, particularly againſt the Protector, who ſet his Hand to the Warrant; for the popular Notion, of its being againſt Nature for one Brother to deſtroy another, was eaſily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Myſteries of State. Then the Attainting of a Man without hearing him, was condemn'd as contrary to natural Juſtice; ſo that the Protector loſt one who could have been a mighty Prop, and ſuffer'd almoſt as much by his Death, as he could have done by his Life. *He is beheaded.*

Holling. Stow. Sped. Hayward. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

III. The Protector having now loſt the chief Support of his Houſe, deſign'd to repair that Ruin, by erecting a magnificent Palace. Accordingly he caſt his Eyes upon a Piece of Ground in the *Strand*, on which ſtood one Pariſh-Church and three Epiſcopal Houſes; the former dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and the latter belonging to the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Litchfield* and *Landaff*: All which he aſſum'd into his Hands without any great Oppoſition. Having clear'd the Place and projected the intended Fabrick, the Workmen found that more Materials would be wanting to finiſh it, than the demoliſh'd Churches and Houſes could afford. He therefore reſolv'd to take down the Pariſh-Church of St. *Margaret*'s in *Weſtminſter*, and appointed a particular Portion of the Abby-Church to be mark'd out for the Uſe of the Pariſhoners. But in this his Workmen were prevented by an Inſurrection of the Multitude, who finally diſcourag'd the Undertaking. In the next Place he was inform'd of ſome ſuperfluous, or rather ſuperſtitious Buildings about St. *Paul*'s, as a regular Cloyſter with a Chappel, and a fair Charnel Houſe, and another Chappel belonging to it. This was conceiv'd to be a ſafer Undertaking, while the Churchmen continu'd to be little better than Tenants at Will; and thereupon he employ'd his Workmen to take all down, and convert the Stone, Timber, Lead and Iron, to the uſe of his intended Palace, leaving the Bones of the dead Bodies to be bury'd in the Fields. But all this not being ſufficient for his Work, the Steeple, and the greateſt Part of the Church of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem*, not far from *Smithfield*, a beautiful Building, was pull'd down, and the Stone imploy'd to the ſame Purpoſe. Such was the Ground, and ſuch were the Materials of the Duke's new Palace, call'd *Somerſet-Houſe*; which either he liv'd not to finiſh, or elſe it muſt be unaccountably ſtrange, that after the demoliſhing of two Churches, two Chappels, and three Epiſcopal Houſes, to build one Palace, there ſhould be no particular Room erected for Religious Offices. *The Building of* Somerſet-Houſe.

As this Year began, ſo it proceeded; in which nothing more was to be found than Troubles, Commotions and Diſquiets, both in Church and State. For about this Time there ſtarted up a ſort of Men, call'd by the Name of *Goſpellers*, who held peculiar Notions as to Puniſhments and God's Providence, and making God the Author of Evil. And at the ſame Time the *Anabaptiſts* from *Germany* began to vent their Opinions in *England*, which were not only a Denial of Infant Baptiſm, but alſo of the Trinity, the Divinity of Chriſt, and other Heretical Principles. For the ſtifling of this Miſchief, ſome of the Principal of them were conven'd before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Divines and Civilians; and being convicted of their Errors, ſome of them were diſmiſs'd only with Admonition, ſome ſentenc'd to a Recantation, and others condemn'd to bear their Faggots at St. *Paul*'s *Croſs*. But *Variety of Opinions in Religion.*

they proceeded further with one *Joan Bocher*, commonly call'd *Joan of Kent*, who deny'd the Incarnation of Chriſt; and being unmeaſurably vain and conceited of her Notions, ſhe ſcornfully rejected all Inſtructions that were offer'd her. Upon which ſhe was condemn'd as an obſtinate Heretick, and deliver'd to the ſecular Power; but it was very difficult to perſuade the tender King to ſign the Warrant for her Execution: He thought it an Inſtance of the ſame Spirit of Cruelty, for which the Reformers condemn'd the Papiſts; and that it was unreaſonable to burn a Perſon for ſome wild Opinions, eſpecially when they ſeem'd to flow from a diſturb'd Brain. But *Cranmer* perſuaded him that being God's Lieutenant, he was oblig'd to puniſh direct Blaſphemers, according to the Laws of *Moſes*. This rather ſilenc'd than ſatisfy'd the young King; who ſign'd the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes, and told the Arch-Biſhop, *That ſince he reſign'd himſelf to his Judgment, if he ſinn'd it ſhould lye at his Door*. This ſenſibly ſtruck the Arch-Biſhop; and both he and *Ridley* took her to their Houſes, and try'd how far Reaſon, join'd with Gentleneſs, could prevail. But being ſtill more inſolent, at laſt ſhe was burnt, and ended her Life with ſuch indecent Jeers and Reproaches, that ſhe was thought a Perſon more fit for a dark Chamber than a Stake. Afterwards a *Dutchman*, nam'd *George van Parre*, was alſo condemn'd and burnt, for denying the Divinity of our Saviour, who was a Man of exemplary Piety, and ſuffer'd with great Compoſedneſs of Mind. Theſe Things caſt a great Blemiſh upon the Reformers, who were ſaid to condemn Cruelty only when it was exercis'd on themſelves; and the Papiſts made great uſe of this in the next Reign; and when *Cranmer* and *Ridley* ſuffer'd, it was thought a juſt Retaliation upon them, by that Providence that does Juſtice to all Mankind.

Great Tumults about Incloſures.

At this Time a ſort of Contagion of Rage and Violence ran over all the Commons of *England*: The Nobility and Gentry finding more Advantage by the Trade of Wool than by their Corn, did generally incloſe their Grounds, and turn them to Paſture; and ſo kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Eſtates into their own Hands. Yet ſtill the Numbers of the People increas'd, ſince Marriage was allow'd to all; and the Abrogation of many Holy-Days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them alſo more Time to work. By theſe Means the Commons were under terrible Apprehenſions, and fear'd to be reduc'd to great Miſery. Some propos'd a ſort of *Aggrarian* Law, for regulating this threatning Inconvenience; and the King himſelf wrote a Diſcourſe about it, that there might be ſome Equality in the Diviſion of the Soil among the Tenants. The Protector, being naturally juſt and compaſſionate, was a great Friend to the Commons, and much complain'd of the Oppreſſion of the Landlords. There was therefore a Commiſſion iſſu'd out, to enquire concerning Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who purchas'd the Abbey Lands, and were oblig'd to keep up Hoſpitality, perform'd it, or not; and what Incouragement they gave to Husbandry. This having but little Effect, the Commons roſe in moſt Parts of the Nation, but chiefly in the Inland Counties; but they were eaſily diſpers'd, with a Promiſe that their Grievances ſhould be redreſs'd. The Protector, contrary to the Council's Opinion, ſet out a Proclamation againſt all new Incloſures, and for indemnifying the People for what was paſt. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent into moſt Counties, to hear and determine all Complaints; but the Power that was given to them was ſo arbitrary, that the Landlords call'd it an Invaſion of Property, when their Rights were thus ſubjected to the Pleaſure of ſuch Men. The Commons underſtanding that the Protector was ſo favourable to them, ſoon fell into greater Outrages than ever: Inſomuch it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulſions of *England* were chiefly owing to his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blam'd becauſe he acted againſt the Opinion of the Majority of the Council.

The

The moſt dangerous Commotions, which continu'd ſo long, as to gain the Name of Rebellions, were thoſe of *Devonſhire* and *Norfolk*; Counties remote from each other, but ſuch as ſeem'd to have communicated Counſels, for carrying on the Deſign. The firſt was in *Devonſhire*, where the Inſurrection was very formidable, the Superſtition of the Prieſts joining with the Rage of the People; ſo that they ſoon became ten thouſand ſtrong. The Lord *Ruſſel* at firſt was ſent againſt them with a ſmall Force, and was order'd to try if he could compoſe the Diſturbance without Bloodſhed; but *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they prov'd not a looſe Body of Men, eaſily diſſipated. They boldly ſent their Demands to the Court, 'That the old Ser-'vice and Ceremonies might be reſtor'd; That the Act of the *Six Articles*, and 'the Decrees of General Councils might again be in Force; That the Bible in '*Engliſh* might be call'd in; That Preachers ſhould pray for the Souls in Pur-'gatory; That Cardinal *Pool* ſhould be reſtor'd; That half the Abby Lands 'ſhould be reſtor'd, to found two Abbies in every County, and that Gentle-'men of a hundred Marks a Year ſhould have but one Servant: And they deſir'd a ſafe Conduct for their chief Leaders, in order to redreſs their particular Grievances: Afterwards they moderated their Demands, only to Points of Religion. Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* wrote a large Anſwer to theſe, 'ſhewing the 'Novelties and Superſtition of thoſe Rites and Ceremonies, and of the whole 'Way of Worſhip of which they were ſo fond: That the Amendments and Al-'terations had been made according to the Scriptures, and the Cuſtoms of the 'Primitive Church; and their being fond of a Worſhip they did not under-'ſtand, and deſirous to be kept ſtill in Ignorance without the Scriptures, ſhew'd 'that their Prieſts had a greater Influence over them, than the common Reaſon 'of all Mankind: As for the *Six Articles*, that Act had never paſs'd if the 'King had not gone in Perſon to the Parliament, and argu'd for it; yet he 'ſoon ſaw his Error, and was ſlack in executing it. After that there was a high threatning Anſwer ſent them in the King's Name, condemning them for their Rebellion, and blind Obedience to their Prieſts: In which, the King's Authority under Age was largely ſet forth; becauſe the Pretence of the King's Minority caus'd the People in general to believe, that their Inſurrection was no Rebellion. In Concluſion, 'They were earneſtly invited to the King's 'Mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardon'd, but had 'redreſs'd their juſt Grievances.

A Rebellion in Devonſhire, *commanded by* Arundel.

But this giving no Satisfaction, the Rebels march'd with all their Forces to beſiege *Exeter*; carrying before them in their March the conſecrated Hoſt, born under a Canopy, with Croſſes, Banners, Candleſticks, and other Utenſils. But all theſe had no Effect upon the Citizens, who were no leſs gallantly reſolv'd to make good the Town, than the other were deſperately bent to force it. To which Reſolution of the Citizens, the natural Defences of the City gave not more Incouragement, than ſome inſolent Speeches of the Rebels, boaſting, *That they would ſhortly meaſure all the Silks and Sattens in it, by the Length of their Bows*. They ſet Fire to the Gates, and wrought Mines, but all to no Effect; at length they reſolv'd to try how far Famine would prevail, and after many Days Siege, they reduc'd the Citizens to great Extremities. They were forc'd to feed upon Horſes, eſpecially for twelve Days; during which Time, they were incourag'd by an Aged Citizen, who brought out all his Stores, and declar'd, *That he would eat one Arm, and fight with the other, before he would yield to the Seditious*. After they were reduc'd to theſe Neceſſities, the Lord *Ruſſel* with his ſmall Army reſolv'd to attack the Rebels; who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Bridge behind him, both to ſurround him, and to hinder others from joining him: But he ſuddenly march'd back, and ſoon beat them from the Bridge with the Loſs of ſix hundred of their Men; by which Attempt he perceiv'd how eaſie a Work it would be to diſperſe them. Shortly after the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola*, commanding ſome *Germans*, join-

The Rebels beſiege Exeter.

ing him, he proceeded to raiſe the Siege of *Exeter*. They had block'd up the Ways, and left two thouſand Men to keep a Bridge, where the King's Forces were to paſs; but the Lord *Ruſſel* bravely broke through them, and kill'd about a thouſand of them; upon which they were forc'd to raiſe the Siege and retire to *Lanceſton*. Having purſu'd them with new Slaughter, the Lord *Ruſſel* enter'd the City of *Exeter* on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the half ſtarv'd Citizens; whoſe Loyalty the King rewarded with an Encreaſe of Privileges, and the Manor of *Eviland*. This very Day has been ever ſince obſerv'd amongſt them for an annual Feaſt, in perpetual Gratitude to God, for their happy Deliverance. *Arundel*, and the reſt of the Heads, were taken and executed; and the Vicar of St. *Thomas*, a principal Incendiary, was hang'd on the Top of his own Tower, in his *Popiſh* Attire, and his Beads at his Girdle. And thus was the Rebellion happily ſuppreſs'd in the Weſt, to the great Honour of the Lord *Ruſſel*, who finiſh'd it with little or no Loſs.

They are totally ſuppreſs'd.

Another Rebellion in Norfolk *under* Ket *a Tanner.*

In the mean Time the *Norfolk* Rebellion broke out, on the twentieth Day of *June*, beginning at a Place call'd *Attleborough*; but was not conſiderable either for Power or Numbers, 'till the ſixth of *July*; when it was greatly increas'd by *Robert Ket* a Tanner of *Windham*, who undertook to lead the Multitude. Theſe Men at firſt pretended only againſt Incloſures, and Religion ſeem'd to be kept as a Reſerve; but when their Numbers were greatly increas'd, their Inſolence was ſuch, as nothing would ſatisfie them, but the total Suppreſſion of the Gentry, the placing of new Counſellors about the King, and other Things to be done in favour of the old Religion. Concerning which they made large Remonſtrances both to the King and People. The Sheriff of the County came boldly to them, and requir'd them in the King's Name to diſperſe and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they would have put him to a cruel Death.

The Rebels incamp before Norwich.

After this they march'd directly towards *Norwich*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Mouſhold-Hill*; which gave them a full Proſpect over, and a compleat Command upon that large City, where they had many Friends. To this Place great Numbers reſorted out of *Suffolk* as well as *Norfolk*, many for Want, and many upon a turbulent Mind and a weak Notion of *Levelling the World*; and in all Parts Beacons were fir'd and Bells rung, to promote the Inſurrection; ſo that in a ſhort Time the Multitude increas'd to twenty thouſand, which were rather to be eſteem'd a Number than an Army. Their Companies rang'd through all the neighbouring Parts, and took what Goods they thought fit; and beſides Deer out of Parks, they brought ſuch Quantities of Beaſts and Proviſions, that a fat Sheep was ſold for four Pence. This was interpreted as a preſent Plenty, but it afterwards made ſuch a Scarcity, as could not be repair'd in ſeveral Years. Their Actions were diſguis'd with the uſual Coverings in Time of Rebellion, which were Religion and Juſtice: For the former they had one *Coniers* for their Chaplain, an idle vicious Perſon, who Morning and Evening read Prayers to them, and often Preach'd. But Doctor *Parker*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, coming to Preach before them, ſo fully laid open their notorious Impieties, that he was in Danger of his Life. As for Juſtice, *Ket* aſſum'd to himſelf the Power of Judicature, and in Imitation of the ancient *Druids*, under an old Oak, ſince call'd *The Oak of Reformation*, together with two of each Hundred in the County, did ſuch Juſtice as might be expected from ſuch a Judge, and in ſuch a Camp.

The Marqueſs of Northampton *unſucceſsful againſt them.*

The Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent againſt them, but with Orders to keep at a Diſtance from them, and to cut off their Proviſions; for it was hop'd that without much Bloodſhed, they might in Time be reduc'd. But at the ſame Time there was an Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire*, the Commons being further incourag'd by a Prophecy, That there ſhould be no King nor Nobility in *England*, that the Kingdom ſhould be rul'd by four Governors choſen by the Commons, who ſhould hold a Parliament in Motion, to begin at the South and North Seas; which they apply'd to the *Devonſhire* Men on the South Seas; and

and to themſelves on the North Seas. They at their firſt Riſing fir'd Beacons, and ſo gather'd the Country as if it had been for the Defence of the Coaſts; and meeting two Gentlemen and two others, they without Provocation murder'd them, and left their naked Bodies in the Road. At the ſame Time the *French* King reſolv'd to take Advantage of theſe Commotions, and to regain the Town of *Boloign*: Three Days before he march'd with his Army, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador preſſing him upon the Intimations that were given him of his Deſigns, he aſſur'd him, *On the Faith of a Gentleman, he would not begin a War, 'till he had firſt given Warning:* But many Princes reckon it a Part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from ſuch Obligations as bind poor Subjects. All theſe Misfortunes falling upon the Government at once, it may eaſily be imagin'd that the Council was under no ſmall Conſternation. Therefore a ſolemn Faſt was proclaim'd at Court, where Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* preach'd with a true Chriſtian Freedom and Vehemence. This was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was at this Time unſucceſsful in *Norfolk*; for having eleven hundred Men with him, he did not ſtrictly obſerve his Orders, but enter'd the City of *Norwich*. The Rebels rejoic'd at an Occaſion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next Day with great Fury; and the Place not being tenable, he was forc'd to quit it, with the Slaughter of a hundred of his Men, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels alſo took about thirty Priſoners, fir'd great Part of the City, and return'd in Triumph to their Camp.

The French take Advantage.

This being underſtood at Court, the Protector ſuffer'd his moſt dangerous Enemy the valiant Earl of *Warwick*, to march againſt the Rebels with ſix thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe, that were prepar'd for an Expedition to *Scotland*. He with difficulty enter'd the City of *Norwich*, but was ſcarce able to defend it, nor was he well aſſur'd of the Inhabitants. But he entertain'd the Rebels with frequent Skirmiſhes, and ſo cut off their Proviſions, that having waſted all the Country about them, they forſook the Hill, and retir'd to a Place call'd *Duſſing-Dale*, where by a Prophecy they expected great Succeſs. Here they came to a Battel, where the Rebels plac'd in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Priſoners, deſigning that they ſhould be firſt ſlain; but the brave Earl of *Warwick* ſo manag'd his Men, that without any great Hurt to the Gentlemen, he defeated the Rebels with the Death of above two thouſand of them. And now again the Earl offer'd them Pardon, if they would ſubmit; but notwithſtanding all their Loſſes, they continu'd ſtill obſtinate. At laſt, the Earl ſent to know, if they would accept of a Pardon, if he ſhould come in Perſon to offer it to them: This ſo ſenſibly mov'd them, that they anſwer'd, *They knew him to be ſo honourable, that from himſelf they would embrace it*. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and cauſing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Arms, and cry'd *Long live King* Edward! The Principals of them were taken and deſervedly executed: *Robert Ket* was hang'd in Chains upon *Norwich* Caſtle, and his Brother *William* upon the Top of the high Church-Tower of *Windham:* Nine of his chief Followers were hang'd on as many Bows of the *Oak of Reformation*, where *Ket* held his Courts; of whom two were Seducing Prophets, and one a moſt excellent Cannonier, who had done extraordinary Service to the Rebels. This great Deliverance was celebrated in the City of *Norwich* by a publick Thankſgiving, on the twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, which has been ſince annually obſerv'd. The Rebels in *Yorkſhire*, who were no more than three thouſand in Number, hearing of this Succeſs, accepted of the Pardon that was ſent them; only ſome few of the Ringleaders, continuing obſtinate, were executed at *York*. After this, the Protector publiſh'd a general Pardon, in the King's Name, of all that had been done, with ſome few Exceptions; tho' many of the Council oppos'd it, as Mercy too profuſe, judging it better to keep the Commons under the Laſh; but the Protector and his Friends thought, that in this Caſe Fear was

The Earl of Warwick ſent againſt the Norfolk Rebels.

He defeats them.

The Rebels in all Parts are quieted.

a greater Cauſe of Diſorders than Impunity. Thus was *England* deliver'd from one of the moſt threatning Storms that had broke out for many Years; in which Deliverance the ſingular Prudence and Temper of the Protector ſeems to have had no ſmall Share.

The Engliſh *unſucceſsful abroad.*

The *Engliſh* Affairs in Foreign Parts were very unſucceſsful this Year; for when *England* was ſo diſtracted at home, it was no wonder if the *French* and *Scots* took what Advantages they could. Moſt of the Forts about *Boloign* were taken by the *French*; but thoſe who commanded them, for their Excuſe alledg'd they were ill provided; yet *Thuanus* ſays they were all well ſtor'd. From theſe they came and ſate down before *Boloign*, with their King in Perſon; and tho' the Plague broke out in the *French* Camp, yet the Siege was not rais'd; but the King left the Army under the Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral of *France*. He found the only Way to take the Place was to cut it off from Sea, and ſo to keep out all Supplies; in order to which he deſign'd to have ſunk a Gally full of Stones and Gravel in it; but this and ſeveral other Attempts prov'd unſucceſsful. The Winter coming on, compell'd him to raiſe the Siege; but he lodg'd the greateſt Part of his Army in the adjacent Forts, ſo that the Town was in danger of being loſt the next Year. In *Scotland* there was alſo a great Turn; the Caſtle of *Broughty* was taken by the *Scots*, and the Garriſon almoſt intirely cut off. The *Engliſh* took particular Care of *Hadington*, to ſupply it well, expecting a Siege, upon which the *Scots* deſiſted from attacking it; yet the Charge of keeping it was ſo great, and the neighbouring Country ſo waſted, that it was neceſſary to ſend all their Proviſions from *Berwick*: So that the Protector thought it more adviſable to abandon it; and upon that ſent Orders to the Garriſon to demoliſh the Works, and return into *England*. So that now the *Engliſh* had no Place beyond the Borders but *Lauder*; and *Thermes* the *French* General ſate down before that, and if a Peace had not been concluded, it would have fallen into his Hands.

Several Expedients propos'd.

Affairs being in this Diſorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperor's Aid; who was ſo diſſatisfy'd with the Changes made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. At this Time the Emperor brought his Son *Philip* into the *Netherlands*, that he might put him in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces; where he ſetled ſeveral Limitations both as to Civil and Military Power, and made a ſpecial Proviſion, that in Caſe his Son ſhould break theſe Rules, the Provinces ſhould not be oblig'd to obey him any longer: Which was the chief Ground both in Law and Conſcience, upon which they afterwards juſtify'd their ſhaking off his Yoke. The Emperor was now Maſter of the Princes of *Germany*, who ſaw no Way to recover their Liberty but by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King; therefore Applications were made to him, which were chearfully receiv'd, only he was reſolv'd firſt to make himſelf Maſter of *Boloign*, and then to turn his whole Force towards *Germany*. Advertiſements were given of this to the Protector, who thereupon enter'd into a deep Conſultation with his Friends what was proper to be done in ſo critical a Conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up *Boloign* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preſerve it, which would not only be vaſtly expenſive, but highly dangerous in theſe unſetled Times. He himſelf was inclin'd to deliver up *Boloign*; but his Enemies, who were a Majority in the Council, ſaw the Continuance of the War like to ruin him, whereas a general Peace would put the whole Nation into his Hands; therefore they ſet themſelves againſt all Motions for a Treaty, declaring that the Sale of ſuch a Place as *Boloign* would be a laſting Reproach to the Government. Many conſiderable Arguments were us'd on both Sides; and the Iſſue of their Conſultations was the ſending over Sir *William Paget* to the Emperor, to learn what might be expected from him. His publick Inſtructions were ſome ſuperficial Matters relating to former Treaties and Trade; but his ſecret Inſtructions were to ſee whether the Emperor would include *Boloign* in the Defenſive League, and ſo protect it; or whether he would take it into his Hands, and

The Emperor refuſes his Aid.

what Recompence he would give for it; the Emperor long ſhifted him off with Delays and Pretences of great Buſineſs, and at laſt would give him no ſatiſfactory Anſwer as to *Boloign*: So he was oblig'd to return home, and give an Account of his Negotiation to a divided Council.

Upon this ill Succeſs the Protector found that his Power was in a declining Condition. But to finiſh this perplexing Affair, it was propos'd in Council, Whether ſince *Boloign* by a former Treaty was to be deliver'd up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, where the Iſſue was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it immediately; and at the ſame Time, whether it were not more adviſable to finiſh the War with *Scotland*, ſince there was no Poſſibility of compaſſing the Marriage, for which it was firſt begun. Upon this Motion, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declar'd themſelves againſt it. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Warwick* were chief of the Party; the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other expected to be the principal Man in Buſineſs, if he ſhould be remov'd. Various Things concurr'd to raiſe the Protector many Enemies: His Partiality to the Commons provok'd the Gentry; his cutting off his Brother's Head, and his Palace in the *Strand*, ſacrilegiouſly erected in the Time both of War and Plague, diſguſted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the Changes made in Religion, but for his enjoying ſo many of the Biſhop's beſt Manors: His entertaining Foreign Troops, both *Germans* and *Italians*, tho' done by the Conſent of Council, yet gave a general Diſtaſte: And the high Station he had obtain'd, wrought much on himſelf and others; raiſing the Pride of the former, and the Envy of the latter. The Privy-Counſellors complain'd, that he was become ſo Arbitrary in his Proceedings, that he ſcarcely regarded the Oppoſition made by the Majority to any of his Deſigns. All theſe Particulars concurr'd to beget him many Enemies; and except the generous *Cranmer*, who never forſook his Friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turn'd againſt him, and violently oppos'd his Propoſition for a Treaty with *France*. They alſo complain'd that the Places about *Boloign* were loſt by his Careleſsneſs, and Neglect of well furniſhing them, and that he had recall'd the Garriſon out of *Hadington*. They put him in mind of the Conditions, upon which he was firſt made Protector, by which he was limited to act nothing without their Advice; tho' he had ſince that taken out a Patent, which inveſted him with far greater Power. Then they charg'd him with ordering *Paget* to procure no better Anſwer from the Emperor, that he might be furniſh'd with an Excuſe for a diſhonourable Treaty with *France*. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats in the Council, when ſeveral interpos'd to no Effect; for the Faction againſt him was now ſo ſtrong, that they reſolv'd to ſtrip him of his exorbitant Greatneſs, and reduce him to an Equality with themſelves.

A Faction againſt the Protector.

Upon theſe Animoſities, the Protector carry'd the King to *Hampton-Court*, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increas'd the former Jealouſies; therefore nine of the Privy-Council met at *Ely* Houſe, and aſſum'd to themſelves the Name and Authority of the Council; and Secretary *Petre* being ſent by the King, to demand the Reaſon of their Meeting, inſtead of returning, join'd himſelf to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's Male-Adminiſtration and dangerous Deſigns, and of his ingaging the King to ſign Letters for raiſing of Men, and for diſperſing ſeditious Papers; therefore they reſolv'd to provide for the Safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of *London*, and the Lieutenants of the Tower declar'd for them; and they alſo ſent Letters all over *England*, deſiring the Aſſiſtance of the Nobility and Gentry. They were join'd by ſeven more Privy-Counſellors; and all wrote to the King 'Complaining of the Protector's Obſtinacy, and his refuſing 'to hearken to their Counſels, tho' the late King had left the Government of 'his Perſon and Kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanc'd 'to

Which turns to a publick Breach.

Great Heats.

'to that Dignity over them, upon the Conditions which he had little regarded; 'therefore they desir'd that the King would make a good Construction of their 'Intentions and Proceedings. The Protector had remov'd the King from *Hampton-Court*, as being an open Place, to *Windsor*, which had some better Defence about it; and had arm'd some of his own Servants, and plac'd them about the King's Person, which still encreas'd the former Jealousies; yet seeing himself abandon'd by most of his Friends, and finding the Party against him so formidable, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offer'd to submit himself to the Council. Accordingly a Proposition of a Treaty was set on Foot; and the Lords at *London* were desired to send two of their Number with their Propositions, and a Passport was sent them for their Safety. *Cranmer*, *Paget* and *Smith* wrote to the Council, to dispose them to an Agreement, 'and not to follow *cruel Counsels*. Many false Reports, as is usual in all such Occasions, were carry'd of the Protector, as if he had threaten'd, that if they design'd to put him to Death, the King should die first; which serv'd to improve their Prejudices against him. The Council wrote to *Cranmer* and *Paget*, 'Charging them to look well to the King's Person, that he should not be 'remov'd from *Windsor*, and that the Duke of *Somerset*'s Servants might be 'remov'd from his Presence, and his own sworn Servants admitted to wait; 'protesting also that they would proceed with all Moderation and Favour that 'was possible towards the Duke of *Somerset*.

The Council understanding that all Things were prepar'd, as they had desir'd, first sent three of their Number, to take care that the Protector, and some of his Favourites, *Smith*, *Stanhop*, *Thynne*, *Wolf* and *Cecil* should be confin'd to their Lodgings; and on the twelfth of *October* the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and made great Protestations of their Duty to the King, which he receiv'd favourably, and assur'd them he took all they had acted in the best Sense. The Protector, with the rest of his Friends, except *Cecil*, were sent to the Tower, and many Articles were drawn up against him, 'That he being 'Protector, with this Condition, that he should act nothing, but by the Con- 'sent of the other Executors, had separately treated with Ambassadors; had 'made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants without their Knowledge; had held 'a *Court of Requests* in his House; had embas'd the Coin of the Nation; 'had neglected the Places the King had in *France*; had incourag'd the Com- 'mons in their late Insurrections, and had given out Commissions, and pro- 'claim'd a Pardon without their Consent: That he had animated the King 'against the rest of the Council, and had proclaim'd them Traitors; and had 'put his own Servants armed about the King's Person. And thus fell the Duke of *Somerset* from his high Offices and great Trust; but it appears by the Articles that what was charg'd upon him were rather Errors and Infirmities, than notorious Crimes, such as are incident to all who are suddenly exalted to a disproportion'd Greatness. He was not charg'd with Cruelty, Rapine or Bribery, or yet Sacrilege; and his embasing the Coin was done upon a common Mistake of weak Governments, which in the Necessity of Affairs usually fly to that as their last Refuge. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Prosperity; and in his Imprisonment, he set himself to the Study of moral Philosophy and Divinity, and wrote a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had noble Impressions upon his Mind. However his Fall was a great Affliction to all who lov'd the Reformation; which was increas'd by the Apprehensions they had of the two chief Men of the Party against him, *Southampton* and *Warwick*; the one a known Papist, and the other esteem'd as a Man of no Religion: And both at the Emperor's Court, and in *France*, it was expected, that upon this Revolution, Matters of Religion would be reduc'd back to the same Posture, in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Bishop *Gardiner*, now hop'd to be set at Liberty; and *Bonner*, who for his Principles and Disobedience had this Year been depriv'd of his Bishop-

The Protector's Fall.

The Popish Party are elevated.

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Biſhoprick, expected to be re-eſtabliſh'd; and all the People began much to decline from the Uſe of the new Service. But the Earl of *Warwick*, finding the King ſo zealouſly addicted to the Reformation, as nothing could more recommend a Man than that, ſoon forſook the Popiſh Party, and appear'd a mighty Promoter of that Work. Upon this the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great Diſcontent: He was neither reſtor'd to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treaſurer, nor one of the Six who had the Charge of the King's Perſon, as he expected. Therefore he began to lay a Train againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, who being too quick for him, he retir'd, and not long after dy'd, by the Force of Poiſon or Grief.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

In *November*, a Seſſion of Parliament met; in which an Act was paſs'd, declaring it Treaſon to call any to the Number of twelve together, about any Matter of State, if being requir'd, they did not diſperſe themſelves: Other Riotous Aſſemblies were alſo declar'd Felonious; and the giving out of Propheſies concerning the King, or Council, was alſo made penal. Another Law was made againſt Vagabonds, the former Statute was repeal'd, as too ſevere, and Proviſions were made for the Relief of the Sick and Impotent, and imploying ſuch as were able to Work. The Biſhops made a great Complaint, of the Growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their Power was ſo much abridg'd, that they could not ſuppreſs it: Therefore a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, which tho' great, was at length ſo moderated, that the Lords paſs'd it. But the Commons rejected it; and inſtead of that, ſent up a Bill, that empower'd thirty two, who were to be nominated by the King, the one half of the Spiritualty, and the other of the Temporalty, to compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, within the Compaſs of three Years; and that thoſe, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approv'd by the King, ſhould have the Force of Eccleſiaſtical Laws: Of the thirty two, four were to be Biſhops, and as many to be common Lawyers. Six Biſhops and ſix Divines were alſo empower'd by an Act to prepare a new Form of Ordination, which being confirm'd under the Great Seal ſhould take place after *April* following. On the ſecond of *January*, a Bill was brought in againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, containing the Articles formerly mention'd, with a Confeſſion of them, ſign'd by his own Hand. But ſome objected, that they ought not to proceed, 'till they knew whether his ſigning of it was voluntary or not: Accordingly ſome were ſent to examine him, to whom he acknowledg'd that he had done it freely, but proteſted that his Errors had flow'd rather from Indiſcretion than Malice, and poſitively deny'd all treaſonable Deſigns againſt the King or the Realm. Upon which he was fin'd in two thouſand Pounds a Year, and in the Loſs of all his Offices and Goods. He complain'd of the great Weight of this Cenſure, and earneſtly begg'd to be reſtor'd to the King's Favour, and promis'd for the future to carry himſelf ſo humbly and obedient, as ſhould make full Amends for his paſt Follies: All which was thought by ſome to be the Sign of an abject Spirit; tho' others excus'd it, for that the Power and Malice of his Enemies was ſo predominant, that he could not be ſafe, while he continu'd a Priſoner. He was diſcharg'd in the Beginning of *February*; ſhortly after he had his Pardon, and did ſo manage his Intereſt with the King, his Nephew, that he was brought both to the Court and Council in *April*. And thus the Storm paſs'd over him more gently than was expected; but his Carriage in it was thought to have ſo little of the *Heroe*, that after this he was never much conſider'd.

The Protector fin'd.

And reſtor'd to Favour.

Hayward Speed. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

IV. After this Diſturbance and Confuſion was over, the Reformation was again carry'd on with great Vigour. The Council ſent Orders over all *England*, to require all to conform to the new Service, and to call in all the Books of the old Offices. To give a more publick Declaration of their Zeal, an Act paſs'd in Parliament to the ſame Effect; by which all the old Books and Images were appointed to be defac'd, and all Prayers to Saints were to be ſtruck

A. D. 1550. Reg. 4.

out of the Primers publiſh'd by the late King. A Subſidy was granted, and the King gave a general Pardon, out of which all State Priſoners and Anabaptiſts were excepted. In this Seſſion it is obſerv'd, that the eldeſt Sons of Peers were firſt allow'd to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination, finiſh'd their Work with common Conſent; only *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter* refus'd to ſign it, for which he was impriſon'd by Order of Council. While the Reformation thus ſucceeded in *England*, Pope *Paul* dy'd; and Cardinal *Pool*, the grand Enemy to the Work, for his great Services and Sufferings was elected Pope, in the Night Time. He did by no means aſpire to this Dignity; ſo that when a full Number had agreed, and came according to Cuſtom to adore him, he receiv'd it with his uſual Coldneſs, and ſaid, *God lov'd Light*, adviſing them to defer the Matter 'till the Morning. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition paſſes for Greatneſs of Mind, look'd on this as an unſufferable Piece of Dulneſs and Stupidity; upon which the Cardinals ſhrunk from him before Day, and choſe *de Monte* to be Pope, who reign'd by the Name of *Julius* the Third. The firſt Promotion he made was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Cardinal's Hat, to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being ask'd what he obſerv'd in him to make him Cardinal, he anſwer'd, *As much as the Cardinals had ſeen in him to make him Pope.*

Cardinal Pool *choſen Pope, but loſt it.*

At this Time the Council was daily perplex'd concerning the Affair of *Boloign*; and tho' they had oppos'd the Surrender of it by the Protector, yet that great End being ſerv'd in pulling him down, they were convinc'd of the Neceſſity of doing of it, and ſo were induc'd to hearken to the Propoſition that one *Guidotti*, an *Italian*, made for a Treaty. He was imploy'd by the Conſtable *Monmorancy*, and gave them Aſſurances, that as ſoon as that was effected, the *French* King would ingage in favour of the oppreſs'd Princes of the Empire. For this End Ambaſſadors were ſent over to *France*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and *Paget* now made a Lord, with ſome others, to ſettle the Treaty of Peace. They were order'd in the firſt Place to demand the Delivery of the *Scotch* Queen, and the Payment of the perpetual Tribute or Penſion from *France* to *England*: But the *French* refus'd to treat upon theſe Heads; their Maſter deſign'd to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dauphine*, and would not be ſo tributary to another Prince as to pay a perpetual Penſion; but they offer'd a particular Sum of Mony for *Boloign*. Some Difficulties were rais'd about demoliſhing the Fortifications in *Aldernay* and *Sark*, two ſmall Iſlands in the Channel which the *French* expected; and about the Surrender of *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to the *Scots*, then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The Council order'd the Commiſſioners to inſiſt upon theſe Particulars, and to offer to break the Negotiation rather than yield to them; but if that had no Effect upon the *French*, then they were to drop them as honourably as they could. In Concluſion, the *Engliſh*, after a ſpecial Proteſtation, by which they reſerv'd to their King all the Rights he had at the Beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up *Boloign*, and all the Places about it, with all the Ordinance in it, except what the *Engliſh* had caſt; for all which the *French* were to pay four hundred thouſand Crowns, each amounting to the Value of an *Engliſh* Noble. Likewiſe all the Places which the *Engliſh* held in *Scotland* were to be deliver'd up, and the Fortifications demoliſh'd; and ſix Hoſtages were to be diſpos'd on both Sides for the Performance of Articles, who were the Sons of Men of the higheſt Quality. Thus was the Peace fully concluded; and the Articles were exactly perform'd on both Sides. The Council all approv'd of the Proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries; only the high Earl of *Warwick*, who had violently declared himſelf againſt the Delivery of *Boloign*, pretended Sickneſs, and abſented himſelf when the Peace was proclaim'd, on the twenty ninth Day of *March*.

A Treaty with France.

Boloign *deliver'd to the* French.

A Peace concluded.

And now the King was entring in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto diſtracted his Government, ſo that the Council was more at leiſure to ſettle Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick* beginning to form great Deſigns, reſolv'd firſt to make himſelf popular, by calling all concern'd in the King's Affairs to a ſtrict Account; and either to make them compound for large Sums, by which the King's Debts ſhould be paid, or to keep them under Power, 'till he had made them ſubſervient to his Ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, who being charg'd with many Things, ſubmitted to a Fine of twelve thouſand Pounds, to be paid in twelve Years time. This was the more publickly obſerv'd, becauſe *Southampton*, *Arundel* and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, had been the chief Contrivers of the Protector's Fall: *Southampton* was diſappointed and driven away, *Arundel* was fin'd, and *Southwell* ſoon after impriſon'd for diſperſing ſome ſeditious Papers. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a ſecret Curſe, on thoſe who had conſpir'd againſt the Protector; and the Delivery of *Boloign* ſtill made it more apparent, that the Charge againſt him was chiefly grounded on Malice. After *Arundel*'s Diſgrace, all the Protector's Friends made their Compoſitions, and were diſcharg'd. Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Thomas Fiſher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledg'd they ow'd the King three thouſand Pounds; and Sir *John Thynn* ſubmitted to ſix thouſand Pounds Fine.

The Earl of Warwick's Deſigns.

All Things being now quieted at home, and compos'd abroad, there was a Diſcourſe on Foot of a Marriage between the King, and a Daughter of *France*, which griev'd the Reformers, who more deſir'd him to marry a Siſter of *Maximilian*'s, who was believ'd to favour the Reformation, and was eſteem'd one of the beſt Men of the Age. Old *Latimer* upon this Occaſion preach'd at Court, and freely warn'd the King of the ill Effects of Marriages, made up only as Bargains, without Affection between the Parties, which occaſion'd ſhameful Whoredoms and Divorces: He alſo complain'd of the Luxury and Vanity of the Age, and of many call'd *Goſpellers*, who were concern'd for nothing but Abby and Chantry-Lands, preſſing for a primitive Diſcipline in the Church: He complain'd that the King's Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers became vaſtly rich. He preach'd this as his laſt Sermon; and therefore us'd the greater Freedom. The Reformation ſtill was carry'd on with Succeſs; and *Ridley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a moſt learned and zealous Reformer, was made Biſhop of *London*, in the Room of *Bonner* depriv'd. *Gardiner* was ſtill kept a Priſoner, and treated with a Severity not altogether excuſable. Doctor *Hooper* was at this Time made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who being over Scrupulous about the Church Veſtments, unhappily gave Riſe to Diſputes and Heats about indifferent Things, which have continu'd to this Day. This Diſpute was too much promoted by *John a Laſco*, a *German* Reformer driven from his Country, who being allow'd to ſet up a Congregation in *England*, took an undecent Liberty in the *Engliſh* Affairs, and wrote againſt the *Habits*, and kneeling at the Sacrament. About the ſame Time, the famous *Polydore Virgil*, who had been now almoſt forty Years in *England*, growing old, deſir'd leave to go nearer the Sun, all which was allow'd; and in Conſideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his Hiſtory of *England*, he was permitted ſtill to hold his Arch-Deaconry of *Wells*, and Prebend of *Nonnington*. He is ſaid to have pillag'd the publick Libraries at his Pleaſure; and at laſt to have ſent over a whole Ship Load of Manuſcripts to *Rome*. At this Time the Young King, now thirteen Years of Age, began to diſplay his Parts and Abilities by means of his induſtrious Pen, which ſtill went beyond his Years: Particularly he wrote a Journal with his own Hand of his Reign, and of all Foreign Affairs; and wrote a Scheme for amending many Things amiſs in the Government; and alſo another Diſcourſe in *French* againſt Idolatry, with a Preface to it, dedicated to his Uncle the Protector.

The Progreſs of the Reformation.

The young King's Abilities.

A. D. 1551. Reg. 5.

The further Progress of the Reformation.

The Government was now free from all Disturbances, the Coin was regulated, and Trade incourag'd; and the Faction in the Court seem'd to be extinguish'd, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son and the Duke of *Somerset*'s Daughter. All which gave Opportunity for the Reformation to be carry'd on with great Vigour and Success; and the *Romish* did now generally comply with every Change that was made in the Church. The Principle by which most of that Party were govern'd, was this; They believ'd they ought to oppose all the Changes, before they were establish'd by Law, yet when once done, they might afterwards comply with them. *Cranmer*, who was of great Temper and Prudence, was willing to accept of any thing they offer'd, rightly judging, that whether they acted sincerely or not, their Compliance would be a Means to quiet the Nation; and he was so naturally compassionate, that he would not use Extremities, against Men that were grown old in their Errors, and could not easily be wean'd from them. Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were such deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it more excusable to make Stretches, for delivering the Church from them; for as *Bonner* had formerly lost the Bishoprick of *London*, so this Year *Gardiner* was formally depriv'd of *Winchester*, and *Poinet* put in his Room. About the same Time that eminent Reformer *Martin Bucer* dy'd at *Cambridge*, a Man of great Learning and excellent Temper of Mind; and by Order from *Cranmer* and Sir *John Cheek*, he was bury'd with the highest Solemnities that could be invented, to express the Esteem the University had for him. By this Time the greater Number of the Bishops were Men that heartily receiv'd the Reformation; so it was resolv'd now to proceed to a Settlement of the Doctrine of the Church. Accordingly, after some mature Debates and Considerations, they fram'd a Body of Articles, which contain'd the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: They were cast into forty two Articles, and afterwards some few Alterations being made in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, they were reduced to THIRTY NINE; which continue in Use and Force to this Day. Altars began to be put down, and Communion-Tables were plac'd in their Room; and the Common-Prayer Book was review'd and alter'd, and put in the same Order and Method, in which it continues to this Day, excepting only some inconsiderable Variations, that have been made since. At this Time six of the most eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by Turns, two at a Time, and the other four were sent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for supplying the Defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

The Princess Mary a great Opposer of it.

The greatest Opposer of the Reformation was the Princess *Mary*; and the Mass constantly said in her Chappel, was now again disputed. The Court became less apprehensive of the Emperor's Displeasure than formerly, and therefore would no longer bear with so publick a Breach of Law; and the Promise they made being but temporary, and not in Writing, they were not under any further Obligation. But the Emperor assuring her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Privilege, she was so much incourag'd, that when the Council wrote to her to desist, she declar'd *She would adhere to the Catholick Church, and her Father's Religion.* She still meeting with Opposition, a strange Project was form'd, which was to have a Ship ready upon the Coast of *Essex*, to convey her suddenly into *Flanders*; and if this had taken Place, she must have been intirely shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperor so warmly espous'd her Cause, that he threaten'd to make War, if she met with any hard Usage; and the *English* Merchants having then great Effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought Policy to give him a Pretence to seize them; so the Council was willing to let the Matter fall of it self, and only advis'd her to have her Mass said privately: Yet the conscientious King could not easily be induc'd to yield to that, for he said *He ought not to connive at Idolatry.* By Order of Council, *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Poinet* went to satisfie him in this Point;

Point; and they convinc'd him, *That tho' he ought not to conſent to any Sin, yet he was not at all Times oblig'd to puniſh it:* Upon which he burſt out into Tears, lamenting his Siſter's Obſtinacy, and his own hard Circumſtances, that oblig'd him to comply with ſuch an impious Way of Worſhip. After new Meſſages to the Emperor to no great Effect, the Council ſeiz'd two of her Chaplains; and after much ſtruggling, gain'd this Point, that for the future ſhe had her Maſs ſaid ſo ſecretly, that ſhe gave no Occaſion of publick Offence. As to the King's Siſter *Elizabeth*, ſhe in all Things conform'd to the Laws; for her Mother at her Death had earneſtly recommended her to the Care of Doctor *Parker*, a great Reformer, who well inſtructed her in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion.

The Earl of Warwick's vaſt Ambition.

While the Affairs of Religion were thus in Debate, the aſpiring Earl of *Warwick* began to form vaſt Deſigns of bringing the Crown into his Family: He found the King was now alienated from his Siſter *Mary*, and the Privy-Council had ſo nearly concern'd themſelves with her, that they would be eaſily ingag'd againſt her. The Pretence againſt both the Siſters was the ſame, that they ſtood Illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirm'd by Acts of Parliament; ſo that it would be a Diſhonour to the *Engliſh* Nation to ſuffer the Crown to devolve upon ſpurious Iſſues. And ſince the Apprehenſions of the Revenge of the Princeſs *Mary*, made the Council willing to exclude her; he found that the only Reaſon on which they could ground that, muſt likewiſe take Place againſt the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. And therefore tho' the Crown was appointed to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late King's Will; yet theſe being founded on an Error that was inſuperable, which was the Illegitimacy of their Deſcent, they ought not to take place. They being thus laid aſide, the Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, ſtood next in the Act; tho' there was a ſtrong Suſpicion that they were alſo Illegitimate, by reaſon of a prior and ſecret Marriage, he was ſuppos'd to have made with one *Mortimer*. The Duke's two Sons dy'd both in one Day of the ſweating Sickneſs, which rag'd in *England* this Year: His eldeſt Daughter was marry'd to *Gray* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, a weak and good Man, who was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and had three Daughters; of which the Eldeſt the Lady *Jane* had all the charming Qualities of her own Sex, and was judg'd to be the Wonder of both. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three eldeſt being already marry'd; but becauſe the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was like to be the moſt effectual Obſtacle, a Deſign was laid to ſend her out of *England*, and a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*. To amuſe the King himſelf, a moſt ſplendid Embaſſie was ſent into *France* with the noble Order of the *Garter*. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* carry'd it, accompany'd with three Earls, the Biſhop of *Ely*, five Barons, and above two hundred Gentlemen. They were to make a Propoſition of a Marriage for the King with the *French* King's Daughter *Elizabeth*. The Biſhop of *Ely* made the firſt Speech, which was anſwer'd by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and it was ſoon concluded; yet neither Party was to ſtand oblig'd, either in Honour or Conſcience, 'till the Lady ſhould be of Years to give Conſent. In return a magnificent Embaſſie was ſent from *France* to *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael*. The *French* Ambaſſadors deſir'd in their Maſter's Name the Continuance of the King's Friendſhip, and that he would not be mov'd by vain Rumours and malicious Reports, to break the Alliance. Upon this the wondrous young King immediately return'd this Anſwer with his own Mouth, *That Rumours were not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; for it was no leſs vain to fear all things, than to doubt of nothing: If any Differences ſhould ariſe, he ſhould be always more ready to determine them by Reaſon than Force, ſo far as was conſiſtent with his Honour.*

But

But while all this was in Agitation, there was a Design laid to destroy the Duke of *Somerset*; who had now such Access to the King, and such Freedom with him, that the Earl of *Warwick* expected no less than the Ruin of his Projects. Therefore to prevent that, and to raise himself and his Friends higher, he procured a great Creation of new Honours: He himself was made Duke of *Northumberland*, the Blood of the *Percies* being then under an Attainder; *Pawlet* was made Marquess of *Winchester*, *Herbert* was made Earl of *Pembroke*, and a little before this, *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and *Darcy* was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of the new Duke of *Northumberland*'s Hands, as the Duke of *Somerset*, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; therefore upon some Informations, both the Duke of *Somerset* and his haughty Dutchess, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and several others, of whom some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others Servants to the Duke, were all committed to the Tower. The Commitment of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had really betray'd the Duke, and was secur'd as an Accomplice, and then pretended to discover a Conspiracy: He declar'd, that the Duke design'd to have rais'd the People, and that when *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Pembroke*, had been invited to dine at the Lord *Paget*'s, he determin'd to have set upon them by the Way, or to have kill'd them at Dinner; that *Vane* was to have two thousand Men in Readiness; *Arundel* was to have seiz'd on the Tower, and all the *Gens d'Arms* were to have been cut in Pieces. All these Particulars were related to the young King with such aggravating Circumstances, that he too easily believ'd them; and upon that was much alienated from his Uncle, as one really guilty of so shameful a Conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke design'd to have rais'd the City of *London*, and one *Crane* confirm'd *Palmer*'s Testimony; so that both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were also committed as Accomplices.

He is made Duke of Northumberland.

He causes the Protector to be sent to the Tower,

who is try'd by his Peers.

On the first of *December*, the unfortunate Duke was brought to his Trial: The Marquess of *Winchester* was Lord High-Steward, and twenty seven Peers sate to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Particulars charg'd upon him were, a Design to seize on the King's Person, to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raise the City of *London*: But it seem'd prodigious to see *Northumberland* sit a Judge, when the Crime objected, was a Design against his Life; for tho' by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challeng'd in a Trial, yet by the Law of Nature no Man ought to judge where he is a Party: And what still made the Design appear worse, was that the Lord Chancellor, tho' a Peer, was left out, upon Suspicion of a Reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke. In this Trial, the Duke not being well skill'd in Law, neither objected to the Indictment, nor desir'd Council to plead for him, but only answer'd to Matters of Fact: 'He deny'd all Designs to raise the People, or to 'assassinate *Northumberland*; and if he had mention'd it, it was in Passion with-'out any Intention: And it was ridiculous to believe, that he with a small 'Troop should design to destroy the *Gens d'Arms*, who were nine hundred in 'Number. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own Defence, 'he had done no hurt to his Enemies, tho' it was once very much in his Power; 'and he had surrender'd himself without making Resistance: He also desir'd the 'Witnesses might be brought Face to Face, and objected many Things against 'them, especially *Palmer*. But this last was not allow'd; and their Depositions were read. The King's Council pleaded upon the Statute against unlawful Assemblies; that to contrive the Death of Privy-Counsellors was Felony, and to have armed Men about him for his Defence was also Felony. The material Defence was unhappily omitted; for by that Statute those Assemblies were not Felonious, except the Parties refus'd to disperse themselves, after they were legally requir'd; and it did not appear that any such Proclamation had been

His Defence.

been made in this Caſe. The Proofs of his raiſing Rebellion were altogether inſufficient, ſo he was acquitted of Treaſon, which immediately rais'd a mighty Shout of Joy, that was heard as far as *Charing-Croſs*; but this was ſoon allay'd when they heard he was found guilty of Felony, in intending to impriſon the Duke of *Northumberland*. During the Trial he carry'd himſelf with great Temper; and the Sharpneſs which the King's Council expreſs'd in pleading againſt him, did not provoke him to any indecent Paſſion. But when Sentence was given he ſunk a little under the Weight, and ask'd Pardon of the three Lords that were his Enemies, for his ill Deſigns againſt them, and made Sute for his Life, and for his Wife and Children. It was generally concluded, That nothing being found againſt him, but an Intention to impriſon a Privy-Counſellor which never took Effect, one ſo nearly related the King would not have ſuffer'd Death upon ſuch an Account. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe in the King a ſtrong Averſion to him; accordingly a Story was brought to the King, as if in the Tower he had confeſs'd a Deſign of imploying ſome to aſſaſſinate thoſe Lords; and the Perſons nam'd for that impious Purpoſe, were alſo perſuaded to undertake it. This being unfortunately believ'd by the King, he took no further Care to preſerve him; and Aſſaſſination being a Crime of that barbarous Nature, it poſſeſs'd him with the utmoſt Horror, even againſt his Uncle; and therefore he was deliver'd up to the Rage of his Enemies.

He is found guilty of Felony.

Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Thomas Arundel* and Sir *Ralph Vane*, were next brought to their Trials; the two firſt were not much pity'd, for they had made a very ill Uſe of their Intereſts in the Duke, during his Greatneſs; but the other two were much lamented. *Arundel*'s Jury was ſhut up a whole Day and a Night; and thoſe who were for acquitting him, were compell'd by the Fury of the reſt; only that they might ſave their own Lives, and not be ſtarv'd. *Vane* had done noble Services in the Wars, but carry'd himſelf with a Magnanimity that was too extravagant: They were all four condemn'd, and *Partridge* and he were hang'd, and the other two were beheaded. As to the Duke himſelf, the Lord Chancellor *Rich* was now become a ſecret Friend to him; which was thus unhappily diſcover'd: He once went aſide at Council and wrote a Note, giving the Duke Notice of what was then in Agitation againſt him, and indors'd it only *For the Duke*, and ſent it to the Tower; but his Servant not having particular Directions, imagin'd it was for the old Duke of *Norfolk*, and not *Somerſet*, and carry'd it to him. This Duke, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, ſent it to him; upon which the Chancellor, underſtanding the Miſtake into which his Servant had fallen, prevented the Diſcovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending ſome Indiſpoſitions deſir'd to be diſcharg'd; and upon that he took his Bed, ſo that it ſeem'd too barbarous to proceed any further againſt him; only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was given to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

Some Friends of his condemn'd.

Two Months had almoſt paſs'd between the Duke's Sentence of Condemnation and his Execution, in all which Time no one either did or could plead ſufficiently in his Favour; ſo that on the twenty ſecond Day of *January*, he was brought to his Scaffold on Tower-Hill. His whole Deportment was very compos'd, and agreeable to the melancholy Occaſion: He firſt kneel'd down and pray'd, and then riſing up he made a Speech to the People, 'Vindicating himſelf 'from all ill Deſigns againſt the King or Government: He confeſs'd his private 'Sins, and acknowledg'd the Mercies of God in granting him ſuch Time for 'Repentance: He declar'd he had acted ſincerely in all he did, in Matters of 'Religion, while he was in Power; and heartily rejoic'd for his being Inſtru-'mental in ſo good a Work: He exhorted the People to live ſuitably to the 'Doctrine receiv'd amongſt them; otherwiſe they were to expect ſignal Judg-'ments from Heaven. As he was proceeding, there was a prodigious Noiſe heard, like the blowing up of ſome mighty Fabrick; which ſo extreamly terrify'd the People, that many ran away without knowing the Reaſon. At the ſame

He is brought to the Scaffold.

His laſt Speech.

ſame Time Sir *Anthony Brown* came riding haſtily towards the Scaffold, which caus'd the People with the greateſt Acclamations to cry out, *A Pardon, a Pardon, God ſave the King!* by which it was perceiv'd how dear he was to the People. But this proving a Miſtake, the Duke in a compos'd Manner proceeded in his Speech. 'He declar'd his chearful Submiſſion to the Will of God, 'and deſir'd them likewiſe to acquieſce in it: He earneſtly pray'd for the King 'and the Council, and exhorted the People to continue obedient to them: And 'laſtly he ſincerely ask'd Forgiveneſs of all, whom at any Time he had offen-
and Execution. 'ded. Then taking leave of all about him, he undreſs'd himſelf for the Block; without any Change of Countenance: He continu'd calling *Lord Jeſus ſave me*! 'till the Executioner ſever'd his Head from his Body.

His Character. Thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet* from the higheſt Places, Station and Titles in the Kingdom; a Perſon of extraordinary Virtues, of great Candor, and eminent Piety; who was always a Promoter of Juſtice, and a Patron of the Oppreſſed. He was really a better Captain than a Counſellor; and was too eaſie and open-hearted, to be ſo cautious, as ſuch Times, and ſuch Imployments requir'd. It was generally believ'd, that all this Conſpiracy, for which he and the other four ſuffer'd, was only a Forgery; all the other Accomplices were ſoon diſcharg'd, and *Palmer*, the chief Witneſs, became *Northumberland*'s particular Confident; and the indiſcreet Words ſpoken by the Duke, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to *Palmer*'s Artifices, who had put him in Fear of his Life, and made him act and ſpeak thoſe Things, for which he loſt it. His four Friends did all end their Lives with the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations of their Innocence; and *Vane* added, *That his Blood would make* Northumberland's *Pillow uneaſie to him.* The People, tho' formerly diſguſted, were infinitely affected with this Execution, and many threw their Hankerchiefs into the Duke's Blood, to preſerve the Remembrance of him; and one Lady that met *Northumberland*, when he was led through the City in the next Reign, ſhook her bloody Hankerchief at him, crying, *Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Uncle of that excellent King, which ſhed by thy malicious Practice, does now apparently revenge it ſelf on thee.* His Innocence as to this Crime, made others to believe this Puniſhment to be more the Hand of Heaven; particularly for the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Death of the Earl of *Surry*, occaſion'd likewiſe by a Conſpiracy of their own Servants, in which he was thought to have been too active. It is hard to vindicate his ſacrilegious Attemps upon Churches and Biſhops Lands, which lay heavy upon him and his Family; but the frequent Remark made by modern Writers, that for that Reaſon he wanted a Heart to beg the Benefit of his Clergy, is founded upon a palpable Error. For in the Act by which he was condemn'd, it was particularly provided that no Clergy ſhould be allow'd.

A. D. 1552. Reg. 6. V. The pious King *Edward*, tho' very young, had liv'd to ſee the violent Deaths of his two Uncles, and was now in a great Meaſure thrown into the Hands of the aſpiring Duke of *Northumberland*, who was daily graſping at Power, Wealth and Grandeur. And now a new Seſſion of Parliament being met, and finding that *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham* was impriſon'd upon ſome treaſonable Suſpicions, he caſt his ambitious Eye upon his Honours and Revenues: He deſign'd to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the Acceſſion of the Juriſdiction of the County *Palatine*, lodg'd in that See, ſeem'd ſo conſiderable, that to make way to it he reſolv'd to ruin the Biſhop; who being a Man of Candor and Temper, tho' an Oppoſer of the Reformation, *Cranmer* ſtood up for him, and proteſted againſt a Bill of Attainder that was brought againſt him, by which he abſolutely loſt the Duke of *Northumberland*. Yet all the Popiſh Lords and Biſhops went along with it, and ſome Depoſitions being read amongſt them to juſtifie the Bill, it paſs'd in that Houſe; but when the Bill was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, they reſolv'd to put a Stop to

Holling. Speed. Hayward. Heylin. Burnet. Strypt.

A new Seſſion of Parliament.

that

that Way of condemning Men unheard. Therefore they ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, that he and his Accuſers might be heard Face to Face; which not being done, they let the Bill fall. By theſe Indications, it appear'd that the Houſe of Commons had no great Affection for this powerful Duke; and many of them had been oblig'd to the Duke of *Somerſet*: For which Reaſon it was reſolv'd to have a new Parliament; and this which had ſate almoſt five Years was diſſolv'd on the fifteenth Day of *April*.

The Common-Prayer Book eſtabliſh'd.

But before this happen'd, ſeveral conſiderable Acts were paſs'd: The firſt was to eſtabliſh the Common-Prayer Book as it was laſt amended; to which only one Earl, two Biſhops, and two Barons diſſented. 'By this the Book was appointed to be receiv'd in all Places of publick Worſhip from *All-hallows* next; and 'the Biſhops were requir'd to proceed by the Cenſures of the Church, againſt ſuch as 'did not come thither: They alſo authoriz'd the Book of Ordinations, and enacted 'the ſame Penalties againſt Offenders, that were in the Act for the former Book 'three Years before. Another Act paſs'd for the Marriage of the Clergy, with the Diſſent of four Earls and ſix Barons, 'Declaring that whereas the former 'Act concerning it was only thought a Permiſſion of it, as ſome other unlawful Things were conniv'd at; upon which the Wives and Children of the 'Clergy were reproachfully treated, and the Word of God was not heard with 'due Reverence, therefore their Marriages were declar'd valid and good. An Act alſo paſs'd, empowering Church-Wardens to gather Collections for the Poor, and the Biſhops to proceed againſt ſuch as refus'd to contribute; which tho' it was a Bill that tax'd the People, yet had its firſt Riſe in the Houſe of Lords. The Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* was by an Act reunited to *London*, only the Collegiate-Church was ſtill continu'd. As to Temporal Matters, a Bill concerning Treaſons paſs'd with little or no Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, but it was much oppos'd by the Commons; for the multiplying of Treaſons was always eſteem'd a Severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was paſs'd, 'If any call'd the King, or his Succeſſors, nam'd in the Statute of the thirty 'fifth of *Henry* VIII. Heretick, Tyrant, or other approbrious Name, the firſt 'Offence was Forfeiture of Goods, the ſecond a *Premunire*, and the third 'Treaſon; but if done in Printing or Writing, the firſt Offence was Treaſon. 'None were to be proſecuted for Words, but within three Months; and two 'Witneſſes were made neceſſary, who ſhould aver their Depoſitions to the Party's Face. This laſt ſeems to relate to the Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, in which the Witneſſes did not appear; when many Times Innocence and Guilt diſcover themſelves, by the Party's being confronted. As to this Duke, a Bill was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, ſign'd by the King, repealing the Settlement of his Eſtate, formerly made in Favour of his Children by his ſecond Wife, to exclude the Children by his firſt, from whom are deſcended the *Seymours* of *Devonſhire*; which ſome imputed to a Jealouſie he had of his firſt Wife, and others aſcrib'd it to the Aſcendant the ſecond Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to vacate a Settlement confirm'd in Parliament, and ſo for fifteen Days it was debated: A new Bill was drawn up, which was much alter'd, but was not quite finiſh'd 'till the Day before the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Other Acts.

The End of the Reformation in this Reign.

In the mean Time the Convocation ſate and confirm'd the Articles of Religion that had been prepar'd the former Year; and thus was the Reformation of Worſhip and Doctrine now brought to ſuch Perfection, that ſince that Time there have been very little Alterations made in either. But another Branch of it was yet unfiniſh'd, and was now under Conſultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the Rules of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Great Pains and Induſtry was ſhewn by the moſt eminent Men of the Nation, to bring theſe Matters to Perfection; and at length they reduc'd all to a Method, and caſt the Work into fifty one Titles; which if put in Force and Practice, might have been of admirable Uſe to the Church: But the King's Death, and other Acci-

dents, put an End to that noble Deſign, which was never after reaſſum'd. There were alſo at this Time Remedies under Conſideration, to correct thoſe Diſorders, of the Clergy, ariſing from their extream Poverty; but the Laity was ſo nearly concern'd in this, that there was no great Hopes of a Redreſs, 'till the King ſhould come of Age, and by his Authority recover a competent Maintenance for the Clergy, out of the Hands of thoſe who had devour'd their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, were this Year depriv'd of their Biſhopricks, by a Court of Delegates that were all Lay-Men; but it does not appear, for what Offences they were ſo cenſur'd. In every See, as it fell vacant, the beſt Manors were ſeiz'd by ſuch voracious Courtiers, as had the Intereſt to procure the Grant of them. It was thought by many, that the Biſhops Sees were ſo unmeaſurably inrich'd, that they could never be made poor enough; but ſuch Haſte and Heat was ſhown in pillaging them, that they were reduc'd to ſo low a Condition, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for a Biſhop to ſubſiſt in them. If what was thus taken had been converted to pious Uſes, and to the ſupplying the inferior Clergy, it had been ſome Mitigation of ſo heinous a Robbery: But their Lands were frequently ſnatch'd up by Lay-Men, who thought of making no Compenſation to the Church, for the Revenues thus ſwallow'd by them.

The Poverty of Clergy.

Many Agents call'd to an Account.

There was alſo at this Time a very ſtrict Enquiry made into the Accounts of all Miniſters and Agents, who had been employ'd in the former Part of the Reign; for it was believ'd that the Viſiters had embezell'd much of the Plate of the Churches; and theſe being the Creatures of the Duke of *Somerſet*, it caus'd *Northumberland* to examine and proſecute them with the utmoſt Strictneſs and Hatred. But on none did the Storm break more ſeverely than the Lord *Paget*; who was not only fin'd ſix thouſand Pounds, but was degraded from the Order of the *Garter*, with a particular Mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards reſtor'd to it with as great a Degree of Honour and Applauſe. He had been a conſtant Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that caus'd his Enemies to execute ſo ſevere a Revenge upon him. *Northumberland* was induſtriouſly preparing for a new Parliament, and being a Man of an inſolent Temper, as abject in Adverſity, as ſwell'd in Proſperity, he thought the higheſt Severity the only Way to oblige the Nation to comply with his Adminiſtration; but this Method, tho' for ſome Time ſucceſsful, when he moſt needed its Support, turn'd violently upon his own Head: For nothing can ſo effectually prevail with a free People as Juſtice and Clemency in the Government.

The Encreaſe of Trade.

In this Year the good King proceeded in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other Ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy; and a great Deſign was now ſetled, that prov'd to be the Foundation of all that Riches and Trade, that has ſince that Time ſo much flouriſh'd in the Nation. *Henry* III. had been much ſupported in his Wars by the Aſſiſtance he got from the free Towns of *Germany*, in Recompence of which he gave them great Privileges in *England*; where they were form'd into a Corporation, and liv'd in the *Still-yard* near *London* Bridge. They had ſometimes exceeded the Limits of their Charters, which were thereupon judg'd to be forfeited, but by great Preſents they purchas'd new ones: They traded in a Body, and ruin'd others by underſelling them; and by making Preſents at Court, or lending great Sums, they had the Government on their Side. Trade was now much increaſing, and Courts began to be more magnificent in Habits; ſo that there was a greater Conſumption of Cloath in particular, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh*, lying one near the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the Mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in theſe Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Still-yard* had all the Markets in *England* in their Hands, and ſet ſuch Prizes as they pleas'd both on what they imported or exported, and broke all other Merchants to ſuch a Degree, that in the laſt Year they ſhipp'd forty thouſand Cloths, when all the other Traders had not ſhipp'd above a

eleven

eleven hundred. Upon this the Merchant-Adventurers complain'd of the *Still-yard* Men; and after ſeveral Hearings, it was judg'd that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was diſſolv'd: Nor could all the earneſt Application of the *Hanſe* Towns, ſeconded by the Emperor's own Interceſſion, ever procure them a new Charter.

About this Time, *Cardan*, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſs'd through *England*, as he return'd from *Scotland*; where the Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* had ſent for him out of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropſie: In this he had great Succeſs; but being much converſant in Aſtrology and Magick, he told him, *That tho' he had ſav'd his Life, he could not change his Fate, which was to die upon a Gallows.* He waited on King *Edward* as he return'd, who receiv'd him with great Honour and Civility; and *Cardan* was ſo charm'd with his mighty Knowledge and rare Qualities, that he always ſpoke of him as the moſt extraordinary Perſon he had ever ſeen: And after his Death, when Flattery could be no Advantage to him, he wrote a Character of him, in which for Learning, Parts and all Abilities, he repreſented him as a Miracle of Mankind. Cardan *in* England.

To conclude this Year, there was a great and unexpected Turn of Affairs in *Germany*. The Council was open'd at *Trent*, where the Emperor by means of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, began ſo much to bear down the Power of the Court of *Rome*, that the Pope united himſelf to *France*, and reſolv'd to break the Council on the firſt Occaſion, and in order to that the Legates ſuſpended it for two Years. At the ſame Time *Maurice* of *Saxony*, who was ſet up by the Emperor, form'd great Deſigns, ſet up for the Liberty of *Germany* and the Proteſtant Religion, and took *Ausburgh* and ſeveral other Towns. The King of *France* alſo fell in upon the Empire with a great Power, and made himſelf Maſter of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and was near gaining of *Strasburgh*; while the Emperor was ſo ſurpriz'd and preſs'd by *Maurice*, that he fled into *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly inſtrumental in the Ruin of the Empire, did now aſſert its Freedom; and the Emperor's great Deſign on *Germany* was now ſo blaſted, that he could never after this put any Life into it: He was forc'd to diſcharge his Priſoners, call in his Proſcriptions, and by the Edict of *Paſſaw* allow the free Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion: And thus ended the Storm that had almoſt overwhelm'd the Princes of that Perſuaſion. The Emperor's Misfortunes increas'd upon him; for againſt all Reaſon he beſieg'd *Metz* in *December*, but after he had waſted his Army before it, he was compell'd to raiſe the Siege. Upon that he retir'd into *Flanders*, in ſuch Diſcontent, that for ſome Time he would admit none to come near him. Here it was believ'd that he firſt form'd that Deſign, which ſome Years after he effected, of forſaking the World, and exchanging the Magnificence of a Court for the Retirement of a Monaſtery. As to the Council of *Trent*, we may diſmiſs the Subject with obſerving, That this Council had been much deſir'd both by Princes and Biſhops, in hopes of compoſing the Differences of Religion, and reforming the Corruptions of *Rome*, which caus'd the Popes to be very apprehenſive of it: But ſuch was the Subtilty of the Legates, the Voices of the *Italian* Biſhops, and the Diſſenſions of the *Europæan* Princes, that it had Effects directly contrary to what all Sides expected. The Breaches in Religion were now put paſt Reconciliation, by the poſitive Deciſions they made; the Abuſes of the Court of *Rome* were confirm'd by the Proviſo's for the Privileges of the Apoſtolick See; and the World was ſo cured of the Longings for a *General Council*, that none has been deſir'd ſince that Time. *The Affairs of* Germany. *An Account of the Council of* Trent.

We are now arriv'd at the laſt and fatal Year of this young King's Life and Reign; and the firſt thing done was a Regulation of the Privy-Council, where ſeveral Committees had proper Work aſſign'd them, and Directions given them for their Conduct; of which there remains an exact Account corrected with King *Edward*'s own Hand. A new Parliament was alſo call'd, the ſecond in this A. D. 1553. Reg. 7. *A new Parliament meets.*

this Reign, which ſate the firſt of *March*; where a Motion was made for a Subſidy of two Tenths, and two Fifteenths to be paid in two Years, which was granted. At the paſſing of the Bill, a great Debate aroſe in the Houſe of Commons, which ſeems to have been concerning the Preamble; for it contain'd a high Accuſation of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Adminiſtration, which was promoted by the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Party, to make the King ſenſible how well pleas'd the Repreſentatives of the Nation were with his Fall. At this Time the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had frequently Prebends given them, under a Pretext of following their Studies, and fitting themſelves for Holy Orders; which was like to be very prejudicial to the Clergy, when ſo many Church Dignities were in Lay-Hands. Therefore the Biſhops procur'd a Bill to be paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, that no one might hold ſuch, who was not either Prieſt or Deacon; but at the third Reading, it was thrown out by the Commons. Another Bill paſs'd for ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcaſtle*; but tho' the Secular Juriſdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's Death ſtopt the further Progreſs of this Affair. Biſhop *Tonſtall* was depriv'd, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-Delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought againſt him of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and was kept in the Tower 'till Queen *Mary* ſet him at Liberty. At the End of the Parliament the King granted a general Pardon, and ſo diſſolv'd that Body on the laſt Day of *March*, after but one Month's Seſſion. For it ſeems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleas'd with the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, or that he was reſolv'd to call frequent Parliaments, and wholly to vary from the Meaſures of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

It is diſſolv'd.

Another Viſitation of Churches.

Shortly after Viſiters were ſent out to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table and for Surplices, and to bring in all other Things of Value to the Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and to ſell the reſt, and give it to the Poor. This was ſtill a new Rifling of Churches, by which it appear'd ſome were reſolv'd not to deſiſt, 'till they had reduc'd them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers deſign'd to have rais'd them to a Primitive Purity. The King himſelf ſet his Hand to theſe Inſtructions; from which ſome have ſeverely inferr'd, That he was ill principled in himſelf, when at ſuch an Age he join'd his Authority to ſuch Proceedings. But he was now in his laſt Sickneſs, and ſo weak, that it is probable he ſet his Hand to every Thing ſent him by the Council, without anxiouſly examining the Contents of it. He had now contracted great Colds by violent Exerciſes, which in *January* ſetled into a deep Cough; and all Medicines proving ineffectual, there was a ſtrong Suſpicion blown and ſpread over all *Europe*, that he was poiſon'd: But of that we find no certain and convincing Proofs.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

During his Sickneſs, Biſhop *Ridley* preach'd before him, and took an Occaſion to launch out in the Subject of Charity, and the Obligations that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in Works of that Nature. This ſo ſenſibly touch'd the pious King, that immediately after Sermon he ſent for the good Biſhop; and commanding him to ſit down and be cover'd, he reſum'd moſt of the Heads of the Sermon, and declar'd, *That he look'd upon himſelf, in his Station, to be principally concern'd in it; deſiring, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, to direct him how to perform his Duty in that Particular.* The Biſhop, aſtoniſh'd and overjoy'd at the generous Tenderneſs of ſo young a Prince, broke out into Tears and Tranſports to find ſuch noble Inclinations; and told him he muſt take time to conſult with the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen about a Matter of that Importance; upon which the King wrote by him to them to conſult ſpeedily how the Poor ſhould be reliev'd. After ſome Conſideration, the Biſhop brought the King a Scheme of ſeveral

His Care for publick Charities.

Foun-

Foundations, one for the Sick and Wounded, another for ſuch as were wilfully Idle or Mad, and a third for Orphans. Upon which he made ſeveral munificent Endowments, St. *Bartholomew*'s Hoſpital for the Firſt, his Palace at *Bridewell* for the Second, and *Chriſt-Church* near *Newgate* for the Third; and alſo he enlarg'd the Grant he made the former Year, for St. *Thomas*'s Hoſpital in *Southwark*. And when he ſet his Hand to theſe Foundations, which was done upon the twenty ſixth Day of *June*, he heartily thank'd God for prolonging his Life, 'till he had finiſh'd that good Deſign. Theſe Houſes, by good Government, and the Charities of others, continu'd to be ſo uſeful, and became ſo well endow'd, that now they may be reckon'd among the nobleſt Foundations in *Europe*.

His noble Foundations.

Before theſe were compleated, ſeveral Marriages were at once ſolemniz'd by means of the Duke of *Northumberland*: The Duke of *Suffolk* had only three Daughters, the eldeſt of whom was marry'd to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, younger Son to *Northumberland*, the ſecond to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son, and the third, who was crooked, to one *Keys* the King's Groom-Porter; and *Northumberland* to ſtrengthen his Family alſo marry'd his own two Daughters, the one to Sir *Henry Sidney*, and the other to the Earl of *Huntington*'s eldeſt Son. Theſe Marriages at this Time were much obſerv'd; and the People were highly inflam'd againſt the inſolent Duke, for it was generally reported, that he was Sacrificing the King to his own extravagant Ambition. He ſeem'd little to regard their Cenſures, but conſtantly attending the languiſhing King, he reſolv'd to improve all the Apprehenſions he had concerning Religion, to the Advantage of his Son's Wife the Lady *Jane Gray*. The King was eaſily perſuaded to order the Judges and his learned Council to put ſome Articles, which he had ſign'd for the Succeſſion of the Crown, into the common Form of Law. They anſwer'd, *That the Succeſſion being already ſetled by Act of Parliament, it could not be alter'd by any other Power*; yet ſtill the King requir'd them to perform what he had commanded. The next Time they came to the Council, they further declar'd, *That it was made Treaſon to change the Succeſſion by any Act paſs'd in this Reign*, ſo they could not concern themſelves in it. *Montague* was Chief Juſtice, and ſpoke in the Name of the reſt; upon which *Northumberland* flew into a violent Paſſion againſt him, and call'd him *Traitor*, for not obeying the King's Commands; the common Language of an Arbitrary Miniſter who acts againſt Law. But the Judges were not ſhaken by his Threatnings; and when they were again brought before the King, who ſharply rebuk'd them for their Delays, they ſaid, *That all they could do would be of no Force without a Parliament*. Upon which the King ſaid, *He would call a Parliament ſhortly, and have it ratify'd there*; and requir'd them to do it in the beſt Manner they could. At laſt *Montague* deſir'd that they might have a Pardon, for what they were to do; and that being granted, all the Judges, except *Goſnald* and *Hales*, agreed to ſign the Patent, and deliver'd their Opinions, That the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal, and then it would be good in Law: Yet *Goſnald* was at laſt prevail'd upon to ſign it, ſo *Hales* was the only Man who intirely ſtood out; who tho' he was a zealous Proteſtant, yet would not give his Opinion againſt his Conſcience, upon any Conſiderations whatſoever. The Privy-Counſellors were next requir'd to ſet their Hands to it: *Cecil*, in a Relation he wrote of this Tranſaction, ſays, That hearing ſome of the Judges declare ſo poſitively, that it was againſt Law, he refus'd to ſet his Hand to it as a Privy-Counſellor, but ſign'd it only as a Witneſs to the King's Subſcription. *Cranmer* long ſtood out, he came not to the Council when it was paſs'd there, and refus'd to conſent when he was urg'd to it; for he ſaid, *He would never be concern'd in the diſinheriting his late Maſter's Daughters*. But the dying young King was at laſt ſet upon him, and being aſſur'd by the beſt Lawyers *That he might legally Subſcribe*,

He is perſuaded to leave the Crown to the Lady Jane Gray.

For which a Patent is ſign'd.

Subscribe, he was prevail'd upon by Importunity, and the threatning Prospects of Religion.

In the whole Course of the King's Sickness, he express'd a great Submission to the Will of God, and seem'd pleas'd at the gradual Approaches of Death; only the Consideration of Religion and the Church sensibly touch'd him, and upon that account he said, *He was desirous of Life*. When the Physicians began to despair of his Recovery, a confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put into her Hands; but she left him in a worse Condition than she found him; all which increas'd the Jealousie of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who had introduc'd her, and remov'd his Physicians. At last to crown all his Designs, he procur'd the King to write to his Sisters to desire them to come and divert him in his Sickness; and the Business of the Exclusion had been carry'd so secretly, that they apprehending no Danger, had already begun their Journey. Shortly after he felt Death nearly approaching, and prepar'd himself for it after the most solemn and devout Manner. His whole Exercise was in short Prayers and Ejaculations; and a few Moments before his Death he was heard, with the utmost Resignation to pray earnestly, *That God would deliver him out of this miserable and wretched Life: He committed his Spirit to him, and interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preserve* England *from Popery, and maintain his true Religion amongst them.* Seeing some about him, he seem'd concern'd that they were so near, and had heard him; but then with a smiling Countenance he said, *He had been praying to God.* Soon after, the Pangs of Death coming upon him, he said to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who tenderly embrac'd him in his Arms, I am faint, *Lord have Mercy on me, and receive my Spirit!* And thus calmly breath'd out his pious Soul, upon the sixth Day of *July*, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, after a most Religious Reign of six Years, five Months, and nine Days.

The King's last Hours.

His Death.

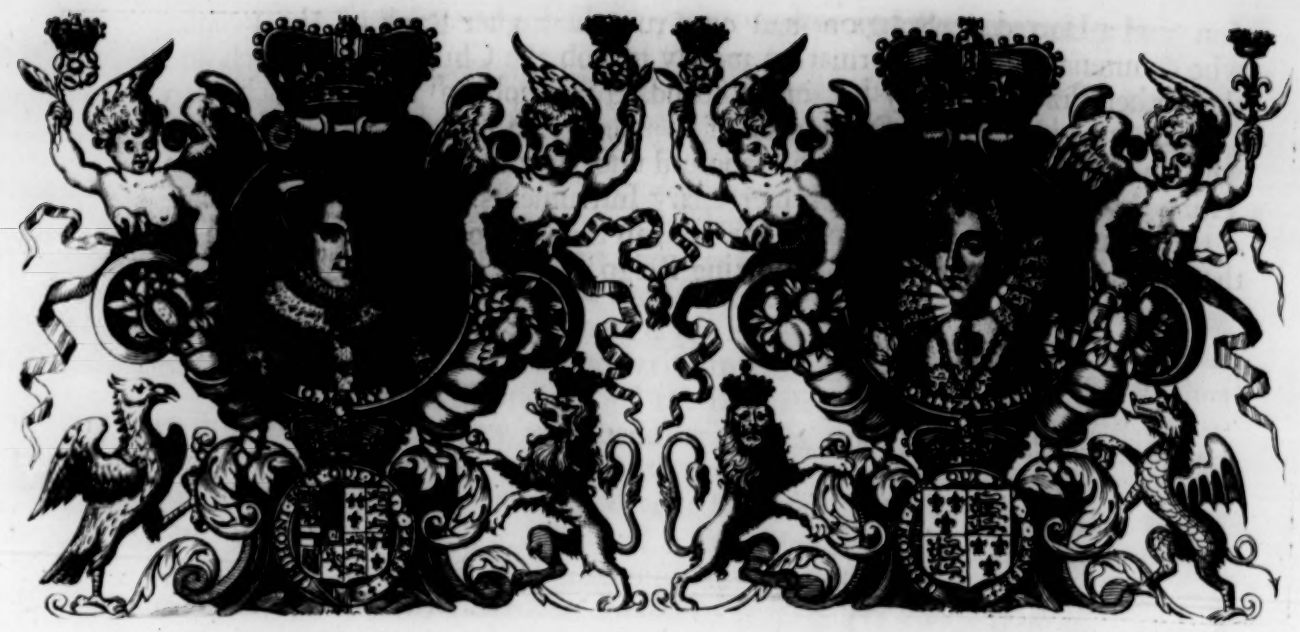
His Character. Concerning the Personage of this admirable young Prince, he was of a strait and well-proportion'd Body, of a sweet and beautiful Aspect, especially in his Eyes, which seem'd to have a starry Liveliness and Lustre in them. As there was a great Vivacity in his Looks, so the Beauties and Perfections of his Mind were incomparable for his Age. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but was well skill'd in the State of his Kingdom: He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men in the Nation; he study'd Fortification, understood the Mint, and knew all the Ports, Havens and Harbours in his Dominions, with the Depth of the Water and Way of Access to them. He was so well vers'd in Foreign Affairs, that the Ambassadors that were sent into *England*, publish'd extraordinary Things of him in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great Quickness of Apprehension, but being diffident of his Memory, he took Notes of every material Thing he heard, in *Greek* Characters, which he afterwards copy'd out fair in the Journal he kept. His Virtues were admirable, being truly just and merciful in his Disposition; and taking special Care of the Petitions that were given him by the poor and oppress'd. But his pious Zeal for Religion crown all the rest; which did not proceed from an angry Heat, but from a true Tenderness of Conscience, founded on the Love of God, and his Fellow-Creatures. These extraordinary Qualities, adorn'd with a charming Sweetness and Affability, made him universally belov'd by all his People. Some call'd him their *Josias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others the *Phœnix* that rose out of his Mother's Ashes; and all concluded that the Sins of *England* must have been very great, since they provok'd God to snatch away so signal a Blessing from the Nation. As to the Reign it self it was generally weak and tumultuous, defam'd by Sacrilege, and distracted by Parties and Factions. Great Complaints were made by good Men of the Vices of this Time, which were grown so common, that many Men became Strangers to all Shame. Luxury, Oppres-

The Corruptions of the Nation.

sion,

ſion, and a Hatred to Religion had over-run the higher Rank of the People, who countenanc'd the Reformation meerly to rob the Church; by which and their other Practices, they became a Scandal to ſo noble a Work. Such open Offence was given by the Spoil made of ſo many rich Endowments, that they who underſtood little of Religion, labour'd under great Prejudices againſt any Thing that was advanc'd by ſuch mercenary Inſtruments. And theſe Things, as they rous'd up the Vengeance of Heaven, ſo they diſpos'd the People much to that diſmal Cataſtrophe in the following Reign.

CHAP.



CHAP. II.

From the Death of King Edward *the Sixth, to the Death of Queen* Elizabeth.

Containing the Space of above 49 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Queen MARY *the First.*

Containing 5 Years, 4 Months, and 11 Days.

A. D. 1553. Reg. 0.

I. THE mighty Changes and violent Oppoſitions made in the Reign of the late King *Henry*, caus'd the *Engliſh* Government to be much weaken'd and diſunited; and in his Son's Reign, whoſe Minority was an inſuperable Diſadvantage, the Members of that Government became ſtill more relax'd and disjointed; all which were Divine Judgments due to the Sins and Corruptions of the People. But before the Time came, that God was pleas'd to reſtore the Glory of a degenerate Nation, he thought fit to puniſh it with a Reign more calamitous and diſhonourable than the worſt Years of the two laſt; which was unfortunately introduc'd by an *Interregnum*, and the ſetting up a popular, but unexpected Title. For by King *Edward*'s Death, according to King *Henry*'s Will and an Act of Parliament, the Crown devolv'd upon his eldeſt Siſter *Mary*; who was now in her Way to *London*, in Obedience to the Letter written to her to come and viſit her Brother in his Sickneſs. She was come within half a Day's Journey of the Court, when ſhe receiv'd private Advice from the Earl of *Arundel* that her Brother was dead, and what was done concerning the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion; and likewiſe that the King's Death was conceal'd, with a Deſign to enſnare her before ſhe knew of it; and therefore he adviſ'd her to retire. At firſt ſhe was at a great Loſs, but recollecting that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great Slaughter he had made of *Ket*'s People in the laſt Reign, ſhe therefore choſe to go that way to the Caſtle of *Framingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being of Strength,

Holling. Speed. Godwin. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

The Princeſs Mary in Danger.

She retires to Suffolk.

Strength, and not far from the Sea, if her Deſigns ſhould miſcarry, ſhe might have an Opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor, who was then in *Flanders*.

But before ſhe arriv'd there, ſhe wrote on the ninth of *July* to the Council, and let them know *She underſtood that her Brother was dead, by which ſhe was to ſucceed to the Crown, but was ſurpriz'd ſhe had no Account from them: She was ſenſible in what Conſultations they were ingag'd; but ſhe was willing to pardon all that was tranſacted, to ſuch as would return to their Duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown.* Upon this Letter, they found the King's Death could be no longer conceal'd; therefore the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland* repair'd to *Durham* Houſe, where the Lady *Jane* lodg'd, and acknowledg'd her for their Soveraign Queen. As ſhe had a moſt tender Affection for the King, ſo his Death was a great Affliction to her; and the new Proſpect of a Crown, rather increas'd than diminiſh'd her Sorrow. She was a Lady that ſeem'd born to the higheſt Fortunes; and being ſixteen Years of Age, had all the Excellencies and Perfections both of Body and Mind. Her Tutor was Doctor *Elmer*, from whom ſhe learn'd the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues to a mighty Perfection: And delighting much in Study, ſhe imbib'd the Precepts of true Morality ſo early, that as ſhe was not tainted with the Levities, not to ſay Vices of thoſe of her Age and Condition, ſo ſhe attain'd to the Practice of the higheſt Notions of Philoſophy. *Roger Aſcham*, Tutor to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, coming to wait on her at her Father's Houſe in *Leiceſterſhire*, found her reading *Plato*'s Works in *Greek*, while the reſt of the Family were hunting in the Park, he ask'd her, *How ſhe could be abſent from ſuch pleaſant Diverſions?* She anſwer'd, *The Pleaſures of the Park were but Shadows to what ſhe had been in reading* Plato's Phedon; and added, *That ſhe eſteem'd it one of the greateſt Bleſſings God had given her, That ſhe had ſharp Parents and a gentle Schoolmaſter, which made her delight ſo much in her Studies.* She read the Scriptures much, and had attain'd great Knowledge in Divinity; and yet with all theſe Advantages of Birth and Parts, ſhe was ſo humble, ſo gentle, and pious, that ſhe charm'd all Perſons that knew her, and none more than the late King, who was about the ſame Age, and with all his Abilities was judg'd inferior to her in Learning. In thoſe ſudden Turns of her Condition, as ſhe was not exalted at the View of a Throne; ſo ſhe was as little dejected, when her Palace was made her Priſon. The only Paſſion ſhe ſhew'd was that of the nobleſt Kind, in the Concern ſhe expreſs'd for her Father and Husband, who fell with her, and ſeemingly on her Account, tho' really *Northumberland*'s Ambition, and her Father's Weakneſs ruin'd her. When the Crown was firſt offer'd by them, ſhe rejected it, declaring, *She knew, that of Right it belong'd to the late King's Siſters, and ſo ſhe could not with a good Conſcience aſſume it.* But it was told her, *That both the Judges and Privy-Counſellors had declar'd, that it fell to her according to Law*; which being join'd with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philoſophy, caus'd her at laſt to ſubmit.

The Council ſets up the Lady Jane Gray.

Her Character.

Upon this, Orders were given for proclaiming her Queen the next Day; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with twenty more of the Nobility and Privy-Council, ſet their Hands to a Letter written to the Princeſs *Mary*, letting her know, *That Queen* Jane *was now their Soveraign, according to the ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents; and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was declar'd null by the Laws of God and Man: Therefore they requir'd her to recede from her Pretenſions, and ſubmit to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; promiſing, That if ſhe ſhew'd her ſelf obedient, they would be all ready to do her any Service that was conſiſtent with their Duties.* On the following Day they proclaim'd Queen *Jane*; in which Proclamation they ſet forth, 'That the late King had by Patent excluded both 'his Siſters, who had been illegitimated by Sentences paſs'd in the Eccleſiaſtical

She is proclaim'd Queen,

'Courts, and confirm'd in Parliament; and at beſt they were only his Siſters 'by the half Blood, and ſo not inheritable by the Laws of *England*. There 'was alſo cauſe to fear, that they might marry Strangers, and change the Laws, 'and ſubject the Nation to the Tyranny of the See of *Rome*. Next to them 'the Crown fell to the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*; and it was provided, that if ſhe 'ſhould have no Sons, when the King dy'd, the Crown ſhould devolve on her 'Daughter, who was born and marry'd in the Kingdom: Upon which they 'aſſerted her Right, as ſhe promis'd to maintain the true Religion, and the 'Laws of the Land. When this was proclaim'd, great Multitudes were gather'd to hear it; but there were very few that ſhouted with the Acclamations ordinary on this Occaſion. And whereas a Vintner's Boy expreſs'd ſome Scorn, when he heard the Proclamation, he was the next Day ſet in a Pillory, and had his Ears nail'd to it; while a Herald in his Coat read the Nature of his Offence to the People, who were call'd together by the Sound of Trumpets.

Various Cenſures upon it.

Upon this Proclamation the People were in great Diſtractions, and variety of Cenſures and Opinions paſs'd upon it. Thoſe who look'd upon the King of *England*'s Power to proceed immediately from God, ſaid it muſt deſcend only by Inheritance; and ſince the King's Siſters were under Sentences of Illegitimation, it ought to deſcend to the young Queen of *Scotland*, who was the next Heir. Others ſaid, that tho' a Prince were nam'd immediately by God, yet upon great Reaſons he might alter the Succeſſion from its uſual Courſe, as *David* preferr'd *Solomon* to *Adonijah*: But it was ſaid this did not belong to the Kings of *England*, whoſe Rights and Prerogatives did not ariſe from any Divine Deſignation, but from a long Poſſeſſion and the Laws of the Land; therefore as the King could by Law limit the Prerogative, ſo he could likewiſe limit the Succeſſion of the Crown; which had been the Opinion of Sir *Thomas More*. Others alledg'd *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue by the *French* Queen to be illegitimate, upon a Suppoſition of a prior Marriage with one *Mortimer*. Others demanded, if the Right of Blood could not be cut off, why was the *Scotch* Queen excluded? Then as to half Blood, it was ſaid to be only a Rule in Law for private Families, which did not extend to the Crown. The Power of limiting the Succeſſion by Patent or Teſtament was ſaid to be only a Perſonal Truſt in King *Henry* VIII. and that it did not deſcend to his Heirs, ſo that King *Edward*'s Patents were thought to be of no Force. Then the Severity againſt the Vintner's Boy in the beginning of a dubious Title, was thought a great Error in Policy; it being a well grounded Maxim, That all Governments ought to begin with Acts of Clemency, and to affect the Love rather than the Fear of the People. And *Northumberland*'s Proceeding againſt the late Protector, by a foul Conſpiracy, and the Suſpicions he lay under of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, begot a violent Averſion in the People to him; which much diſpos'd them to ſet up the Princeſs *Mary*.

Many repair to the Princeſs Mary *in* Suffolk.

Queen *Jane* was proclaim'd in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were generally running to the Princeſs *Mary*, who now at *Framingham* Caſtle declar'd her ſelf Queen of *England*. Many from *Norfolk* repair'd to her, and a greater Body of *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others gather'd about her, who were all for the Reformation. They urg'd her to declare whether ſhe would alter the Religion eſtabliſh'd by the late King's Reign; to whom ſhe gave full and ſolemn Aſſurances, *That ſhe would make no Innovation or Change, but would be ſatisfy'd with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion.* Upon which they were poſſeſs'd with ſuch a firm Belief of her Sincerity, that they reſolv'd to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in the Cauſe of one, who had given them ſuch faithful Promiſes. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex* rais'd Forces, and join'd with her; as likewiſe did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*, with many others. When the Council heard of this, they ſent the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother to raiſe Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, and then to join the Forces that ſhould be ſent from *London* to *New-Market*. The Duke of *Northumber-*

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land, as the moſt valiant and ſafe Commander, was order'd to be General of the Army; but he was much confounded and diſtracted in his Thoughts. He found it of equal Importance to preſerve *London* and the Privy-Counſellors in a ſteady Fidelity, as to conduct the Army with Exactneſs; and a Miſcarriage of either of theſe was ſure to be fatal to him. So that he could ſcarcely reſolve in what Manner to proceed; he wanted a Man of Firmneſs and Spirit to leave behind him; and yet it was abſolutely neceſſary at once to diſſipate the Forces that were daily increaſing about Queen *Mary*. Queen *Jane* and the Council were by his Means remov'd to the Tower, not only for State, according to the Cuſtom of former Princes, but alſo for Security; for here the Council were under Commmand, and in effect Priſoners. He could do no more, but lay a ſtrict Charge on the Council, to adhere firmly to Queen *Jane*'s Intereſts; and ſo he march'd out of *London* on the fourteenth Day of *July* with ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. But as he rod through the Streets, tho there were great Crouds of Spectators, no one cry'd out to wiſh him Succeſs; which gave a melancholy Indication how ill they were affected to him. *Northumberland marches againſt her.*

In the mean Time the Council us'd all Methods for their own Security, and gave the Emperor Notice of the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion, and complain'd of the Diſturbance that was rais'd by the other Competitor, and that his Ambaſſador had too officiouſly intermedled in their Affairs; but the Emperor would not ſo much as receive their Letters. Biſhop *Ridley* was appointed to preach upon Queen *Jane*'s Title, and to animate the People againſt Queen *Mary*; which he too raſhly obey'd. At the ſame Time *Northumberland* being at *Cambridge*, where he was both Chancellor and Steward, caus'd the Vice-Chancellor to preach to the ſame Purpoſe; but he kept to ſuch general Terms, that no great Offence was given. By this Time Queen *Mary* had caus'd her ſelf to be proclaim'd at *Norwich*; and ſent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of Quality, to come to her Aſſiſtance. Some Ships had been ſent to lye on that Coaſt for intercepting her, if ſhe ſhould fly away; but thoſe who commanded them were ſo manag'd, that inſtead of acting againſt her, they declar'd for her. Sir *Edward Haſtings* having rais'd four thouſand Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, inſtead of joining the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service; and her Forces daily increaſing, ſhe was proclaim'd Queen in ſeveral Counties. All which made the Privy-Council now to ſee their Danger, and to contrive how to free themſelves: The Earl of *Arundel* hated the Duke of *Northumberland*; the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was dextrous in ſhifting Sides for his Advantage; the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son had marry'd Queen *Jane*'s Siſter, which made him think it neceſſary to provide for his own Safety by a ſpeedy Turn; and to theſe many others were join'd. They now pretended that it was neceſſary to give an Audience to the foreign Ambaſſadors, who would not receive it in the Tower; and the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Houſe was fix'd upon, he being leaſt ſuſpected. They alſo reported it was neceſſary to treat with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for ſending more Forces to the Duke of *Northumberland*, concerning which he had very earneſtly writ to them. But as ſoon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* preſs'd them to declare for Queen *Mary*; laying open all the Cruelties of *Northumberland*, under whoſe Tyranny they muſt reſolve to be enſlav'd, if they did not now ſhake it off. Upon this they ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and eaſily perſuaded them to concur with them; and ſo they went immediately to *Cheapſide*, and proclaim'd Queen *Mary* on the nineteenth Day of *July*; and from thence they repair'd to St. *Paul*'s, where *Te Deum* was ſung. They ſent next to the Tower, requiring the Duke of *Suffolk* to quit the Government of that Place, and the Lady *Jane* to lay down the Title of Queen; to which ſhe ſubmitted with as much Greatneſs of Mind, as her Father did with Abjectneſs of Spirit. They alſo ſent Orders to *Northumberland* to diſmiſs his Forces, and to obey Queen *Mary*; and the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* *Her Party increaſes.* *She is proclaim'd at London.*

were ſent to carry this joyful News to her, who ſtill continu'd at *Framingham* Caſtle. And thus ended the Reign of Queen *Jane*, which continu'd no longer than nine Days. She in no manner conſented either to the Receiving, or the Poſſeſſing of her imaginary Kingdoms; but having always fear'd there ſtood a Scaffold ſecretly behind the Throne, ſhe was as well prepar'd to act her Part upon one, as ſhe did upon the other.

The End of Queen Jane's *Reign.*

When the Duke of *Northumberland* heard of this Turn of Affairs, he reſolv'd to ſwim with the Stream, and without ſtaying for Orders, he diſcharg'd his Forces, and went to the Market-Place at *Cambridge*, and proclaim'd the Queen, throwing his own Hat up for Joy, and crying *God ſave Queen* Mary! But this would not ſecure him; for the next Morning the Earl of *Arundel* came from the Queen to arreſt him; and when he was brought to him, he ſunk at once, and fell proſtrate at his Feet to beg his Favour, as it is uſual with a Mind ſwell'd with Ambition, which out of meaſure turns inſolent or abject, with the various Changes of Fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who was his wicked Inſtrument againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, were all ſent Priſoners to the Tower. And now all the People went to implore the Queen's Favour, and Biſhop *Ridley* among the reſt; but he was ſent to the Tower; for ſhe was both offended with him for his Sermon, and reſolv'd to reſtore *Bonner* again to the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and ſeveral Noblemen were alſo ſent thither, among the reſt the Duke of *Suffolk*. But three Days after the laſt was ſet at Liberty; for he being a weak Man, and not very dangerous to the State, was fix'd upon as the firſt Inſtance of the Queen's Clemency at her Acceſſion to the Throne. As the Queen came towards *London* ſhe was met on the Way by her Siſter *Elizabeth*, with a thouſand Horſe, who came to ſhew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in the late Conteſt had been ſo cloſely ally'd. She made her Entry into *London* with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity; and coming to the Tower, ſhe gave Liberty to ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, as the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who hadbeen almoſt ſeven Years Priſoner; Biſhop *Gardiner*, who had been five Years there; the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, who had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, who had been detain'd fifteen Years, ever ſince his Father's Attainder. So now ſhe was peaceably ſetled in the Throne, without any Effuſion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy againſt her, which ſeem'd to be ſo ſtrong, that if the chief Head of it had not been univerſally odious to the Nation, it could not have been ſo eaſily diſſipated.

Northumberland *and others impriſon'd.*

Queen Mary *enters* London.

A. D. 1553. Reg. 1.

II. Queen *Mary* was thirty ſeven Years of Age when ſhe came to the Crown; being a Lady of great Virtues, and ſtrict in her Religion even to Superſtition. Her Temper was generous, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural to her, but much encreas'd by the croſs Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; ſo that ſhe became ſower and ſplenatick, and had too much of the *Spaniſh* Moroſeneſs. She adher'd ſo reſolutely to her Mother's Intereſts, that it was believ'd her Father once deſign'd to have taken her Life: Upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to truſt in God, and keep her ſelf pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in Matters of Religion; and ſent her two Books in *Latin* for her Entertainment, St. *Jerom*'s Epiſtles, and a Book of the *Life of Chriſt*. The King's Diſpleaſure was then ſo great, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durſt venture to intercede for her: *Cranmer* was the only Man that would hazard himſelf, and did it ſo effectually as intirely to prevail with the King. But after her Mother's Death, ſhe hearken'd to other Councils; ſo that upon *Anne Bolen*'s Fall ſhe made a full Submiſſion to him, as was formerly mention'd. She alſo in many Letters, which ſhe wrote both to her Father and to *Cromwell*, ſolemnly proteſted great Sorrow for her former

Holling. Fox. Godwin. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

Her former Life and Behaviour.

mer Obſtinacy, and declar'd, *That ſhe put her Soul into his Hands, and that her Conſcience ſhould be always directed by him:* And being ask'd what her Opinion was concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory and Relicks, ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe had no Opinion, but ſuch as ſhe received from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and might imprint upon it, in theſe and all other Matters, whatever his ineſtimable Virtue, exalted Wiſdom, and excellent Learning ſhould think convenient for her.* So perfectly had ſhe learn'd the Stile, that ſhe knew was moſt acceptable to her Father. After that, ſhe was in all Points obedient to him; and during her Brother's Reign, ſhe only pleaded for that way of Worſhip, that was in uſe at her Father's Death.

Her preſent Deſigns.

But now being come to the Crown, notwithſtanding her Promiſes to the *Soffolk* Gentlemen to ſtand by her Brother's Religion, neither that, nor her Father's could ſatisfie her; yet when ſhe thought where to fix, ſhe was diſtracted between two different Schemes that were preſented to her. *Gardiner*, and all that had comply'd in the former Times, mov'd, That at firſt ſhe ſhould bring all Things back to the ſame State they had been fix'd, when her Father dy'd; and after that by eaſie and regular Steps ſhe might again return to a full Obedience to the See of *Rome*. But ſhe her ſelf was more inclin'd to return immediately into the Boſom of the *Romiſh* Church; and ſhe thought ſhe could not any other way be legitimated, but in this ſhe was in danger of proceeding too haſtily. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maxims made no great Impreſſion upon her, and that he was eſteem'd by her as a ſubtle temporizing Man, addreſs'd himſelf to the Emperor, who better underſtood Government and Mankind; and undertook, that if he would procure him to be Chancellor, he would ſo manage Affairs, that in a ſhort Time he would effect all things to the Queen's Deſire; and that there was no Danger but in her making too large Steps, and being ſo much govern'd by *Italian* Councils: For he underſtood that ſhe had already ſent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a ſtrong Averſion to the Papal Authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehenſive of loſing the Abby-Lands; therefore it was neceſſary gradually and ſlowly to remove thoſe Prejudices. He alſo aſſur'd the Emperor, That he would zealouſly ſerve all his Intereſts, and ſhew'd him how neceſſary it was to ſtop the coming of Cardinal *Pool*, who ſtood attainted by Act of Parliament; and in this he was the more urgent, becauſe he knew the Cardinal hated him. The Emperor upon this wrote ſo effectually to the Queen to depend upon *Gardiner*'s Counſels, that on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* he was made Lord Chancellor, and the Conduct of Affairs put chiefly into his Hands. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was alſo much regarded by the Queen, who being now at liberty, alledg'd that he was never truly Attainted, and that it was no legal Act that had paſs'd againſt him; by which Plea he recover'd his Eſtate, and all the Grants that had been made out of it, were declar'd void at Common Law.

Biſhop Gardiner's Contrivances.

He is made Lord Chancellor.

He was made Lord High-Steward for the Trial of the Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marqueſs of *Northampton*. All that they pleaded for themſelves lay in two Points; the one was, *Whether any thing acted by Order of Council, and the Authority of the Great Seal, could be Treaſon?* The other was, *Whether ſuch as were as guilty as themſelves, could ſit and judge them?* The Judges anſwer'd, *That the Great Seal, or Privy-Council of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity:* And, *That all Peers who were not convicted by Record, might legally judge them.* Theſe Points being determin'd againſt them, they pleaded *Guilty*, and ſubmitted to the Queen's Mercy; ſo Sentence paſs'd upon them: And the next Day Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and ſome others, were try'd and condemn'd: But of all theſe, it was reſolv'd, that only *Northumberland*, *Gates* and *Palmer* ſhould ſuffer. Biſhop *Heath* was appointed to attend on *Northumberland*, and to prepare him for Death: He then profeſs'd *He had always been of the old Religion in his Heart, and had comply'd*

The Trials of Northumberland *and others.*

ply'd againſt his Conſcience; but whether it was true, or ſpoken in Hopes of Life, as it cannot be certainly known, ſo it ſhews he had but little Religion, either in his Life, or at his Death. But he was a Man of ſuch a high Temper, that it was reſolv'd to put him out of a Capacity of revenging himſelf upon his Enemies: So on the twenty ſecond of *Auguſt*, he and the other two were beheaded. There paſt ſome Expoſtulations between him and *Gates*, each accuſing the other as the Author of their Ruin; but they were ſeemingly reconcil'd, and profeſs'd they forgave one another. The Duke made a long Speech, confeſſing his former ill Life, and the Juſtice of the Sentence againſt him; 'He 'exhorted the People to ſtand to the Religion of their Anceſtors, and to reject 'all Novel ies, and to drive the Preachers of them out of the Nation; and de- 'clar'd he had temporiz'd againſt his Conſcience, and that he was always of 'the Religion of his Fore-Fathers. And thus dy'd the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*; who was an extraordinary Man, 'till he was rais'd very high: But that tranſported him beyond Meaſure, and he was ſo ſtrangely chang'd in the laſt Paſſages of his Life, that it increas'd the Jealouſies of his having haſten'd King *Edward*'s Death; and that the Horrors of that Guilt did ſo haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage ſhown in the former Parts of his Life, ſeem'd now to have quite abandon'd him. However the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Blood lay heavy upon him; and it is obſervable, That as he ſuffer'd under the ſame Fate, and upon the very ſame Block, that the other did; ſo it was his Fortune to be laid under the ſame Stone, in the ſame Grave, where they now lye like good Friends, who living were irreconcilable Enemies.

They are beheaded.

As to King *Edward*'s Death, there was no ſtrict Enquiry made after it; and all the Honour done to his Memory, was to allow him Funeral Rites. On the eighth Day of *Auguſt*, he was bury'd at *Weſtminſter*; and the Queen had a ſolemn Obſequy, and Maſſes for him in the Tower. Biſhop *Day* was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon; in which he prais'd the King, but ſeverely exclaim'd againſt the Adminiſtration of Affairs under him. It had been reſolv'd to bury him according to the old Forms; but *Cranmer* oppos'd that, and prevail'd that he ſhould be bury'd according to the Form then eſtabliſh'd by Law. He himſelf officiated, and ended the Solemnity with a Communion; all which he perform'd with a moſt lively Sorrow, as having both lov'd the King beyond Expreſſion, and looking on his Funeral as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a great Step towards his own. This ſoon began to appear; for in a few Days after ſeveral Advances were made towards that Work. The Queen at firſt, to molifie the Proceedings, declar'd in Council, on the twelfth Day of *Auguſt*, *That tho' ſhe was fix'd in her own Religion, yet ſhe would not compel others to it; but would leave that to the Motions of God's Spirit, and the Labours of good Preachers.* The Day following, Doctor *Bonner* went to St. *Paul*'s, where the Sermon was preach'd by *Bourn* his Chaplain; who extreamly extoll'd his Patron, and violently inveigh'd againſt the Sufferings he had ſuſtain'd. Upon this a Tumult was rais'd by the People, who could not bear any Reflexions upon the pious King *Edward*: Some threw Stones at him, and one darted a Dagger at the Pulpit, with ſuch Force, that it ſtuck faſt in the Wood. *Rogers* and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, were preſent, and ſo much in credit with the People, that they eaſily quieted them, and convey'd *Bourn* ſafe to his Houſe. This was a very deſirable Accident to the Romaniſts; and gave them a Colour to prohibit Preaching, by a publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name. In which ſhe declar'd, 'That 'her Religion was the ſame that it had been from her Infancy, but that ſhe 'would compel none of her Subjects in Matters of Religion, *'till publick Order 'ſhould be taken in it by common Conſent.* She requir'd her People to live 'peaceably, and not to uſe the Terms of *Papiſt* or *Heretick*, or other re- 'proachful Speeches; and that none ſhould preach *without her ſpecial Licence*: 'She alſo charg'd them not to puniſh any on the Account of the late Rebellion, 'but

King Edward's Funeral.

A Diſturbance at St. Paul's.

The Queen's Inhibitions.

'*but as they ſhould be authoriz'd by her.* She would be ſorry to be driven to 'execute the Severity of the Law; *but was reſolv'd not to ſuffer Rebellious 'Actions to go unpuniſh'd.* This gave great Occaſion for Cenſure: It ſhew'd what Religion ſhe profeſs'd, which was worſe than that of her Father: Her ſpecial Licence was an immediate Interdict upon all the Pulpits in *England*; and her threatning to proceed againſt ſuch as were guilty of the late Revolt, ſtruck a great Terror to the City of *London*; for the chief of the City were principally concern'd in it.

Now all Things began to be carry'd on with great Warmth and Violence; yet ſtill the *Suffolk* Gentlemen imagin'd that their Services and the Queen's Promiſes gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly: But Orders were ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich* to execute the Queen's Injunctions, and to ſee that none preach'd without a ſpecial Licence. Upon which ſome of thoſe who had been moſt ſerviceable in her Neceſſities, came to put the Queen in mind of her poſitive Promiſe: But ſhe ſent them home with a ſevere Anſwer, *That the Members ought not to rule the Head; but they were to learn to obey, and not to govern:* And when one of them more confidently inſiſted upon her Promiſe, he was order'd to ſtand three Days in the Pillory, as having ſaid Words tending to defame the Queen; which was a diſmal Omen of a ſevere Government, when the claiming of Promiſes paſs'd for a Crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers* were alſo ſecur'd, upon a Pretence that the Authority they ſhew'd in quieting the Tumult, was a Proof that they had firſt rais'd it. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtal*, *Heath* and *Day* were all reſtor'd to their Biſhopricks, and the Sentences paſs'd againſt them in the late Reign null'd. *Gardiner* had Authority given him to grant Prieſts Licences to preach in any Church, as he ſhould appoint; by which the Reformed were not only ſilenc'd, but their Churches and Pulpits were thrown open to ſuch as that unreaſonable Man ſhould ſend among them. This caus'd the Impriſonment of many, and particularly the two Biſhops of *Exeter* and *Gloceſter*, *Coverdale*, and *Hooper*. Images began to be ſet up, and the old Rites were in many Places renew'd, all which was incourag'd by the Government, tho' directly againſt Law. Of this Judge *Hales* was ſenſible, who thought his Refuſing to concur with the reſt for excluding the Queen gave him no common Privilege; therefore when he went his Circuit, in his Charge at *Kent* he requir'd the Juſtices to ſee to the Execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, that ſtill continu'd in Force. But upon his Return he was for this committed to the *Marſhalſea*, and remov'd from Priſon to Priſon, where the good old Man was ſo terrify'd with his Enemies Deſigns, that his Brain was turn'd; and he firſt made an Attempt upon his Life with a Pen-knife, and tho' he was afterwards ſet at Liberty, his Diſorder was ſo great that he drowned himſelf. On the other ſide Judge *Bromley*, tho' he had made no Scruple in declaring for the Queen's Excluſion, yet ſince he profeſs'd himſelf a Papiſt, was made Lord Chief Juſtice: And *Montague*, who had proceeded in it with extream Averſion, yet becauſe he was for the Reformation, was impriſon'd, depriv'd of his Lands given him by the late King, and ſeverely fin'd: Tho' he had this Merit to plead, that he had ſent his Son and a Body of Men to declare for the Queen; and had this alſo to recommend him to her Pity, that he had a Family of ſix Sons, and eleven Daughters.

Her Treatment of the Suffolk *Gentlemen.*

And of Judge Hales.

And of Judge Montague.

During theſe melancholy Proſpects, *Cranmer*, who for a while had kept himſelf quiet, was adviſ'd by ſome Friends to fly beyond Sea; but he anſwer'd, *That tho' he could not diſſuade others from flying in ſuch a threatning Storm, yet it was unbecoming a Man in his Station, who was ſo deeply concern'd in the Changes formerly made.* Therefore he prepar'd a Paper, 'In which he 'declar'd himſelf, with *Peter Martyr*, and ſome others, ready to prove the Errors 'of the Maſs, and to defend the whole Doctrine and Service publiſh'd by the 'late King, as moſt conformable to the Word of God, and the Practice of the 'ancient Church for many Ages. This being diſcover'd by an Accident, the Arch-

Arch-Biſhop was cited to the Star-Chamber, to anſwer to it: He acknowledg'd it was his, and declar'd he deſign'd to have inlarg'd it, and affix'd it on St. *Paul*'s and other Churches. He was at this Time diſmiſs'd; for *Gardiner*, who ſaw the Queen deſign'd to put Cardinal *Pool* in his See, now us'd all Endeavours to preſerve him. Some diſcreetly mov'd that a ſmall Penſion might be aſſign'd him, and that he ſhould be ſuffer'd to live privately: For the happy Sweetneſs of his Temper had procur'd ſuch an univerſal Love from the People, that it was thought too bold a Step to proceed to Extremities with ſuch a Man. Others ſaid, he had been the chief Author of all the Hereſie in the Nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to ſhew any Favour to him, that had pronounc'd the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce. Theſe laſt Counſels prevail'd moſt with the zealous Queen; and within a Week after, he and Biſhop *Latimer*, and ſeveral other Preachers were committed to Priſon. *Peter Martyr*, who had come over upon the publick Faith, had leave given him to depart the Nation; ſo had *John a Laſco*, and the *German* Congregation. Many of the *Engliſh* foreſeeing the Storm, reſolv'd to withdraw in Time; and when the Strangers were requir'd to be gone, they went under that Covert in great Numbers. But the Council underſtanding that about a thouſand had ſo convey'd themſelves away, gave Order that none ſhould be ſuffer'd to go as Strangers, but thoſe who had a Certificate from the Ambaſſador of the Princes to whom they belong'd. With thoſe who fled beyond Sea, ſeveral eminent Preachers went; among whom were *Cox*, *Sandys*, *Grindal* and *Horn*, all highly advanc'd by Queen *Elizabeth*.

Cranmer, Latimer, and others impriſon'd.

Great Numbers leave the Nation.

Theſe Things began to alienate the People from the Government, therefore on the other Side, great Care was taken to molifie and ſweeten them. The Queen beſtow'd the chief Offices of her Houſhold on thoſe who had aſſiſted her in her Extremity; there being no Way more effectual to ingage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful Acknowledgment of paſt Services. An unuſual Honour was done to *Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, who had a particular Licence granted him under the Great-Seal to cover his Head in the Queen's Preſence. Theſe Things being ſetled, ſhe proceeded to her Coronation; and on the laſt Day of *September* ſhe rod in her open Chariot through *London* towards *Weſtminſter*, attended with a glorious Cavalcade in this Order. Firſt rod a great Number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Biſhops, then Lords, then the Council; after whom follow'd the Knights of the *Bath* in their Robes, then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellor, and the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord High-Treaſurer: Next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword; then the Lord Mayor in Crimſon Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: Then came the Queen's Chariot, follow'd by another Chariot, in which ſate her Siſter *Elizabeth* with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; who were likewiſe follow'd by a noble Train of Ladies and Gentlewomen on Horſeback. In this Order they rode through the principal Streets to *Weſtminſter*, where in many Places were magnificent Pageants and Shews, and many rich Preſents were made to the Queen. The next Day ſhe was publickly crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by Biſhop *Gardiner*, who with ten other Biſhops, all in their Mitres, Coapes and Croſiers, perform'd that Ceremony with great Pomp and Solemnity; and Biſhop *Day* preach'd the Coronation Sermon. But *Gardiner* had prepar'd a Largeſs of an extraordinary Nature for the Queen to diſtribute that Day among the People; beſides a general Pardon, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, ſetting forth, 'That the Queen did diſcharge her Subjects of the two Tenths, two Fif-'teenths, and a Subſidy that had been granted by the laſt Parliament: And 'ſhe alſo declar'd that ſhe would both pay her Father's and her Brother's Debts; 'and tho' her Treaſure was much exhauſted, yet ſhe eſteem'd the Love of her 'People her beſt Treaſure, and forgave their Taxes, in lieu of which ſhe de-'ſir'd

The Queen's Coronation.

Her Largeſs to her Subjects.

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'ſir'd only the Hearts of her Subjects, and that they would ſerve God ſincere-
'ly, and pray earneſtly for her.

Burnet. &c. Not long after, on the tenth of *October*, a Parliament met according to Summons: In many Places of the Country Men had been choſen by Force and Threats; in other Places thoſe imploy'd by the Court by Violence hinder'd the Free-holders from coming to chuſe; in many Places falſe Returns were made; and ſome zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turn'd out of the Houſe of Commons; all which was afterwards offer'd as a Ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might be annull'd. There only came two of the reform'd Biſhops to the Houſe of Lords, *Taylor* and *Harley*, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford*; the two Arch-Biſhops, and three Biſhops were then in Priſon, and the reſt ſtaid at home. When Maſs began to be ſaid, the two reform'd Biſhops went out, as ſome report it, but were never ſuffer'd to return to their Places; others ſay, that refuſing to join in that Worſhip, they were violently thruſt out. In the Houſe of Commons, ſome of the moſt Forward mov'd, that King *Edward*'s Laws might be review'd; but Things were not ripe enough for that Project. The Commons ſent up a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords ſent down amended in two Proviſo's; and the Commons did not then inſiſt upon their Privilege, that the Lords could make no Alterations in a Mony-Bill. The only publick Bill that was finiſh'd this Seſſion, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime Treaſon, that was not ſo by the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third; or Felony, that was not ſo before King *Henry* the Eighth: Excepting from the Benefit of this Act all that were put in Priſon before the End of *September* laſt; who were likewiſe excepted out of the general Pardon. The Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and her Son the Earl of *Devonſhire*, were reſtor'd to Blood by two private Acts; and then the Parliament was prorogu'd for three Days, that it might be ſaid, the firſt Seſſion under the Queen, was meerly for Acts of Grace and Mercy.

The firſt Parliament in this Reign.

At their next Meeting, a Bill paſs'd through both Houſes in four Days, repealing the Divorce of the Queen's Mother; 'In which they declar'd the Mar-
'riage to be lawful; and that malicious Perſons had poſſeſs'd the King
'with Scruples concerning it; and had by Corruption procur'd the Seals of
'Foreign Univerſities condemning it: Upon which *Cranmer* had pronounc'd
'the Sentence of Divorce, which had been confirm'd in Parliament: They
'therefore looking upon the Miſeries that had befallen the Nation, ſince that
'Time, as Judgments from God for that Sentence, did now condemn it, and
'repeal the Acts confirming it. By this *Gardiner* perform'd his Promiſe in procuring her to be declar'd Legitimate, without mentioning the Pope's Authority: But in the drawing of it, he ſhew'd that he was paſt all Bluſhing, when he procur'd ſuch a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had ſo ſervilely promoted; and when he particularly knew the Falſhood of this Pretence, that the Foreign Univerſities were corrupted; as alſo that he had incourag'd it long before *Cranmer* ingag'd in it, and ſate in Court with him when Sentence was pronounc'd. By this Act the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was in effect illegitimated a ſecond Time, ſince the Ground on which her Mother's Marriage ſubſiſted, was the Divorce of the firſt: And it was upon this Pretence, or from old Reſentments, or a new Rivalry, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Siſter, began now to uſe her more ſeverely. The next Bill was a Repeal of all the Laws, made in King *Edward*'s Reign, concerning Religion; 'By
'which, all Matters of Religion were again brought back to the ſame State
'King *Henry* had left them; and this was to take Place about two Months
'after, 'till when all were at liberty to uſe the old or new Service, as they
'pleas'd. Another Act paſs'd againſt all that ſhould diſquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices; 'by which the Queen was empow-
'er'd to reſtore the Service in all Particulars, as it had been before her Father
'made the Breach with *Rome*. Another Law was made, That if any to the

The Queen's Illegitimation repeal'd.

Other Acts.

'Number of Twelve ſhould meet to alter any Thing in Religion, or for any 'Riot, or ſhould by any publick Notice, ſuch as Bells and Beacons, gather 'the People together, and ſhould not diſperſe themſelves, upon Proclamation, 'they and their Aſſiſtants were made guilty of Felony: And if any more than 'two met for thoſe Ends, they ſhould ſuffer a Year's Impriſonment. By this all the Favour of the former Act of Repeal vaniſh'd, and prov'd no better than Deluſion. The Marqueſs of *Northampton*'s ſecond Marriage was annul'd, as being founded upon falſe Surmiſes; and ſo was the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk* ſet aſide by this Parliament. At the ſame time Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, *Guilford Dudley*, and his Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers were try'd for Treaſon: They all confeſs'd the Indictments, only *Cranmer* appeal'd to the Judges, who knew with what Reluctancy he had conſented to the Excluſion of the Queen, and that he refus'd it, 'till they, whoſe Profeſſion it was to know the Law, had ſign'd it. They were all attainted of Treaſon for levying War againſt the Queen, and their Attainders were confirm'd in this Parliament. Thus was *Cranmer* legally diveſted of his Arch-Biſhoprick; but ſince he was put into it by the Pope's Authority, it was reſolv'd to degrade him by the Forms of the Canon Law; and the Queen was willing to pardon his Treaſon, that it might appear ſhe did not act upon a Spirit of Revenge, but Zeal. In Reality, ſhe was often prevail'd upon to pardon Injuries againſt her ſelf, but was ever inexorable in Matters of Religion.

The Lady Jane, Cranmer, and others attainted of Treaſon.

The Queen's ſecret Deſigns. About this Time two Things began to be diſcover'd, which put the Parliament and Nation in much Diſorder: The one was the Queen's ſecret Treaty with the Court of *Rome*, and the other her deſign'd Marriage with the Emperor's Son *Philip*. As to the Firſt, when ſhe came to the Crown, the Pope's Legate at *Bruſſels* ſent over *Commendone*, afterwards a Cardinal, to try if he could ſpeak privately with her, and to perſuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apoſtolick See. The Management of the Affair was left to his Diſcretion, for the Legate would not truſt his important Secret to *Gardiner*, nor any of the other Biſhops. *Commendone* came over in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant, and by Accident met with one of the Queen's Servants, who had liv'd ſome Years beyond Sea, and being known to him, by his Means he procur'd Acceſs to the Queen. She aſſur'd him of her firm Reſolution to return to the Obedience of that See, but charg'd him to proceed with great Niceneſs and Prudence; for if it were too early diſcover'd, it might diſturb her Affairs, and obſtruct the Deſign. By him ſhe wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool*, and urg'd the ſending over *Pool* with a Legantine Power: She alſo as'kd him, whether the Pope might not diſpence with the Cardinal to marry, ſince he was only in Deacons Orders. This prov'd the Foundation of *Commendone*'s Advancement, and was a joyful Meſſage to the Court of *Rome*; where was a publick Thankſgiving for three Days, and the Pope ſaid Maſs himſelf; and gave a Largeſs of Indulgences, in which he was the more liberal, becauſe they were like to recover their former Reputation. Yet all that *Commendone* declar'd in the Conſiſtory, was, *That he underſtood from good Hands, that Queen* Mary *was diſpos'd to a Re-union*. Some of the ſtiffer Cardinals thought it below the Pope's Dignity to ſend a Legate, 'till an Embaſſie came firſt from the Queen to deſire that Favour; but the Secret being generally whiſper'd among them, and the Succeſs inſur'd, Cardinal *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with a plenary Authority. *Gardiner* was very apprehenſive of this Man, and therefore adviſ'd the Emperor to ſtop him in his Journey; and to touch the Emperor in the tendereſt Part, it is ſaid that he let him know that the Queen had ſome Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now propos'd a Match with her for his Son, tho' he was nine Years younger than ſhe; yet ſhe being but thirty ſeven, there was Reaſon ſufficient to hope for Children; and the uniting *England* to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſeem'd to be all that was wanting to the Ruin of the *French* Kingdom. The Queen found ſtrong Inducements to determine her to this

Burnet.

Cardinal Pool *order'd for* England.

this Propoſition; for ſhe found it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to make a full Eſtabliſhment of her Religion without the Aſſiſtance of a Foreign Power.

The reſtoring of the Papal Power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were two Things of ſuch uneaſie Digeſtion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperor urg'd the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that ſhe would be enabled to carry on her other Deſigns. At length the Queen her ſelf was perſuaded to ſend to *Pool*, to adviſe him to ſtop his Journey for ſome Time; to whom ſhe ſent over the Acts of this Parliament, 'To let him know what Progreſs ſhe was making, and to aſſure him ſhe 'would uſe all convenient Expedition in the Re-union: But the Parliament 'had expreſs'd ſo great an Averſion to the reſtoring the Pope's Power, and were 'ſo apprehenſive of loſing the Abby-Lands, that it would greatly prejudice 'her Affairs, if ſhe came over before her Subjects Minds were better prepar'd. To ſhew her Confidence in him, ſhe alſo deſir'd him to ſend her a Liſt of ſuch as were moſt proper to be made Biſhops, in Room of thoſe remov'd. The Cardinal was very uneaſie at his being ſtopp'd in his Journey, and wrote her a long Anſwer, 'In which he rejoic'd at the Acts that were paſs'd, but ob- 'ſerv'd great Defects in them: In that concerning her Mother's Marriage, there 'was no Mention made of the Pope's Bull of Diſpenſation, by which only it 'could be a lawful Marriage: The other for ſetting up the Worſhip, as it was 'in the End of her Father's Reign, was more exceptionable, for the Nation 'was then in a State of Schiſm, and ſo this had eſtabliſh'd Schiſm by a Law. 'He declar'd that he had been very frankly diſpatch'd by the Pope and the 'Conſiſtory, with many favourable Inſtructions; but if theſe were ſo deſpis'd, 'and he ſtill ſtopp'd, it might provoke his Holineſs to recall his Power. He 'was ſenſible all this flow'd from the Emperor, who perhaps would adviſe her 'to follow ſuch Political Maxims as had govern'd him; but his ill Succeſs in 'the Buſineſs of the *Interim*, might well diſcourage others from following 'ſuch Counſels: And he fear'd that carnal Policy might govern her ſo much, 'as ſhe would fall from her Simplicity in Chriſt. He deſir'd her to take Cou- 'rage, and depend upon God; and adviſ'd her to go her ſelf to the Parliament, 'having firſt prepar'd ſome to ſecond her, and to declare, *That ſhe was touch'd 'in Conſcience with a Senſe of Sin of the Schiſm, and that therefore ſhe deſir'd 'the Act of Attainder that ſtood againſt Cardinal* Pool *might be repeal'd, and 'that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apoſtolick 'See:* And ſhe might aſſure them, *That all neceſſary Caution ſhould be taken 'to prevent the Nation's being brought under a Thraldom to the Papacy*. But the Queen was prepoſſeſs'd with *Gardiner*'s Counſels, and eſteem'd the Cardinal's Advice as more candid, than really prudent. *Gardiner* perſuaded her that tho' he was a good and learned Man, yet he underſtood not the preſent Genius of the Nation; and *Pool* look'd upon *Gardiner* as a Man of no Conſcience, and more converſant in Intrigues of State, than touch'd with any Senſe of Religion: But the Emperor was convinc'd that *Gardiner*'s Methods were more ſecure, therefore he preferr'd them to thoſe of the other.

The Queen's Meſſage to him.

His Anſwer.

When the Treaty of the Queen's Marriage was publickly known, the Houſe of Commons were much alarm'd at it; and they ſent their Speaker and twenty of their Members, with an Addreſs to her, not to marry a Stranger; in which they ſhew'd ſo much Heat and Reſentment, that the Court judg'd it neceſſary to diſſolve the Parliament. Upon this *Gardiner* let the Emperor know, *That the Jealouſies rais'd upon the Account of the Match were ſo ſtrong, that except very extraordinary Conditions were offer'd, it would occaſion a general Rebellion*. He alſo wrote to him that large Sums muſt be ſent over both to gratifie the Nobility, and enable them to carry the Elections in the next Parliament, againſt all Oppoſers. As for Conditions, the Emperor was reſolv'd to grant any that ſhould be demanded; for he concluded that if his Son were once

The Parliament diſoblig'd.

And diſſolv'd.

marry'd to the Queen, it would be eaſie for him to goven the Councils as he pleas'd: And for Mony there was no leſs than four hundred thouſand Pounds order'd to be divided in the Nation, at the Diſcretion of *Gardiner*, and the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, at ſeveral Times. This Mony was borrow'd by the Emperor from ſome of the free Towns of *Germany*; and when they were urging him for the Re-Payment of it about a Year after, he for his Excuſe alledg'd the Charge he had been at for his Son's Marriage, but that he hop'd to be re-imburs'd from *England, which was thus bought and ſold by a deſigning Prelate, and a corrupted Parliament.* *Gardiner* did alſo baſely make uſe of his Power, as Chancellor, to oblige all People to comply with him; and in his Court of Chancery no Favour or common Juſtice was ſhown to any Perſons who were not of his Intereſt.

Vaſt Bribes ſent over by the Emperor.

A. D. 1554. Reg. 1/2. In the Beginning of the following Year, a noble Embaſſie came over from the Emperor, to agree on the Conditions of Marriage between his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had a principal Share; for he was the Oracle of the Council-Board, as having thirty Years Experience in Affairs, and a great Knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendom, and of the State of *England*. In drawing the Articles of the Marriage, he had a double Deſign; one was, to have them ſo fram'd, as they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; and the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any Share in the Government of *England*, which he deſign'd to hold in his own Hands. Accordingly it was agreed 'That the Government, and Gift of Places, ſhould be entirely in Queen *Mary*; and tho' Prince *Philip* was to be call'd King, nam'd in all Writs, and his Image put on the Coin and Seals, yet the Queen's Hand alone was to give Authority to every Thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office: No change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be requir'd to go out of *England* againſt her Will; nor might their Iſſue go out of *England*, but by the Conſent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have a Jointure of forty thouſand Pounds a Year out of *Spain*, and twenty thouſand Pounds out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son, it was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands* as well as *England*; and if *Philip*'s preſent Son dy'd, it was to inherit all the *Spaniſh* Dominions: If the Queen had only Daughters, they were to ſucceed to her Crown, and have ſuch Portions from *Spain*, as was uſually given to Kings Daughters. Prince *Philip* was to have no Share in the Government after her Death: And the Queen might ſtill keep up the League with *France*, notwithſtanding this Match. Theſe were the Conditions concluded at preſent, and afterwards confirm'd in Parliament; by which it appears that the *Spaniards* were reſolv'd to have the Marriage upon any Terms; not doubting, but if Prince *Philip* were once in *England*, he could eaſily enlarge his Authority at Pleaſure.

A Treaty of Marriage between the Emperor's Son Philip, *and the Queen.*

Yet all theſe did not ſatisfie the Nation, which look'd upon them as ſo many Baits to enſnare them into Slavery. The Severities of the *Spaniards* Government and Inquiſition in their own Provinces, and the monſtrous Cruelties exercis'd in the *Weſt-Indies*, were loud in every Man's Mouth; and it was ſaid, That *England* muſt now preſerve it ſelf, or for ever be in Bondage. Theſe Things had great Influence upon many; but the chief Conſpirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*: The firſt was to raiſe the Mid-land Counties, the ſecond the County of *Kent*, and the third *Cornwall*; hoping by riſing in ſuch remote Places, they might engage the Commons, who were now as much diſguſted with their Queen, as they were formerly fond of her. But before the Deſign was ripe, the Project in the Weſt was diſcover'd, upon which *Carew* fled into *France*. *Wiat* gather'd ſome Men about him in *Kent*, and on the twenty fifth of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidſtone*, 'That he deſign'd nothing but to preſerve the Nation from the 'Yoke of Strangers; and aſſur'd the People that all *England* would make an 'Inſurrection upon the ſame Cauſe. The Sheriff of *Kent* requir'd him, under Pain

It cauſes great Diſcontents.

Wiat's *Rebellion in* Kent.

Pain of Treaſon, to diſperſe his Company, but he did not obey his Summons. One *Knevet* alſo rais'd a Body of Men about *Tunbridge*, and march'd towards him, but was intercepted and defeated by a Force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was ſent with two hundred Horſe and ſix hundred *Londoners* to diſperſe this Inſurrection: But ſome who came over from *Wiat* as Deſerters, perſuaded the *Londoners* that it was a common Cauſe, in which they were engag'd to maintain the Liberty of the Nation; upon which they all went over to *Wiat*, crying out, *We are all* Engliſh *Men!* This oblig'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to retire back to *London*; and *Wiat*, who had kept himſelf under the Defence of *Rocheſter* Bridge, advanc'd forwards, ſending to the Duke of *Suffolk* to haſten his Deſigns. But that Duke, who was always of a mean Spirit, after a feeble Attempt to raiſe the Country, deſiſted and fled to a private Houſe, where he was taken and brought Priſoner to the Tower.

Wiat's Party increaſing, the Queen ſent an Offer of Pardon to him and his Men; but that not being receiv'd, ſhe ſent ſome of her Council to treat with him, and he being greatly ſwell'd with his ſmall Succeſs, propos'd, 'That the 'Queen ſhould come to the Tower of *London*, and put the Command of it 'into his Hands, 'till a new Council was eſtabliſh'd about her. Upon theſe extravagant Propoſals, there only paſs'd high Words, without any Determination. Upon which the Queen attended with many Noblemen went to *Guild-Hall*, and before the Citizens gave an Account of her Meſſage to *Wiat*, and his Anſwer: And as for her Marriage, ſhe declar'd, *She had done nothing without the Advice of her Nobles; That having liv'd ſo long a Virgin, ſhe was willing to continue in the ſame Condition, if the States of the Realm thought it proper.* *Wiat* was now four thouſand ſtrong, and march'd into *Southwark*, on the ſecond of *February*, but could not force the Bridge of *London*: He was inform'd that the Citizens would all riſe, if he ſhould come to their Aſſiſtance; but he could not find Boats for his Paſſage over into *Eſſex*, therefore he was oblig'd to go to the Bridge of *Kingſton*. On the fourth he came to *Kingſton*, where the Queen had order'd the Bridge to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he croſs'd the River that Night: And tho' he loſt much Time in mending one of his Carriages that broke by the Way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine a Clock next Morning, it being *Aſh-Wedneſday*. The Earl of *Pembroke* had gather'd a conſiderable Body of Men to have attack'd him, for his own Men were now in great Diſorder; but they ſtood as Spectators, to let him throw himſelf into their Hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as ſome adviſs'd, but came down to *Charing-Croſs*; where the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the ſeveral Bodies of his Men, and ſo diſperſs'd them, that he had not five hundred left about him: But with thoſe that remain'd he paſs'd through the *Strand* and *Fleet-ſtreet*, to *Ludgate*, where he ſtopp'd, expecting to have the Gates open'd to him. Upon his Return towards *Temple-Bar*, he found himſelf ſurrounded by the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Horſe; and *Clarenceaux*, King at Arms, preſs'd *Wiat* to yield himſelf, *and not by drawing the Blood of ſo many valiant Men, forfeit all Hopes of the Queeen's Mercy.* His Men ſeem'd to be reſolute, but he in Deſpair yielded, and was carry'd to the Queen; who all this while ſhew'd great Courage, and would not go to the Tower, as many adviſ'd her, but went with her Women and Prieſts to her Devotions. Thus ended this Rebellion, which being raw and ill-form'd was as fortunate for the Ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* had projected it; for in a weak Government, an ill digeſted Inſurrection raiſes the Power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends as it depreſſes the Faction againſt him; and gives a Handle to ſome Things for which otherwiſe they could neither find Colour not Inſtruments.

The Queen's Preparations againſt him.

He enters London.

He yields himſelf to the Queen.

One Effect of this was, the ſevere Proceedings againſt the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband the Lord *Guilford*, who were both order'd to prepare for Death. The admirable Lady was not much diſorder'd at the fatal Meſſage; for ſhe knew, upon the firſt Jealouſie ſhe muſt be the Sacrifice, therefore had now liv'd

The Lady Jane, *and her Huſband, order'd to die.*

liv'd ſix Months in the continual Meditations of Death. Doctor *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her from the Queen, who had a long Converſation with her. But ſhe anſwer'd him with that Calmneſs of Mind, and Clearneſs of Reaſon, that it was amazing to find ſo young a Perſon, of her Sex and Quality, look on approaching Death with ſo little Diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly and judiciouſly of the higheſt Points of Religion. *Fecknam* left her without any Hopes of prevailing; but procur'd the Continuance of her Life for three Days longer, and waited on her upon the Scaffold. She wrote to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, which muſt needs have been great ſince his Actions occaſion'd it; declaring, 'It was a mighty Matter of Joy to 'her, that ſhe was near the End of her Miſeries, and the Enjoyment of eternal 'Glory. There was one *Harding*, who had been her Father's Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in the Reign of King *Edward*, and before his Death had animated the People to prepare againſt Perſecution; yet now had fallen away himſelf. To whom ſhe wrote a Letter in an extraordinary Strain, full of zealous Expoſtulations, and ſevere Threatnings, for his Apoſtacy; but it had no juſt Effect upon him. The Night before her Execution, ſhe ſent her *Greek* Teſtament ſhe always us'd to her Siſter, as the richeſt Preſent in the World; with a Letter in the ſame Language, in which, in the moſt pious and pathetick Expreſſions ſhe diſplay'd the mighty Value of the Book, and the glorious Advantages ſhe might obtain by it. She had alſo compos'd a very devout Prayer for her Retirements: And theſe were the laſt Exerciſes of this wondrous young Lady.

Her Behaviour upon it.

Her Husband's Execution.

The diſmal Morning being come, and all People melted into the tendereſt Sentiments of Pity, her Husband was firſt led out to a Scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he ſuffer'd with a moſt Chriſtian Meekneſs. He had obtain'd leave to ſee his beloved Spouſe, and to take his laſt Farewel; but ſhe declin'd that Ceremony, as a Circumſtance that would more increaſe their Diſorder, than their Conſolation; declaring, *That ſhe hop'd they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier State.* Yet ſhe had ſuch a Preſence of Mind, as to look on him through the Window, when he paſs'd to the Scaffold; and with an Heroick unmov'd Countenance ſaw his headleſs Body afterwards brought back to be interr'd in the Chappel of the Tower. There was no doubt but the Death of this innocent Lady would excite the higheſt Degrees of Compaſſion and Regret; therefore, ſince the World could not bear ſo moving a Sight, a Scaffold was erected within the Verge of the Tower, where ſhe might ſatisfie the Severity of the Law, without any Danger to the State. As ſhe was brought out, the Lieutenant of the Tower deſir'd her to favour him with ſome Memorial of hers; upon which ſhe ask'd for her Table-Book, and wrote three ſhort Sentences in *Greek*, in *Latin*, and in *Engliſh*, by which ſhe aſſerted her Innocency, declaring, *That if her Fault deſerv'd Puniſhment, her Youth, at leaſt, and her Ignorance, were excuſable; and that God and Poſterity would ſhew her Favour.* At laſt the beauteous Victim having ſaluted the Croud as ſhe paſs'd along, and with a charming Air of Modeſty deſir'd their Prayers, ſhe mounted that Throne, where ſhe was to receive a Crown of ineſtimable Value. Here ſhe kindly embrac'd Doctor *Fecknam*, ſaying, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your Humanity to me, tho' it gave me more uneaſineſs than all the Terrors of my approaching Death.* Then turning to the Spectators, ſhe confeſs'd, *That ſhe had ſinn'd in aſſuming the Title of Queen, and that her Conſent to it was unlawful; but ſtill it was neither procur'd, nor deſir'd by her.* At which ſhe wrung her Hands in Token of her Innocency. Then ſhe declar'd, *She dy'd a true Chriſtian, and hop'd for Salvation only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Chriſt*: Acknowledging, *That ſhe had too much neglected the Word of God, and too much lov'd her ſelf and the World, for which ſhe was juſtly puniſh'd from Heaven; but ſhe bleſs'd God, who by this had led her to Repentance.* Having ſaid this, ſhe commended her ſelf to the Divine Mercy; then

And her own.

caus'd

caus'd her ſelf to be diſrob'd by ſome of her Ladies, who with weeping Eyes and bleeding Hearts perform'd that Office, which was no more unwelcome to her than a Preparation to Sleep. Being ready for the Block, with the ſame unconcern'd Countenance, as ſhe had acted the reſt of her Tragedy, ſhe loudly repeated the fifty firſt Pſalm; then crying, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, ſhe ſubmitted her Neck to the Executioner; while all the People about her were cover'd with Floods of Tears.

Thus dy'd the incomparable Lady *Jane Gray*, on the twelfth Day of *February*, being about ſixteen Years of Age; whoſe Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admir'd. It had a moſt violent Operation on Judge *Morgan*, who had pronounc'd the Sentence; for ſoon after he fell mad, and in all his Ravings, ſtill call'd to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the Odium of her Death was generally caſt on her Father, rather than the Queen, who ſeem'd to be driven to it, rather from Conſiderations of State, than any Reſentments of her own. Her Father was ſoon after try'd by his Peers, condemn'd, and executed; and was the leſs pity'd, becauſe by his Means his Daughter was brought to her untimely End. *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, who begg'd his Life in the moſt abject manner; but he was condemn'd and executed. A Slander was caſt upon the Earl of *Devonſhire* and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, as if they had promoted the deſign'd Inſurrection in the Weſt; for *Wiat*, in Hopes of Life, had accus'd them, but he did them Juſtice at his Death; yet ſtill they were both put in Priſon about it. Fifty eight were executed in ſeveral Places, and ſix hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and beg their Lives, which ſhe granted them. And thus was the Storm diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood after it was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment was generally caſt on *Gardiner*, who by this means became hateful to the Nation, which has been always much mov'd at Acts of Severity.

Her Father's Execution.

The Princeſs Elizabeth *impriſon'd.*

Fox. Godwin. Heylin. Burnet. Strype. &c.

III. Queen *Mary* being by the Death of one, and the Impriſonment of another, freed from all Fears of Rivalry as to the Crown, now proceeded after her own Way without Reſerve. She gave a ſpecial Commiſſion to *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonſtall*, *Day* and *Kitchin*, to proceed againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of St. *David*'s, *Cheſter* and *Briſtol*, and to deprive them of their Biſhopricks, for having contracted Marriage. She alſo authoriz'd them to ſummon the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, who held their Biſhopricks only during their good Behaviour, and to declare their Biſhopricks void. And thus were ſeven of the Reformed Biſhops depriv'd at once, without any Form of Proceſs, by an Act of meer arbitrary Government. Biſhop *Goodrick* dy'd this Year: *Scory* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* renounc'd his Wife and did Penance, but ſoon after fled beyond Sea; and *Barlow* reſign'd his Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, and alſo fled beyond Sea. By all theſe Deprivations and Reſignations, there were ſixteen new Biſhops created, in whom the Queen confided, which made no ſmall Change in the Face of the *Engliſh* Church. Now the old Service was ſet up in all Places; in which *Bonner* us'd ſuch Precipitation, that before the Royal Aſſent was given to the Bill for it, he began the old Services and Proceſſions, which were perform'd after an extraordinary Manner. Great Numbers of the Clergy were ſummarily depriv'd for being marry'd; and of the ſixteen thouſand Clergymen then in the Nation, there were about twelve thouſand, according to *Parker*, turn'd out upon this Account: Moſt of them were judg'd upon common Fame, without any Proceſs but a Citation; and many of them then in Priſon, were puniſh'd for Non-Appearance. Many Books were written, numerous Reflections paſs'd, and great Diſturbances were occaſion'd. And at this Time a notorious Impoſtor was diſcover'd in *London*; one ſeem'd to ſpeak out of a Wall in a ſtrange Tone: Which caus'd great Numbers to flock about the Houſe, where they heard ſeveral things utter'd relating to

A. D. 1554. Reg. 1/2.

Vaſt Severities againſt the Reformed Clergy.

An Impoſtor in London.

to Religion and the State. It was found to be one *Elizabeth Croffts*, who by a Whiſtle ſpoke through a Hole in the Wall; for which ſhe was oblig'd to do publick Penance in St. *Paul*'s.

The ſecond Parliament in this Reign.

On the ſecond Day of *April* a new Parliament met, which was the ſecond in this Reign; but the moſt conſiderable Members were before corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave them Penſions, ſome two hundred, and others a hundred Pound a Year for their Voices. The firſt Act that paſs'd was Declaratory, 'That all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belong'd to the 'Kings of *England*, were the ſame, whether the Crown fell into the Hands of 'a Male or Female. The real Meaning of this was little known; ſome fear'd there was a pernicious Deſign in it, and that it being declar'd that ſhe had all the Authority of any of her Progenitors, it might be inferr'd that ſhe by this could pretend to a Right of Conqueſt, and like *William* the Conqueror, ſeize on the Eſtates of the *Engliſh*. But it was ſo conceiv'd, that the Queen was put under the ſame Limitations, as well as acknowledg'd to have the ſame Prerogatives, with her Predeceſſors. The Secret of this Act was afterwards diſcover'd: A projecting Man, who had ſerv'd *Cromwell*, and had been deeply ingag'd in the Lady *Jane*'s Affair, and the late Inſurrection, by making a timely Application to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, obtain'd his Pardon; and for Amends he offer'd a Project to the Ambaſſador, that the Queen ſhould declare, that ſhe ſucceeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not bound by the Statute-Law, which only oblig'd Kings and not Queens, by which ſhe might pretend to be a Conqueror, and rule at Pleaſure; and by that might reſtore both Religion and the Abby-Lands, without any Reſtraint. This was brought to the Queen by the Ambaſſador, who begg'd of her to keep it very ſecret. She diſlik'd the Paper, yet ſhe ſent for *Gardiner*, and charg'd him to give her his Opinion of it ſincerely, *as he would anſwer to God for it at the great Day*. He read it carefully, and told her, *It was a moſt pernicious Contrivance*, and begg'd of her *not to hearken to ſuch Plat-Forms, which might be brought her by baſe Sycophants:* Upon that ſhe burnt the Paper, and order'd the Ambaſſador to bring her no more of ſuch Projects. This gave *Gardiner* ſenſible Apprehenſions of the Miſchiefs that *Spaniſh* Counſels might bring upon the Nation, and therefore he procur'd the fore-mention'd Act to be made, by which the Queen was as much bound by the Statute-Law as her Predeceſſors. Burnet.

The Articles of the Queen's deſign'd Marriage confirm'd.

He alſo procur'd an Act to be paſs'd, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage of the Queen, with very ſtrong Clauſes, for keeping the Government intirely in the Queen's Hands; ſo that Prince *Philip* might not take it upon him, as *Henry* VII. had done, when he marry'd the Heir of the Houſe of *York*: For as that King ſet up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own Hands; ſo the *Spaniards* began now to derive a Deſcent from *John of Gaunt*, Father to *Henry* IV. which caus'd *Gardiner* to be the more cautious in this Matter. And it muſt be acknowledg'd, that the preſerving of the Nation out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, was almoſt only owing to his Care and Wiſdom. In this Parliament ſeveral other Bills were prepar'd againſt the *Lollards*, and for the ſix Articles, but none of them paſs'd; nor nothing material was enacted beſides a Confirmation of former Attainders, and the Reſtoration of the Biſhoprick of *Durham*: So the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the twenty fifth Day of *May*.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

During this Parliament, the Convocation ſate; and that they might remove the Objections that ſome made, that the chief of the Reformers were kept in Priſon, while the Cauſe was debating in the laſt Meeting, they ſent a Committee of their ableſt Men to *Oxford*, to diſpute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who were alſo ſent thither. When *Cranmer* was brought before them, they exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church, and fell into a long Diſpute; in which *Weſton* the Prolocutor often call'd him an *Unlearned and Impudent Man:* But he carry'd himſelf with that Gravity and Mildneſs, that

A publick Diſputation at Oxford.

it drew Tears from the Eyes of many. Yet the whole Action was carry'd with ſuch indecent Hiſſing and Inſulting, and ended with ſuch Shouts of Triumph againſt *Cranmer*, that it was viſible there was nothing intended, but to abuſe the Ignorant People, and make them imagine he was utterly defeated. *Ridley* was brought out the next Day, who began with deep Proteſtations of his Sincerity, and that nothing but the Force of Truth had caus'd him to change thoſe Opinions in which he had been firſt educated. Yet the Diſpute was carry'd on with the ſame Inſultings, that had been us'd the Day before; and in Concluſion the Prolocutor bid the Aſſembly cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory! Latimer* was brought out the third Day, who told them he was fourſcore Years of Age, and had his Memory impair'd; and tho' he could not diſpute with the Accuracy of ſome Men, yet his Faith was firmly founded on the Word of God. They ſeem'd more to laugh than to anſwer him; and during the whole Debates, the Noiſe and Diſorder was ſuch, that it look'd more like a Country Game, than a Diſpute among Divines. At length the Committee of Convocation condemn'd them all, as obſtinate Hereticks, and declar'd them to be no Members of the Church: They appeal'd from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and expreſs'd mighty Joy at the Hopes they had of glorifying God by Dying in his Cauſe. *Cranmer* ſent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the Diſorder of theſe Diſputes, which were ſo manag'd, that the World might be abus'd with the Name of a Diſputation: But this was not deliver'd, for the Deſign was to make the Nation believe, That the Champions of the Reformation were publickly baffled. It was alſo reſolv'd to carry ſome of the Priſoners to *Cambridge*, and in the ſame Manner to erect new Trophies in that Univerſity, as they had done at *Oxford*. Upon which, three of the impriſon'd Biſhops, and ſeven Divines, ſign'd a Paper, by which they declar'd, 'They would ingage in no Diſpute, but in Writing; unleſs it 'were in the Preſence of the Queen, or the Council, or before either of the 'Houſes of Parliament. For it was viſible, the Deſign of Diſputing was not 'to find out the Truth; nor could they expect any fair Dealing, where their 'Enemies were to be their Judges, who would not ſuffer them to ſpeak their 'Minds freely; and after ſo long an Impriſonment their Books and Papers be-'ing detain'd from them, they could not be furniſh'd to anſwer many Things 'objected againſt them. Then they added a ſhort Account of their Perſuaſions in the chief Points of Controverſie, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal Terms; and concluded with a Charge to all the People, 'Not 'to rebel againſt the Queen, but to obey all her Commands, that were not con-'trary to the Law of God.

The reform'd Divines remonſtrate.

Not long after, on the twentieth of *July*, Prince *Philip* with a numerous Fleet arriv'd at *Southampton*; and at his firſt Landing, he drew his Sword, and carry'd it for ſome Time naked in his Hand; which was interpreted as an Omen, that he deſign'd to rule by his Sword, but his Friends ſaid, it ſignify'd, *That he would draw his Sword for the Defence of the Nation.* The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him, and return'd them, without the leaſt Indication of his being pleas'd with this Reſpect ſhown only to their Soveraign Prince; which being contrary to the Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation, which is always oblig'd at the gracious Smiles of their Kings, was thought a Sign of vaſt Pride and Moroſeneſs. The Queen met him with a noble Train at *Wincheſter*, where Biſhop *Gardiner* marry'd them with great Solemnity on the twenty fifth of *July*; he being then in the twenty ſeventh, and the Queen in the thirty eighth Year of her Age. Here the Emperor by his Ambaſſador reſign'd to him his Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*: So that they were proclaim'd with a pompous Enumeration of all their Titles; at which Time they ſhow'd themſelves publickly with two Swords born before them, in regard of their diſtinct Capacities. From *Wincheſter* they remov'd to *Baſing*, and ſo to *Wind-*

Reg. 2. Phil. 1.

The Arrival of Prince Philip.

He is marry'd to the Queen.

ſor, where on the fifth of *Auguſt*, he was ſolemnly inſtall'd Knight of the *Garter*. On the twelfth of the ſame Month, he made a magnificent Entry through the principal Streets of *London*, with all the Pomps uſual at a Coronation. The Triumphs of which Entertainment had continu'd longer, if the Court had not put on Mourning for the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who dy'd at *Framingham* Caſtle in *September*, to the great Sorrow of the Queen, who intirely lov'd him.

The Duke of Norfolk dies.

King *Philip*'s ſullen Gravity was very unacceptable to the *Engliſh*; who ever lov'd a Medium between the Stiffneſs of the *Spaniard*, and the Gaity of the *French*; but if they were not pleas'd with his Temper, they were extreamly in love with his Bounty and Wealth: For he brought over a vaſt Treaſure with him, twenty Carts loaden with Bullion, and ninty nine Horſes and two Carts loaden with coin'd Gold and Silver; the greateſt Part of which was diſtributed among thoſe who had ſold their Country and Religion. At his Arrival at *London*, he procur'd the Pardon of many Priſoners, and among others, of *Holgate* Arch-Biſhop of *York*; but his moſt popular Act was his Interpoſing for the Preſervation of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*. *Gardiner* was much fix'd againſt them, and thought the Work but half finiſh'd, while the Princeſs liv'd: *Wiat* had accus'd them both, in hopes of ſaving his own Life; but when that did not preſerve him, he publickly vindicated them on the Scaffold. The Earl of *Devonſhire*, to be freed from all Jealouſie, went beyond Sea, and dy'd a Year after in *Italy*, as ſome ſay, of Poiſon, being the eleventh and laſt Earl of that noble Family. King *Philip* at firſt took care to preſerve the Princeſs, upon a generous Account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by ſuch a publick Act of Favour, to recommend himſelf to the Nation; but afterwards Intereſt fortify'd thoſe good and wiſe Inclinations; for when he had loſt Hopes of Iſſue from the Queen, he conſider'd that the Queen of *Scotland*, ſoon after marry'd to the *Dauphine*, was next in Succeſſion to *Elizabeth*; ſo that if ſhe were removed, the Crown of *England* might become an Acceſſion to that of *France*. Therefore he took particular Care to preſerve her, and probably with Hopes to have prevail'd ſo far upon her, by theſe good Offices, that if her Siſter ſhould die without Children, ſhe might be induc'd to marry him. But this was the only Act that was really grateful and acceptable to the Nation; for he affected ſuch an extravagant State, and was ſo ſullen and ſilent, that it was not eaſie for any to come within the Court, and there was no Acceſs to him without demanding it with almoſt as much Formality as Ambaſſadors us'd to Foreign Princes: And indeed his Carriage was ſuch, that the Acting him and his *Spaniards* was one of the great Diverſions of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court. This and other Matters caus'd a general Diſcontent to ſpread through moſt Places of the Kingdom; only *Gardiner* was well ſatisfy'd, ſince the Conduct of Affairs was put ſo intirely into his Hands. Many malicious Reports were ſpread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk*; where it was reported that ſhe was with Child before the King came over; which ſenſibly touch'd the Queen, but after ſtrict Examinations, the Rumour vaniſh'd into Air.

King Philip preſerves the Princeſs Elizabeth.

On the eleventh Day of *November*, the Queen's third Parliament met; and in the Writ of Summons, the Queen's Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was omitted; tho' hitherto ſhe had not only us'd the Name, but exercis'd the Power to the higheſt Degree. Cardinal *Pool* was now permitted to come ſo near as *Flanders*; and the Temper of the Parliament being ſoon found favourable to the Work he was projecting, the Queen ſent two Lords, *Paget* and *Haſtings*, to conduct him into *England*. At the opening of the Parliament, both King and Queen rod in State to *Weſtminſter*, each having a Sword of State, and a Cap of Maintenance carry'd before them. The firſt Bill that paſs'd, was a Repeal of *Pool*'s Attainder, which was read by the Commons three Times in one Day; and the Bill was perfected, without making a Seſſion by

The third Parliament in this Reign.

by a ſhort Prorogation. He came over, and enter'd privately into *London*; for the Pope's Authority not being yet acknowledg'd, he could not be receiv'd as Legate. His Inſtructions were full and ample, beſides the Authority commonly lodg'd with Legates; which conſiſts in a Power to overthrow and diſpenſe with almoſt all the Rules and Canons of the Church. He made his firſt Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the common Paſtor, lovingly inviting them to return to the Sheepfold of the Church. As he was delivering his plauſiable Speech, the Queen felt an unuſual Emotion of Joy within her, which ſhe judg'd to be a Child quickning in her Womb; which Belief being heighten'd by the flattering Court Ladies, the Council order'd Biſhop *Bonner* to ſing *Te Deum* at St. *Paul*'s, which was ſucceeded with all the uſual Marks of Exultation. Both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to the King and Queen, 'That they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the 'See of *Rome*; offering to repeal all the Laws they had made againſt the Pope's 'Authority, in Token of their Repentance. Upon this the Cardinal came to the Parliament; where in a long Speech he firſt thanked them for repealing his Attainder, 'in Recompence of which, he came now to reconcile them to the Bo- 'dy of the Church: Then he inſiſted upon the Converſion of the *Britains* and '*Saxons* to the Faith, on the Obedience they had paid to the Apoſtolick See, 'and the numerours Favours granted to the Crown by the ſame See, of which 'none was more Eminent than the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. The Ruin 'of the *Greek* Church, the Diſtractions of *Germany*, and the Confuſions they 'had ſuffer'd, ſince their Departure from the Unity of the Church, might con- 'vince them of the Neceſſity of intirely preſerving that Bond. In concluſion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Abſolution, which all preſent receiv'd upon their Knees; and the reſt of the Day was ſpent in ſinging *Te Deum*, and the Night in Boneſires.

Cardinal Pool *comes into* England.

Who in Parliament reconciles the Nation to the See of Rome,

Shortly after the famous Act paſs'd, repealing all Laws made againſt the Pope's Authority, only it met with a ſmall Impediment, by Reaſon of a Proviſo, which the Houſe of Lords inſerted for ſome Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth* had of the See of *London*. This was ſo much oppos'd by the Commons, that after the Bill had been offer'd to the Royal Aſſent, it was boldly cut out of the Parchment by *Gardiner*, who ſaid, *Now I truly do the Office of a* CHANCELLOR; alluding to the Word *Cancelling*, from whence he would have the Word CHANCELLOR deriv'd. 'The Bill enumerated and repeal'd all Acts 'made ſince the twentieth of *Henry* VIII. but all Foundations of Biſhopricks 'and Cathedrals, all Marriages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, all In- 'ſtitutions, all Judicial Proceſſes, and the Settlements made, either of Church or 'Abby-Lands, were confirm'd. The Convocation had join'd their Interceſſion with 'the Cardinal, that he would confirm the Right of the preſent Poſſeſſors of thoſe 'Lands: Upon which he did confirm them, but with a heavy Charge, requiring 'thoſe who had any of the Churches Goods, to remember the Judgments of God 'upon ſuch Detainers; and that at leaſt, they would take Care that ſuch as ſerv'd 'the Cures ſhould be ſufficiently maintain'd: All which was put into the Act, and 'confirmed by it; and it was declar'd that all Suits concerning thoſe Lands were to 'be try'd in the Civil Courts; and that it ſhould be a *Premunire*, if any diſturb'd 'the Poſſeſſors, by the Pretence of Eccleſiaſtical Power. It was alſo declar'd, That 'the Title of *Supream Head of the Church*, did never of Right belong to the 'Crown, and enacted that it ſhould be left out of all Writs for the future. All 'Exemptions granted to Monaſteries, and now continu'd in Lay-Hands, were 'taken away; and all Churches were made ſubject to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, 'excepting only the Privileges of the Univerſities, *Weſtminſter*, *Windſor* and 'the Tower of *London*. The Statute of *Mortmain* was repeal'd for twenty 'Years to come; and all Things were brought back to the State in which they 'were, in the twentieth Year of *Henry* VIII. The lower Houſe of Convocation gave Occaſion to many Clauſes in this Act, relating to the Reſtoration of Tithes,

The Act for repealing all Laws againſt that See.

the burning of Heretical Books, to Pluralities and Non-Reſidence, to Simoniacal Pactions, the Payments of Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, and the Limitation of *Premunires*. By another Bill all former Acts againſt *Lollards* were reviv'd. The Commons offer'd another Bill for voiding of all Leaſes made by marry'd Prieſts, but it was laid aſide by the Lords; and thus were the Penſioners and aſpiring Men in the Houſe of Commons, either labouring to redeem former Faults, or hoping to merit great Rewards by the Forwardneſs of their Zeal. By another Bill ſeveral Things were made Treaſon; and it was declar'd, 'That if the Queen 'dy'd before the King, and left any Children, the King ſhould have the Govern-'ment in his Hands, 'till they were of Age; and during that Time, the Con-'ſpiring his Death was made Treaſon, but none were to be try'd for Words, 'but within ſix Months after they were ſpoken. Another Act paſs'd, declaring it Treaſon, for any to pray for the Queen's Death, unleſs they repented of it, and then they were to ſuffer Corporal Puniſhment at the Judges Diſcretion. A ſevere Act was alſo paſs'd againſt all that ſpread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers: Some were to loſe their Hands, others their Ears, and the reſt were to be fin'd according to the Degree of their Offence.

Other Acts.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

All the Bills being finiſh'd, this remarkable Parliament was diſſolv'd upon the ſixteenth Day of *January*, to the great Satisfaction of Biſhop *Gardiner*, who had now perform'd all he had undertaken to the Queen or Emperor; and his Reputation was much rais'd for bringing about ſo vaſt a Change in ſo ſmall a Time, and with ſo little Oppoſition. Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Rome* to give Notice of the happy Reſtoration of *England* to that See; and a ſolemn Proceſſion was appointed of many Biſhops and Prieſts, where *Bonner* carry'd the Hoſt to thank God for reconciling the Nation to St. *Peter*'s Chair: And this having been done upon St. *Andrew*'s Day, that was appointed to be an Anniverſary, and was call'd, *The Feaſt of the Reconciliation.*

A. D. 1555. Reg. 2/3. Phil. 1/2.

IV. The Queen and her Favourites, having now obtain'd their main Cauſe, they took it into Conſideration in what Methods they ought to proceed againſt the Hereticks. *Pool* was an Enemy to ſevere Proceedings, he thought that a Churchman ought to have the Tenderneſs of a Father, and the Care of a Shepherd, whoſe Duty it is to reduce and not devour the ſtray Sheep: He had obſerv'd that Cruelty rather inflam'd than cur'd that Diſtemper; therefore he thought the better Way was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy. *Gardiner* on the other ſide, being of an abject and cruel Temper himſelf, thought that the ſtrict Execution of the Laws againſt *Lollards* would be moſt ſerviceable to the Church; tho' he confeſs'd that a Reformation of the Clergy was a good Thing, but then he thought the preſent Times would not bear it. The Queen was for joining both theſe Councils together, and deſign'd to proceed at the ſame Time, both againſt ſcandalous Churchmen, and Hereticks: So that in a ſhort Time the Perſecution began, in the latter End of the Month of *January*. *Rogers*, a learned Man, who had been Prebendary of St. *Paul*'s, was the firſt Victim, who would not fly from Perſecution, tho' he was ſtrongly induc'd by a Wife and Family of ten Children. Both he and Biſhop *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtall*, and three other Biſhops. They demanded of them whether they would ſubmit to the Church or not? but they anſwer'd, *That they look'd upon the Church of* Rome, *as Antichriſtian.* Upon which *Gardiner* charg'd them with reproaching the Queen; but *Rogers* declar'd, *That he honour'd the Queen, and expected no Ill at her Hands, but as ſhe was excited by them.* This caus'd *Gardiner* and the other Biſhops to declare, *That they were ſo far from exciting the Queen in this Matter; that ſhe had commanded them to act as they did*; and this was confirm'd by two Privy-Counſellors then preſent. In Concluſion, after a little Time allow'd them, they declar'd them obſtinate Hereticks, and ſo degraded them from their

Holling. Fox. Godwin. Heylin. Burnet. &c.

Conſultations about Proceeding againſt Hereticks.

A Perſecution begun.

their Functions. *Rogers* was not permitted to ſee his Wife nor his Children; yet ſo little did his terrible Sentence of Burning fright him, that the Morning of his Execution, he was found in a quiet and calm Sleep. He was carry'd from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the fourth of *Febuary*, where a Pardon was offer'd him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refus'd it upon thoſe Terms, and anſwer'd, *He would not exchange a ſhort Fire for everlaſting Burnings*, declaring, *That he reſign'd up his Life with Joy, as a Teſtimony of the Doctrine he had preach'd.* As for *Hooper*, he was ſent to *Gloceſter*, his former Biſhoprick, at which he greatly rejoic'd, for he hop'd by his Death to confirm many in that Place. He diſcours'd with ſeveral whom he had formerly known, and ſome of them melted into Tears, which much affected the Biſhop, who ſaid, *All he had ſuffer'd in his Impriſonment had not mov'd him ſo much.* On the ninth of *February* he was brought to the Stake, where a Pardon was alſo offer'd him, but to no Effect. While he was burning a great Wind blew and hinder'd the Flame from riſing ſo high as to choak him, or deſtroy his Vitals; ſo that he was near three Quarters of an Hour in exquiſite Torment: But he ſtill continu'd calling on God, and at laſt cry'd out, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* *Sanders*, Miniſter of *Coventry*, and *Taylor* Miniſter of *Hadley* in *Suffolk*, were at the ſame Time condemn'd, and ſent to be burnt at the Places where they had ſerv'd: The former was firſt committed for Preaching without a Licence, after the Queen's Prohibition; and the latter for oppoſing ſome Prieſts, who violently broke into the Church, and ſaid Maſs in it.

Rogers *the firſt Martyr.*

Hooper's *Sufferings.*

Gardiner was now in hopes that theſe four Executions being made in ſeveral Parts of *England*, would have ſtruck ſuch a general Terror into the whole Party, that there would have been little Occaſion for further Severities: But when he ſaw ſix more apprehended on the ſame Account, and that the Spirits of thoſe call'd Hereticks, were now rather inflam'd than depreſs'd, he reſolv'd to concern himſelf no farther in thoſe Trials; and turn'd over that Judicious Task to *Bonner*, whoſe Temper was ſo cruel and brutal, that he chearfully undertook it, tho' the Nation ſtood amaz'd at theſe Proceedings. He had for ſome Months kept one *Tomkins* a Weaver in his Houſe, who was found to doubt of the *Real Preſence*; for which he us'd ſeveral Cruelties to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, 'till the Veins and Sinews buſt aſſunder: And theſe not prevailing to make a Change, he was at laſt burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not above nineteen Years of Age, was condemn'd and burnt on the ſame Account; whom *Bonner* was ſo much concern'd to preſerve, that he offer'd him forty Pounds to change his Faith; ſo mercenary did he imagine were the Conſciences of ſome Men. Two Gentlemen, *Cauſton*, and *Higbed*, one *Laurence* a Prieſt, and two meaner Perſons, were burnt near their own Houſes in *Eſſex*. The Method in theſe and in all other Proceedings, during the reſt of this Reign, was ſummary, and *ex officio*: Upon Complaint made, Perſons were impriſon'd, and Articles were offer'd to them, which they were requir'd to anſwer; and if their Anſwers were judg'd Heretical, they were burnt without any further Objections, or Proofs againſt them. *Ferrar*, who had been Biſhop of St. *David*'s, was treated in the ſame Manner, by his Succeſſor *Morgan*; and tho' he appeal'd to Cardinal *Pool*, it had no other Effect, but ſtopping his Execution three Weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fiſherman, was condemn'd by the Biſhop of *Landaffe*, and afterwards burnt. *Marth*, a Prieſt, was burnt at *Cheſter*; and to the ordinary Cruelty of Burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One *Flower*, a raſh and inconſiderate Man, wounded a Prieſt, while he was officiating at *Weſtminſter*; for which he was condemn'd as a Heretick, and burnt: But the Fact was diſapprov'd by all the Reformed, and he became a ſincere Penitent for it, before he dy'd. After this, for the Space of a few Weeks, there was a Stop put to theſe Severities, which gave the moſt terrible Apprehenſions to the Nation.

Bonner's *cruel Proceedings.*

The uſual Way of Proſecution.

The

The Queen, to teſtifie her real Zeal, about this Time ſent for her Treaſurer, and ſome other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, That ſhe thought her ſelf bound in Conſcience to reſtore all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her Hands: And if it ſhould be objected, that the Crown was poor, and that ſhe could not maintain her Dignity without them, ſhe declar'd, *That ſhe valu'd the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms, and thank'd God that her Husband was of the ſame Mind.* She thought they were unlawfully acquir'd, and that they could not be held without Sin, therefore ſhe reſolv'd they ſhould be diſpos'd as Cardinal *Pool* ſhould think fit. To this ſhe was much excited by a Bull of Excommunication againſt ſuch as detain'd Church-Lands, iſſu'd out by Pope *Julius* this Year. That Pope dy'd ſhortly after, and was ſucceeded by *Marcellus*; who turn'd his Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of Abuſes, of which he was ſo ſenſible, that he once cry'd out, *That he did not ſee how any could be ſav'd who ſate in that Chair!* Which had ſuch Effects upon him, that he dy'd within twenty two Days after his Election. Upon his Death, the Queen endeavour'd for the Promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, but without his Knowledge or Approbation: But at *Rome* they were ſo apprehenſive of another reforming Pope, that they haſten'd their Election, and ſet up *Caraffa*, call'd *Paul* the Fourth, who was the moſt ambitious and inſolent Pope, that had reign'd for many Years. Upon the Day of his Election, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors enter'd *Rome* in great State with a Train of a hundred and forty Horſe of their own Attendance; but the Pope would not admit them to an Audience, 'till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from himſelf; to which they ſervilely ſubmitted. Their publick Audience was given with great Solemnity, in which the Pope declar'd, *That in Token of his pardoning the Nation, he had added to the Crown the Title of the Kingdom of* Ireland, *by that Supream Power which God had given him to deſtroy, or erect Kingdoms at his Pleaſure.* But in private Diſcourſes, he ſo much complain'd of the unpardonable Sin of Detaining the Abby-Lands, and was ſo poſitive in the Reſtitution of them, that it extreamly mortify'd the Lord *Mountacute*, who was one of the Ambaſſadors, and whoſe Eſtate chiefly conſiſted in thoſe Lands.

The Queen reſtores the Church-Lands.

The Pride of of Pope Paul *the Fourth.*

In *England* the Court was now in mighty Expectations of the Queen's Delivery; and in *May*, the Envoys were nam'd that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts. In the Beginning of *June* ſhe was believ'd to be in Labour, and the Report flew all over *London* that ſhe had brought forth a Son. The Prieſts had ſetled all their Hopes on that, ſo that *Te Deum* was ſung in all Parts; and one more officious than the reſt, made a Sermon about it, and deſcrib'd all the Lineaments of their young Prince. But they ſoon found they were abus'd; and that it was either an Abortion, or a Timpany, or ſome other Diſtemper; or, as ſome have been ready to judge, a notorious Impoſture, but defeated by the Vigilance of King *Philip*. However it was, from this Time all Hopes of Iſſue ceas'd, which much encreas'd the Sourneſs and Severity of her Temper; and King *Philip*, being ſo much younger than her, out of Averſion or Reſentment, never eſteem'd her, but in a few Months left her and the Nation. He found it was impoſſible to get *England* into his Poſſeſſion without Children, therefore he gave over all Deſigns about it; and having liv'd with her about fifteen Months, he thought it neceſſary to take more Care of his Hereditary, than his Matrimonial Crown, and for the future conſider'd *England* rather as a ſure Ally, than an additional Power. Not long after his Great Father, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, reſign'd all his Dominions to him; which Reſignation drew the wondring Eyes of all *Europe* upon it. This mighty Prince had enjoy'd his Hereditary Dominions forty Years, and the Empire thirty ſix: He had indur'd vaſt Fatigues, by the numerous Journies he had made; nine into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four through *France*: He was ten Times in the *Netherlands*, made two Expeditions into

The Queen's Delivery in vain expected.

King Philip *leaves her.*

He becomes King of Spain *by his Father's Reſignation.*

Africa

Africa, was twice in *England*, and had croſs'd the Sea eleven Times. He had unuſual Succeſs in his Wars; he had taken a Pope, a King of *France*, and ſome *German* Princes, Priſoners; and had a prodigious Acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the *Weſt-Indies*. But now being much afflicted with the Gout, his Fortune chang'd, and ſeveral Deſigns blaſted, he declar'd, *That there ought to be an Interval between the Affairs of the World, and the Hour of Death*; he reſign'd all his Dominions with a Greatneſs of Mind, much ſuperior to his Conqueſts. He liv'd a retir'd religious Life, with a hundred thouſand Crowns Penſion; and at the end of two Years dy'd, having given the World a great Inſtance of a Mind ſurfeited with Human Glory, that ſought for Quiet in a private Cell, which in vain it had ſearch'd after in Camps and Palaces.

In *England* Orders were ſent to the Juſtices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Hereſie, and to have ſecret Spies in every Pariſh, for giving them Information of all Peoples Behaviour. This was thought to riſe from *Spaniſh* Counſels, which became very odious to the People, who grew ſo averſe to theſe cruel Proceedings, that *Bonner* himſelf finding their Temper, ſlack'd his Hand, and burnt none for five Weeks. Upon which the Queen wrote to him, and requir'd him *to perform the Office of a good Paſtor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or proceed againſt them according to Law.* This Admonition prov'd very agreeable to his cruel Diſpoſition; and immediately new Fires were kindled. *Cardmaker*, once a Prebendary of *Bath*, and *Warne* a Tradeſman, were burnt in *Smithfield*. Seven were burnt in ſeveral Parts of *Eſſex*, who were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and ſent down to ſuffer near the Places of their Abode. The Council wrote to the chief Men of the County, to gather many together, and aſſiſt at thoſe diſmal Spectacles; and when they heard that ſome had come of their own accord to the Burnings at *Colcheſter*, they deſir'd the Lord *Rich* to give their Thanks to thoſe Perſons for their Zeal; ſo induſtriouſly did they ſtudy to cheriſh a Spirit of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*, who had generouſly ſav'd *Bourne* the Preacher at St. *Paul*'s, was notwithſtanding condemn'd; and after many Methods us'd by the chief of the *Popiſh* Party to make him recant, he ſuffer'd at *Smithfield* with great Joy and a noble Conſtancy, together with a young Apprentice, whom he much incourag'd in his Sufferings. *Thornton*, *Harpsfield* and others, rais'd a Perſecution at *Canterbury*, tho' Cardinal *Pool* was averſe to ſuch Proceedings; but he durſt not now diſcover ſo much, for the Pope had an inveterate Hatred to him, and was reſolv'd to recal him upon the firſt Occaſion, and for that End he enter'd into a Correſpondence with *Gardiner*, who now hop'd to have been made a Cardinal, and Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*: And upon thoſe Hopes, he ſtill preſerv'd *Cranmer*; for tho' he now ſtood condemn'd for Hereſie, yet the See was not accounted void, 'till he was formally degraded. Some declar'd it was moſt proper to begin with him, who had been the chief Promoter of Hereſie in *England*: But *Gardiner* ſaid, it was better to try if it were poſſible to ſhake him, and it would be a mighty Blow to the whole Party, if he could be prevail'd on to forſake it; whereas if he ſuffer'd Burning with the ſame Reſolution that others expreſs'd, it would much raiſe the Spirits of his Followers. The See of *Canterbury* was now only ſequeſter'd in *Pool*'s Hands, and he fearing to fall under the Pope's Rage, was forc'd to ſuffer the cruel Prebendaries of that Church to act as they pleas'd: So they burnt two Prieſts, and two Lay-men at *Canterbury*, and ſent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in *Kent*. Two that belong'd to the Dioceſes of *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter* were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and were burnt near the Places of their Abode. Theſe ſuffer'd in *July*. In *Auguſt* ſeven were burnt in ſeveral Places; ſix more were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and four were burnt elſewhere. In *September* five were burnt at *Canterbury*, and ſeven in other Places. In *October*, two were burnt at *Ely*, by *Shaxton*'s Means, who now compleated his Apoſtacy by his Cruelty.

Great Numbers burnt in ſeveral Parts of the Nation.

Thus

Thus did the Perſecution rage in ſeveral Places, to the great Terror and Deteſtation of the People; but the moſt memorable Sufferers this Year were the two famous Biſhops *Ridley* and *Latimer*. Three Biſhops, *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter* and *Briſtol* were ſent to *Oxford* with a Commiſſion from Cardinal *Pool* to proceed againſt them. *Ridley* ſaid, *he paid great Reſpect to* Pool, *for his Royal Extract and his Abilities, but as he was the Pope's Legate, he would ſhow no Reverence to him, nor be uncover'd before any that acted by his Authority.* After a long Diſcourſe, and ſeveral Arguments, and a Night's Conſideration granted them, they were condemn'd as obſtinate Hereticks, and deliver'd to the ſecular Arm, and the Writs were ſent down for their Burning. The Night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife *to be at his Wedding next Day:* At which, when the Mayor's Wife melted into Tears, he ſaid, *He perceiv'd ſhe did not love him*, but told her, *Tho' his Breakfaſt would be ſharp, he was ſure his Supper would be ſweet; and was glad to hear that his Siſter would come and ſee him die*; and continu'd in ſuch Compoſure of Mind, that they were all amaz'd at it. As they were led out to Execution, they earneſtly caſt their Eyes up to *Cranmer*'s Window in the Priſon, hoping to have ſeen him; but he was then ingag'd with ſome Friars: Yet he look'd after them with the utmoſt Tenderneſs, and kneeling down pray'd earneſtly, That God would now ſtrengthen their Faith and Patience in their laſt painful Paſſage. When they came to the Stake before *Baliol* College, they imbrac'd each other with great Affection, and *Ridley* ſaid, *Be of good Courage, Brother, for God will aſſwage the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* *Smith* preach'd the Sermon, and compar'd their Dying in this Manner, to that of *Judas*, who hang'd himſelf. *Ridley* deſir'd leave to anſwer ſome Points in his Sermon; but it was told him, *That he was not to be ſuffer'd to ſpeak, except he deſign'd to recant:* So he turn'd himſelf to God, when he ſaw Men ſo unreaſonable to him. He ſent a Petition to the Queen in Behalf of the Tenants of the Biſhoprick of *London*, from whom he had taken Fines, for which they had renew'd their Leaſes; and pray'd that either their Leaſes might be confirm'd, or their Fines reſtor'd out of thoſe Goods which had been ſeiz'd when he was firſt impriſon'd. Then they both pray'd, and fitted themſelves for the Stake; *Latimer* crying to *Ridley*, *Be of good Comfort, we ſhall this Day light ſuch a Candle in* England, *as by God's Grace ſhall never be extinguiſh'd.* Being thus prepar'd, and Gun-powder hang'd about their Bodies, the Wood was fired, which ſoon put *Latimer* out of his Pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment: For they threw on ſo much Wood, that it was long before the Flame broke through it, and his Legs were almoſt conſum'd, before his Vitals were affected. Thus triumphantly did theſe two excellent Biſhops end their Days and their Miniſtry: *Ridley* was eſteem'd one of the Ableſt of all that promoted the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning and Solidity of Judgment: The other, who was eighty Years of Age, was regarded as a truly Primitive Biſhop, who ſeem'd to have more of the Simplicity of the firſt Ages, than the Politeneſs or Learning of the latter Times.

The Sufferings of Biſhop Ridley *and* Latimer *at* Oxford.

It was particularly obſerv'd that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have theſe Biſhops burnt, and he ſtaid long for Dinner that Day, 'till he underſtood that the Fire was actually kindled. When the Meſſengers arriv'd at four in the Afternoon, he went chearfully to dine: But at Dinner he was ſtruck with a remarkable Illneſs, which turn'd to a terrible Suppreſſion of Urine, and held him many Days 'till he dy'd on the twelfth of *November*. He went twice to the Parliament, which was open'd the twenty firſt of *October*, but after that was confin'd to his Houſe: He expreſs'd great Sorrow and Remorſe for his former Life, and often cry'd out, *I have err'd like St.* Peter, *but not repented as he did!* Thus dy'd this remarkable Man, who was believ'd to be of noble Extraction, tho' baſely born; for his true Father was ſuppos'd to be *Richard Woodvill*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, who was Grand-Mother

Biſhop Gardiner's *Death and Character.*

to *Henry* the Eighth. He was a Man well skill'd in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity; he had a good Stile in *Latin*, and underſtood *Greek* well; but his great Strength lay in a profound Diſſimulation, a Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, a nice Proſpect of Affairs, an artificial Concealment of of his Mind, and a ſubtle Way of Inſinuating himſelf into the Credit and Affections of other Perſons. He had certainly brought about great Deſigns; and now when a Cardinal's Hat was juſt falling upon his Head, Heaven ſtopp'd him in his Carreer, and all his Ambitious Projects fell with him. Only the Conſequences of his Cruelty did not ceaſe; for three Perſons were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury* in *November*; and the famous *Philpot* was burnt in *Smithfield* in *December*. In all, there were ſixty ſeven burnt this Year, of whom four were Biſhops, and thirteen Prieſts.

The Fourth Parliament in this Reign.

A new Parliament was now aſſembled, by which it appear'd Mens Minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and alſo from the Queen, whoſe Deſire was to reſtore them to great Wealth and Power. It was propos'd to give the Queen a Subſidy, and two Fifteenths: Which was the firſt Aid that the Queen had ask'd, tho' ſhe was now in the third Year of her Reign; and what was deſir'd, was no more than ſhe might have exacted at her firſt coming to the Crown. Therefore ſince ſhe had forgiven ſo much at her Coronation, it ſeem'd unreaſonable to deny it at this Time; yet ſtill great Oppoſitions were made againſt it: Many ſaid the Queen was impoveriſhing the Crown, and giving away the Abby-Lands, and therefore ſhe ought to be ſupply'd from the Clergy, and not preſs upon the Laity: But it was anſwer'd, That the Convocation had given her ſix Shillings in the Pound, but that would not anſwer her preſent Neceſſities, upon which the Debate became violent; but to prevent further Heats, the Queen ſent a Meſſage declaring ſhe would accept the Subſidy without the Fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him She could not with a good Conſcience exact the *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits* of the Clergy, ſince they were given to her Father to ſupport his unlawful Dignity of being the *Supream Head of the Church*: She alſo thought, That all Tithes and Impropriations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was reſolv'd to reſign ſuch of them as were in her own Hands. The former Part, as to *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits*, eaſily paſs'd in the Houſe, but great Oppoſition was made to the latter Part of her Motion; for it was thought to be a Step towards taking all Impropriations out of the Hands of the Laity; yet upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, it was carry'd by ſixty ſeven Voices. A Bill was brought in againſt the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and ſeveral Reformers, who had gone beyond Sea to enjoy their Conſciences, requiring them to return under ſevere Penalties: The Lords paſs'd it, but the Commons threw it out; for they now began to repent of the ſevere Laws they had formerly made, and were reſolv'd to add no more. They alſo rejected another Bill, for incapacitating ſome to be Juſtices of the Peace, who were blam'd for their Remiſneſs in proſecuting Hereticks. An Act was brought in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who hired ſome Aſſaſſinates to commit a moſt execrable Murder, from the Benefit of the Clergy, which by Common Law would have ſav'd him. In this Parliament there was ſuch a Heat in the Houſe of Commons, that Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, an active Member, boldly took the Keys of the Houſe from the Serjeant; but when the Parliament was diſſolv'd, on the ninth of *September*, he was for that ſent to the Tower, but ſoon after releas'd. The next Year he and ſix others were accus'd of a Deſign to rob the Exchequer; for which they were all hang'd beſides himſelf, who dy'd before his Trial. In the Convocation, Cardinal *Pool* made ſome laudable Attempts to reform the ill Lives and Practices of the Clergy, in which he was oppos'd by Pope *Paul*, who endeavour'd to have ſet up an Inquiſition in *England*; and the Cardinal has been much commended for refuſing at this Time

The Queen gives up the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

all Incouragement in *England* to the new Order of *Jeſuits*, who were making great Pretenſions to gain Poſſeſſion of the Abby-Lands.

A. D. 1556. Reg. 3/4. Phil. 2/3.

In the Beginning of the following Year, the great Victim *Cranmer* was offer'd up to the Zeal and Rage of the *Romiſh* Party. Towards the effecting of this, in *September* laſt, *Brooks* Biſhop of *Gloceſter* came down to *Oxford*, with Authority from Cardinal *Pool*, to judge him; with *Brooks* two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scory*, were ſent to aſſiſt him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them in St. *Mary*'s Church, he pay'd the Reſpect that was due to thoſe who ſate in the King and Queen's Name, but would ſhew none to *Brooks*, *Since he ſate there by an Authority deriv'd from the Pope, which he would never acknowledge.* After that he learnedly diſcours'd againſt the Power and Uſurpations of the See of *Rome*. *Brooks* and the two Delegates objected many Things againſt him, as to his former Actions; to all which he gave diſtinct and modeſt Anſwers. After much Diſcourſe had paſs'd on both Sides, *Brooks* requir'd him to appear before the Pope within eighty Days, and anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be objected againſt him. He ſaid, *He would go moſt willingly, with the King and Queen's Conſent, which he could not poſſibly do, if he was ſtill detain'd Priſoner.* But the Pope not expecting his coming, in leſs than twenty Days, by Letters to the King and Queen, commanded that he ſhould receive Condemnation, and be deliver'd to the Secular Arm. Therefore in *February*, this Year, new Powers were granted by the Pope to *Bonner* and *Thirleby*, who were ſent to *Oxford* publickly to degrade him from all Things relating to his Function. In Deriſion he was cloath'd with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas; which were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, in which *Bonner* proceeded with all the Inſolence and Scorn that could ariſe from a Mind fill'd with Revenge; but *Thirleby* perform'd his Part in the Ceremony, with great Expreſſions of Sorrow, and many Tears. In all this *Cranmer* ſeem'd very little concern'd: He declar'd, *It was a groſs Piece of Injuſtice to condemn him for not going to* Rome, *when he was ſhut up in Priſon; but he was not ſorry to be thus cut off, with all this Pageantry, from any Relation to that Church:* He deny'd the Pope had any Authority over him, ſo appeald from this Sentence to a free General Council.

Cranmer's Sufferings.

He is degraded.

But now numerous Engines were imploy'd, to perſuade him to recant: Both *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Divines had many Conferences with him; he was remov'd from Priſon to the Dean's Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*; he was put in hopes of Life, of Preferments and all other Favours; and all the Arguments that could be invented were us'd to procure him to ſign a Paper they had prepar'd for him. In Concluſion, as St. *Peter* himſelf had with Curſes deny'd his Maſter, ſo he who reſiſted almoſt three Years, was at laſt overcome; and human Infirmity, the Fears of Death, and Hopes given him, prevail'd with him to ſign a Recantation of all former Opinions, concluding it with a Proteſtation, *That he had done it freely, only for the Diſcharge of his Conſcience.* This was the moſt unfortunate Blemiſh of his whole Life, which was immediately Printed, to the wonderful Surprize and Dejection of all his Party. But this did not ſatisfie the furious Queen, who was reſolv'd ſtill to make him a Sacrifice to all her Reſentments: She ſaid, *That his Repentance was good for his Soul; but ſince he had been the chief Diffacer of Hereſie over the Nation, it was neceſſary to make him a publick Example.* Therefore a Writ was ſent down to burn him; and after ſome Stop had been made in the Execution of it, new Orders came out for doing it ſuddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer*'s Knowledge; for they deſign'd to have carry'd him to the Stake without giving him any Notice, and ſo hop'd to make him die in a deſpairing Condition. Yet having ſome Suſpicion of their Deſign, he wrote a long Paper, containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, ſuch as had been dictated purely by his Conſcience, and not his Fears.

He recants.

The twenty first of *March* being fix'd for his Execution, he was brought to St. *Mary*'s Church, and ſet in a conſpicuous Seat erected for that Purpoſe; where *Cole* Provoſt of *Eaton*, preach'd the Sermon, 'In which he exhorted 'him to perſiſt in the Faith, of which he had lately publiſh'd a Confeſſion, and 'even to Death it ſelf, which was the Will of the Magiſtrate to inflict on him 'this Day; ſince the Divine Vengeance for the Execution of *More* and *Fiſher*, 'under King *Henry*, could not otherwiſe be expiated. And ſince his Conver-'ſion was the immediate Hand of Heaven, nothing could be more acceptable 'to God and all good Men, than a publick Declaration of the Reality of it. It is no wonder that he was thrown into the utmoſt Conſternation at ſuch an unexpected Denunciation: But recollecting himſelf, and rouſing his former Cou-rage, he boldly ſtood up, and made an excellent Speech to the People, 'In which 'having premis'd many Things concerning Reformation of Life and Morals, 'he exactly declar'd the principal Heads of his Faith and Doctrine, affirming, 'That the Kingdom of *Anti-Chriſt* was contain'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Power 'of the Pope; and finally repreſenting how hainouſly he had offended God by 'renouncing the Truth, he declar'd this ſurprizing Reſolution, *That the ſame 'Right Hand that had ſo impiouſly err'd in ſubſcribing his Recantation, ſhould 'be the firſt Sufferer in the Flames.* This caus'd a vaſt Confuſion in the Aſſem-bly; and ſome calling to him to diſſemble no more, he cry'd out, *That he ever lov'd Simplicity, and excepting that Inſtance, he never diſſembled in his Life.* Upon which, without ſuffering him to proceed, with great Clamours and Revilings, they immediately hurry'd him to the Place of Execution, which was the ſame where *Ridley* and *Latimer* had ſuffer'd. Here he ſtood, the moſt melancholy and piercing Spectacle in the World; the Primate of all *England*, lately flouriſhing in the higheſt Honours and Authority with Princes, venera-ble for his Perſon and Age, his Piety and Learning, and innumerable Excel-lencies of Mind, now by the Malice of the *Romaniſts*, dreſt in a ridiculous old Habit, baited with Scurrility and opprobrious Jeſts, and drag'd to a moſt inhuman and tormenting Death. When the Fire was kindled, he ſtretch'd out his Right Hand into the Flame, and with an amazing Steadineſs held it 'till it was conſum'd; ſometimes ſaying *That unworthy Hand!* and often crying, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*, 'till he quite expir'd in the Torment. Tho' his Body was conſum'd to Aſhes, his Heart was found intire and untouch'd; which remarkable Accident was much obſerv'd, and if it had happen'd to one of the contrary Party, it would have caus'd his Canonization.

He recovers again.

He is burnt at Oxford.

Thus dy'd the famous *Thomas Cranmer*, in the ſixty ſeventh Year of his Age, and the twenty third of his Primacy: A Perſon rais'd up by God for mighty Services, and truly fitted for them by his Primitive Humility, his in-defatigable Induſtry, and his inviolable Friendſhip. His laſt Fall was nobly expiated by a patient Martyrdom; and thoſe who compar'd ancient and mo-dern Times, did not only liken him to *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe* and *Auſtin*, the Glories of the Church in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to the more imme-diate Followers of the Apoſtles, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and *Cyprian*. No Man had paſs'd through more numerous Difficulties for above twenty Years than him-ſelf, which has given Occaſion to many to charge him with too much Obſequi-ouſneſs and Compliance, in which perhaps he cannot be ſtrictly vindicated, no more than his burning of *Joan* of *Kent* and *Van Parre* for Heretical Opinions, for which ſome think his own Death was a Judgment upon him. But this muſt be confeſs'd for him, and the other chief Reformers, that they were re-ally Men, and had Mixtures of Fear and Human Infirmities with their other excellent Qualities: And indeed *Cranmer* was in all other Points ſuch an ex-traordinary Perſon, that perhaps it was fit there ſhould be ſome Ingredients in his Temper, to leſſen the Veneration, which his uncommon Worth might have rais'd too high, if it had not been for thoſe Feebleneſſes, which upon ſome Occaſions appear'd in him. On the Day after *Cranmer*'s Execution,

His Character.

Pool made Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

Cardinal *Pool* was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; which gave Occaſion to many to apply the Words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou haſt kill'd, and taken Poſſeſſion.* Three Days after, on the Feaſt of *Annunciation*, attended by many of the Nobility to *Bow-Church*, he receiv'd the Pall with great Pomp and Solemnity.

Great Numbers burnt this Year.

This Year prov'd as black and diſmal as the laſt by the Numbers that were ſacrific'd in Flames to the *Romiſh* Cruelty. In *January*, five Men and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield*; and one Man and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In *March* two Women were burnt at *Ipſwich*, and three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April* ſix *Eſſex* Men were burnt in *Smithfield*; a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Rocheſter*, and another at *Canterbury*; and ſix who were ſent from *Colcheſter*, were condemn'd by *Bonner*, without giving them more than the Afternoon to conſider of a Recantation: For he was now ſo harden'd in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Priſoners, and uſing of Perſuaſions; ſo he ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were burnt. He alſo condemn'd both a blind Man and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. In *May*, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; and ſoon after two more at *Gloceſter*, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at *Beccles* in *Suffolk*; five were burnt at *Lewes*, and one at *Leiceſter*. But in *June*, *Bonner* gave the moſt ſignal Inſtance of his Cruelty that *England* had yet ſeen; for eleven Men and two Women were burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*: The Horror of which Action ſeem'd to have ſome Operation on him, for he burnt none 'till *April* in the next Year. In *June* three were burnt at St. *Edmund's Bury*, and three afterwards at *Newbury*. This Cruelty was not confin'd to *England*, but it extended as far as the adjacent Iſlands: For in *Guernſey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the ſame Stake: One of them was a marry'd Woman and big with Child; the Violence of the Fire burſting her Belly, the Child fell out into the Flame, which was ſnatch'd out by one more merciful than the reſt; but the other barbarous Spectators threw it back into the Fire. Two were after this burnt at *Greenſtead*, and a blind Woman at *Darby*; four were burnt at *Briſtoll*, and as many at *Mayfield* in *Suſſex*, and one at *Nottingham*. So that eighty five were martyr'd this Year, without any Regard had to Age or Sex, to young or old, to Lame or Blind; which rais'd ſuch an extream Averſion in the Nation to that Religion, that it is no Wonder, if the Apprehenſions of ſo dreadful a Yoke, broke out into moſt violent and convulſive Symptoms. Yet by theſe Means the Reformation was ſo far from being extinguiſh'd, that it daily ſpread more and more, and mightily quicken'd the Zeal of thoſe who profeſs'd it. They had frequent Meetings, and ſeveral Teachers that inſtructed them; and their Friends that went beyond Sea, and ſettled in *Strasburg*, *Frankfort*, *Emden*, and ſome other Places in *Germany*, took care to ſend over many uſeful Books for their Comfort and Inſtruction.

Which quickens the Minds of the Reformers.

A. D. 1557. Reg. 4/5. Phil. 3/4.

Nor was the Rage and Fury of theſe Times exercis'd only on the Living; for the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius*, who had been long bury'd, were dug up, formally arraign'd for Hereſie, and with much ſavage Ceremony publickly burnt in the Market-Place at *Cambridge*. *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, who dy'd at *Oxford*, was likewiſe rak'd out of her Grave, and ignominiouſly bury'd in a Dunghil. But the Juſtices of Peace were generally ſo ſlack in their Proſecution of Hereticks, that it ſeem'd neceſſary to find out other Inſtruments; ſo the dreadful Courts of *Inquiſition* were deſign'd to be ſet up in *England*. As a Step towards it, a Commiſſion was given to *Bonner* and twenty more, moſt of them Laymen, to ſearch all over *England* for Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſie, and to proceed againſt them by Preſentments or any other politick Ways. Many other Commiſſions, ſubaltern to theirs, were iſſu'd out for ſeveral Counties and Dioceſes; which was look'd upon as ſuch an Advance towards an *Inquiſition*, that all concluded it would ſhortly follow. The

New Projects for Perſecution.

Burnings were carry'd on furiouſly in ſome Places, but coldly in moſt Parts, for the Deteſtation of ſuch Cruelties became almoſt univerſal. However, without naming Particulars, ſeventy nine were burnt this Year, in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, beſides Impriſonments and other Puniſhments and Severeties. But all this Cruelty did not ſatisfie the Popiſh Clergy, they complain'd that the Magiſtrates were remiſs; and negligently perform'd their Duties; upon which ſharp Letters were written to ſeveral Towns, from the Council-Board; and zealous Men were recommended to be choſen Mayors, in many Corporations. Arch-Biſhop *Pool* was for milder Methods, and was ready to accept of any Acknowledgment from the proſecuted Perſons, by which he might on the one Hand preſerve their Lives, and yet not be expos'd to the Rage of the Pope, as a Favourer of Hereticks on the other. *Many more Burnings.*

In this Year a horrible Murder of one *Argol* and his Son was committed by the Lord *Stourton*, and ſome of his Servants; who when they had butcher'd them after a moſt barbarous Manner, bury'd them fifteen Foot deep in the Ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papiſt, and proteſted againſt all the Acts that had paſs'd in King *Edward*'s Reign; yet the Queen not only refus'd to pardon him, but would not ſo much as change the infamous Death of Hanging into a Beheading. She was reſolv'd to ſhew no Favour, but only allow'd this Diſtinction, that the Lord might be hang'd in a ſilken Rope, while his Servants had common Halters. This was highly extoll'd as a worthy Inſtance of the Queen's Impartial Juſtice; and it was ſaid, 'That ſince ſhe left her Friends to 'the Law, her Enemies had no Reaſon to complain of the Execution of it up-'on them. *The Lord* Stourton *hang'd.*

Holling. Godwin. Camden. Fox. Heylin. Burnet.

V. As this Reign had been furious and calamitous at home, ſo at length it began to ſhow it ſelf feeble and diſhonourable abroad; all which had its firſt Riſe from the vaſt Pride and Inſolence of the Pope, who the laſt Year broke the Truce between *France* and *Spain*. He was highly offended at the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and principally at *Ferdinand*'s aſſuming the Title of *Emperor*, without his particular Conſent: He was wont to ſay, *That all Kingdoms were ſubject to him: That he would ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him; and that he would ſet the World on Fire, rather than ſubmit to act below his Dignity*. It was believ'd that he deſign'd to advance one of his Nephews to the Crown of *Naples*, in order to which he had ſent another into *France*, to abſolve the King from the Truce which he had ſworn, promiſing to create what Cardinals that King ſhould nominate, if he would make War upon *Spain*; tho' to the Queen of *England*'s Ambaſſadors, and all others at *Rome*, he declar'd, That he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns, for a Truce did not ſufficiently ſecure the Quiet of *Europe*. The *French* King was too eaſily perſuaded by the Inſtigation of the Pope, and the Houſe of *Guiſe*, to break his Faith, and begin the War. The Pope began it in *Italy*, and made ſome Levies among the *Griſons*, that were Hereticks; but he ſaid, *He eſteem'd them as Angels, and was confident that God would convert them*. It gave great Scandal to the World to ſee the Pope himſelf exciting ſo perfidious a Breach of Truce; and no leſs Wonder, to ſee a great Monarch of fifty ſix Years of Age retire to a Monaſtery, whilſt the ſame Year a Man bred a Monk, and fourſcore Years old, ſet *Europe* in a Flame. King *Philip* had a great Deſire to ingage *England* in this War; and the Queen had Reaſon to complain of the kind Reception given to many that fled from *England* into *France*, and it was believ'd that the *French* ſecretly ſupply'd and encourag'd them to embroil her Affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gather'd many of them together, and landing in *Yorkſhire*, he ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Scarborough*, and publiſh'd a Manifeſto againſt the Queen, declaring, 'That by bringing in Strangers to govern the Nation, ſhe had forfeited her 'Right to the Crown: But few came in to him; ſo that he and his Accompliices were compell'd to ſurrender, and four of them were hang'd. At the ſame *A Breach between* France *and* Spain.

Time

Time Doctor *Wotton*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *France*, diſcover'd that the Conſtable had a Deſign to take *Calais*: For he had ſent his own Nephew to him, whom he ſecretly inſtructed, and who pretended he was ſent from a great Party in that Town, who were reſolv'd to deliver it up; at which the Conſtable was tranſported, and enter'd into a long Diſcourſe with him of the Methods of taking it. Yet all this made no juſt Impreſſions upon the Queen: All her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were againſt her ingaging; for they ſaw the War abroad would oblig'd them to ſlacken their Severities at home. Upon which King *Philip*, after he had been abſent about two Years, found it neceſſary to come over in Perſon, and perſuade her to it. Having ſtay'd about ſix Weeks he prevail'd with her; and after a Proclamation of War, ſhe ſent over eight thouſand Men to his Aſſiſtance, who joining the *Spaniards*, compos'd an Army of fifty thouſand, which immediately ſate down before St. *Quintin*, in *Picardy*. The Conſtable of *France* advanc'd with a great Force to raiſe the Siege; but when the two Armies were in view, the *French* by a Miſtake in the Word of Command, fell into Diſorder; upon which the *Spaniards* charg'd them with ſuch Advantage and Succeſs, that the whole Army was defeated. Two thouſand five hundred were kill'd on the Spot, and many were taken Priſoners, among whom was the Conſtable himſelf; and the *Spaniards* only loſt fifty Men. Had King *Philip* follow'd his Blow, and march'd directly to *Paris*, he had found all *France* in a great Conſternation; but he ſate ſtill before St. *Quintin*, which held out 'till the Terror of this Defeat was almoſt over. The Conſtable here loſt his Reputation, as well as his Liberty; and all eſteem'd it as a Judgment from Heaven upon the *French* King, for the plain Breach of his Faith.

England *joins againſt* France.

The Battel of St. Quintin.

Upon this the *French* Troops were call'd out of *Italy*, which immediately expos'd the Pope to the *Spaniards*, and threw him into extravagant Fits of Rage and Paſſion; and particularly he exclaim'd againſt *Pool*, for ſuffering the Queen to join with the Enemies of the Apoſtolick See: And having made a general Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuntio's in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, among the reſt he recall'd *Pool*'s Legantine Power; which neither the Interceſſions of the Queen's Ambaſſadors, nor the other Cardinals, could prevail with him to alter. He further requir'd *Pool* to come to *Rome*, and anſwer to ſome Complaints made againſt him, for the Favour he ſhew'd to Hereticks; and he alſo made the Queen's Confeſſor, Friar *Peyto*, a Cardinal, and declar'd him his Legate for *England*, and wrote to the Queen to receive him in that Capacity. But the Queen order'd the Bulls and Briefs that were ſent over, to be laid up without opening them, according to the Method formerly practis'd, when unacceptable Bulls were brought to Court; and ſhe ſent a Meſſage to *Peyto* not to come into *England*, otherwiſe ſhe would ſue him, and all that acknowledg'd him, in a *Premunire*. Cardinal *Pool* laid aſide the Enſigns of a Legate, and ſent over *Ormaneto* with ſo ſubmiſſive a Meſſage, that the Pope was much mollify'd; and *Peyto* dying, and a Treaty of Peace between King *Philip* and the Pope following, this Storm went over, and publick and ſolemn Rejoicings were made in *England*.

The Pope inrag'd.

But the Effects of it did not yet ceaſe; for the War being proclaim'd between *England* and *France*, the *French* ſent to the *Scotch* Queen-Regent to ingage *Scotland* in the War with *England*: All that favour'd the Reformation were for the War; but the Clergy ſo oppos'd it, that the Majority of the Convention declar'd on the ſame Side. The Queen-Regent upon this thought to draw them unexpectedly into the War, and ſent *D' Oiſell* to beſiege *Warke* Caſtle in *England*; but the *Scotch* Lords highly exclaim'd againſt it, and requir'd him to deſiſt, otherwiſe they would declare him an Enemy to the Nation: So that after ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes on the Borders, the Conteſt was ended on both Sides. Upon this the Queen-Regent wrote to *France*, urging the Concluſion of the Marriage between the *Dauphine* and the Queen of *Scotland*; and a Meſſage was ſent from the Court, deſiring the *Scots* to ſend over Commiſſioners to treat about

about the Articles of the Marriage, and ſome of every State were diſpatch'd for ſetling that Affair. There was at this Time a great want of Mony in the Exchequer of *England*; and the Coldneſs and Uneaſineſs of the laſt Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was try'd what Sums could be rais'd by Loans, upon Privy-Seals, and the like Methods; but theſe ſo little anſwer'd Expectations, that at length a new Parliament was ſummon'd to meet in *January* next. Yet in the mean Space, the Council continually receiv'd Advices of the ill Condition of the Garriſons of *Calais*, and the neighbouring Places, and that the *French* had an abſolute Deſign upon them: But either they believ'd there was no Danger during the Winter, or that the want of Mony was ſo great, that no reaſonable Care was taken for their Security.

England in a low Condition.

This ſufficiently appear'd in the Beginning of the next Year, which was too much noted for the Loſs of all the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, being deſirous of doing ſome great Action, while the Conſtable was a Priſoner, ſuddenly ſate down before *Calais*, on the firſt of *January*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the Command of it; but the Garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred Men, and there were not above two hundred of the Townſmen that could be ſerviceable in a Siege: And tho' King *Philip* had offer'd to put Men into it, yet the *Engliſh* were ſo infatuated with Jealouſies, that they left it in ſo naked a Condition, that the Governor could perform little to preſerve it. So that the two Forts about it, of which one call'd *Newnambridge* commanded the Avenues by Land, and the other call'd the *Risbank* commanded the Harbour, were taken with ſmall Oppoſition; for the Lord *Wentworth* could not ſpare Men enough to defend them. After this the *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and having prepar'd Inventions to paſs without ſticking in the Mire, they made the Aſſault, and carry'd the Caſtle by Storm, which was thought impregnable. After ſuch Succeſs, the Town could make no conſiderable Reſiſtance, ſo it was unfortunately ſurrender'd, and the Governour with fifty Officers made Priſoners of War. Thus in a Week's Time, and in the Winter, was this ſtrong and important Place loſt by the *Engliſh*, which had been glorioufly obtain'd by King *Edward* III. and held by the *Engliſh* above two hundred and ten Years, to the great Curb of *France*, being accounted the Key of that Nation. From this Place the Duke of *Guiſe* march'd to beſiege *Guiſnes*, which had a better Garriſon of eleven hundred Men, but they were much diſhearten'd by the Loſs of *Calais*: They retir'd into the Caſtle, and abandon'd the Town to the *French*; but yet they once beat them out of it. The *French*, after a long Battery, gave the Aſſault, and forc'd them to Capitulate; and the Soldiers, as at *Calais*, had liberty to march away, but the Officers were made Priſoners of War. The Garriſon in *Hammes*, that lay in a Marſh thought inacceſſible, ſeeing themſelves cut off from the Sea, abandon'd the Place before the *French* ſummon'd them. And thus were the *Engliſh* diſhonourably driven out of the Continent of *France*, without retaining one Foot of Land; which *Mezeray* ſays was the Fruit of that Alliance their Queen had made with *Spain*; upon which the Pope pleaſantly ſaid, *That the Loſs of* Calais *was the Dower of that Princeſs.*

A. D. 1558. Reg. 5/6. Phil. 4/5.

The Loſs of Calais.

Guiſnes,

and Hammes.

The mighty Diſcontents that this Loſs gave the *Engliſh*, were ſuch, that the Queen could never hope to ſurmount them; and it ſunk ſo deeply into her Mind, that it did not a little haſten her Death. Both Sides took Occaſion to draw Arguments from this great Misfortune: The Reformers ſaid, It was a Judgment upon the Nation, for the Contempt of the true Religion, and the late Cruelties practis'd againſt it: The Papiſts ſaid, That the Hereticks had found ſuch Shelter and Connivance there, that it was no wonder the Place was loſt. King *Philip* offer'd his Aſſiſtance to go and retake the Place, before the Fortifications were repair'd, if the *Engliſh* would ſend over a Force anſwerable to ſuch an Undertaking: But they, upon an Eſtimate made of the Expence of this, and of a War for the enſuing Year, found it would amount

Great Diſcontents in England.

amount to above half a Million of Mony; and as the Treaſury was exhauſted, and could not furniſh ſuch a Sum, ſo they had no Reaſon to expect a liberal Supply from a provok'd People. The Biſhops fear'd that the Continuance of War would render it neceſſary to proceed more gently againſt Hereticks, and thought it better to be quiet with the Loſs of *Calais* than run that Hazard: They ſeem'd confident that within a Year, they ſhould be able to purge the Kingdom from all Hereſie; and therefore mov'd that Preparations might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

The fifth Parliament in this Reign.

A new Parliament was open'd on the twentieth of *January*; for which the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* had their Writs, and ſate in it. The Lords deſir'd a Conference with the Commons, concerning the Safety of the Nation, which was found ſo weak, that a Subſidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity; and the Clergy gave eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* mov'd, that the Privileges of Sanctuary might be again reſtor'd to his Houſe; but that was ſoon laid aſide. The Procurers of wilful Murder were now deny'd the Benefit of the Clergy; but great Oppoſition was made to that Act in the Houſe of Lords. A Bill was alſo brought in, confirming all the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant for the future. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houſes, which the Queen had already made; for beſides the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, ſhe had founded a Houſe for the *Franciſcans* at *Greenwich*, two for the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* in *London*, one for the *Carthuſians* at *Skeen*, and a Nunnery at *Sion*. One *Coxley* oppos'd this Act, and inſinuated, *That the Confirmation of all Grants might give the Queen a Colour to diſpoſe of the Crown from the right Inheritors.* At which the Houſe expreſs'd great Diſlike, and ſhow'd *That they would not have it ſo much as imagin'd, that the Princeſs* Elizabeth *ſhould ever be excluded.* He had a publick Reprimand, for ſpeaking ſo much to the Queen's Diſhonour: So the Parliament in *March* was prorogu'd to *November* next.

Shortly after a Propoſition of Marriage was privately made by the King of *Sweden* to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; but ſhe declar'd, ſhe could not ſuffer a change in her Condition, ſo the Motion became ineffectual. It ſeems her Averſion to a marry'd State was very great, otherwiſe her preſent Condition was neither ſo eaſie, nor ſo ſecure, but that ſhe had Reaſon to deſire to be out of her Keeper's Power; and to apprehend that her Danger increas'd, as the Queen's Health was impair'd: For many of the Biſhops, fearing ſhe would overthrow that Building, which they had cemented with ſo much Blood, were now offering cruel Counſels againſt her. To mention ſome of the Sufferings of this admirable Lady; ſhe had been firſt ſent for upon the Breaking out of *Wiat*'s Rebellion; and tho' ſhe then lay ſick in Bed, ſhe was forc'd to go to Court. There ſhe was at firſt confin'd to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carry'd to the Tower, and ignominiouſly led into it by the Traitor's-Gate, where ſhe was ſtrictly guarded: Her Servants were all put from her, and none had Acceſs to her, but ſuch as were Spies upon her: Nor was ſhe ſuffer'd to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary Comforts of Air; and a Boy of four Years old was ſeverely threaten'd, for his carrying Flowers to her. Some were put to the Rack to extort Confeſſions from them; but none accus'd her but *Wiat*, and he retracted all he had ſaid upon the Scaffold. When it appear'd that nothing could be prov'd againſt her, ſhe was ſent down to *Woodſtock*; where ſhe was kept under ſevere Guards, and very roughly treated by Sir *Henry Beneſield*, whom ſhe uſually call'd *Her Jaylor*. But King *Philip* ſo far molify'd the Queen by degrees, that he prevail'd with her to bring her to Court, and to admit her into her Preſence. *Gardiner* and many others dealt very ſubtilly with her, to confeſs her Offences, and ask the Queen's Pardon; but ſhe always ſtood firmly to her Innocence, as well as her Religion, declaring, *She had not offended the Queen, ſo much as in Thought.* When ſhe was brought before the

The Sufferings of the Princeſs Elizabeth.

Queen late at Night, ſhe with Tears upon her Knees renew'd the ſame Proteſtations to her, and begg'd *That ſhe would entertain a good Opinion of her.* The Queen, tho' ſhe urg'd her much to acknowledge ſome Guilt, yet ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with what ſhe ſaid, and parted with her in good Terms; of which King *Philip* had ſome Apprehenſions, for he had convey'd himſelf into a ſecret Corner of the Room, to prevent a further Breach, in caſe the Queen ſhould be too much incens'd. Shortly after, her Guards were diſcharg'd, and ſhe ſuffer'd to retire into the Country; but ſhe had always ſo many Spies about her, that to avoid all Suſpicion, ſhe concern'd her ſelf in no ſort of Buſineſs, but gave her ſelf wholly to Study; in which ſhe arriv'd to a mighty Perfection. And thus ſhe paſs'd the greateſt Part of this Reign, under continual Apprehenſions of Death; which perhaps was a neceſſary Preparation for that exalted State to which ſhe was ſoon advanc'd, and which ſhe held in the longeſt Courſe of Proſperity and Glory, that ever was attain'd by any of her Sex.

More Burnings and other Cruelties.

Still the Popiſh Biſhops continu'd their Cruelties; and *Cuthbert Simpſon*, one in Deacon's Orders, having been taken at the Meeting at *Iſlington*, was rack'd with the extreameſt Severity, to make him confeſs all the Friends he had in *London*: But nothing was diſcover'd from him; ſo in *March* he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. Several Books being printed beyond Sea, and ſecretly convey'd into *England*, a Proclamation of a very ſtrange Nature was ſet out, 'That if any receiv'd any of theſe Books, and did not immediately 'burn them, without either reading them, or ſhewing them to any other Per-'ſon, they were to be preſently executed by Martial Law. Several others were burnt this Year, to the Number of thirty nine; and all that were burnt during the whole Reign, according to *Fox*, were two hundred and eighty four; tho' *Grindall*, who liv'd in that Time, writes, That in two Years Time eight hundred ſuffer'd at the Stake. Many more were thrown into Priſon, where ſixty of them dy'd miſerably; others, after much cruel Uſage by Whips and Tortures from *Bonner*'s own Hands, were prevail'd on to abjure; but carry'd in their Minds a mortal Averſion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to ſuch Apoſtacy.

As to the War with *France*, this Year the Lord *Clinton* was ſent with a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, and ſeven thouſand Land-men, who landed near *Breſt*, with a Deſign to have ſeiz'd on that Port, but was repell'd with the Loſs of ſix hundred Men; ſo that after an inglorious and expenſive Expedition, he return'd to *England*. The *Engliſh* had loſt their Hearts and Bravery, and began to believe that Heaven was againſt them; and extraordinary Accidents increas'd theſe direful Apprehenſions: A vaſt Storm of Thunder caus'd an unuſual Terror in *Nottinghamſhire*; the River *Trent* ſwell'd prodigiouſly, and with a violent Wind did great Damage: Hail-ſtones of uncommon Bigneſs fell in other Places; and which was more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, ſo rag'd through the Nation, that three Parts of four were infected with it, and in many Counties there were not Men ſufficient to reap the Harveſt. All theſe melancholy Symptoms concurr'd to increaſe the People's Averſion to the Government, which ſoon diſpos'd the Queen to hearken to Overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Biſhop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who were the chief Favourites of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*: The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was moſt earneſt in it, becauſe the Conſtable who was the Head of the Faction againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe*, was ſuſpected to favour the Reformation, and his three Nephews, the *Coligny's*, were known to incline to it. The King of *France* was the more inclinable to a Treaty, becauſe he had receiv'd a ſecond Blow this Year. The Marſhal *de Thermes* being ſurrounded by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the *French* Army being ingag'd by the Count, and gall'd by the *Engliſh* Ordnance from their Ships lying near the Land, was defeated; five thouſand kill'd, and the Marſhal and other chief Officers

Many Calamities in England.

The Battel of Graveling.

taken Priſoners. The *French* King thought the Expulſion of the *Engliſh* out of *France* a Compenſation both for that, and his Loſs at St. *Quintin*; ſo that both Princes reckoning their own Advantages, they were diſpos'd to a Treaty, which was open'd at *Cambray*, but not finiſh'd in this Reign. Biſhop *Godwin* obſerves that all Perſons concern'd in this unjuſt War, and Breach of Faith, were puniſh'd by Heaven; and particularly Queen *Mary*, by the Loſs of *Calais*, and the other Places, at a Time when nothing but contrary Winds hinder'd her Fleet from affording them Relief.

The Dauphine *marry'd to the Queen of* Scotland.

After a Determination of many Years continuance, in this *April* the *Dauphine* was marry'd to the Queen of *Scotland*; which Marriage was adorn'd by an *Epithalamium* wrote by *Buchanan*, eſteem'd one of the moſt perfect Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. The Deputies ſent from *Scotland* were deſir'd to offer the *Dauphine* the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Right of his Wife; but they declar'd, That exceeded the Bounds of their Commiſſion, ſo they only promis'd to repreſent the Matter to the States of *Scotland*; but could not conceal the Averſion they had to the Propoſal. Shortly after four of the ſeven that were ſent over dy'd, and the fifth narrowly eſcap'd; it being generally ſuſpected that they were poiſon'd. When the reſt return'd to *Scotland*, an Aſſembly of the States was call'd, in which it was agreed to allow the *Dauphine* the Title of King, but with this Proviſo, 'That he ſhould have no Power 'over them, and that it was only a bare Title which they offer'd him. This was appointed to be carry'd to him by the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, who had been the moſt warm Agents for the *French* Intereſt, in Hopes of the Queen-Regent's Protection, againſt the Rage of the Biſhops, in Matters of Religion.

The Parliament meets.

In *England*, a new Seſſion of Parliament met on the fifth of *November*; and the Queen being ill, ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and laid before him the feeble Condition of the Nation, and the Neceſſity of putting it in a Poſture of Defence: But the Commons were ſo diſguſted at the general Conduct of Affairs, that they could come to no Reſolution: Therefore on the fourteenth of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Eſtates, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and deſir'd them to grant a Subſidy to defend the Nation, both againſt the *French* and *Scots*; but ſtill the Commons came to no Reſolution, 'till the Queen's Death three Days after put an End to the Parliament. Her former falſe Conception, her Husband's Neglect her Deſpair of Iſſue, and her melancholy Apprehenſions, which receiv'd a Surcharge from the Loſs of *Calais*, brought her into an ill Habit of Body, which turn'd to an incurable Dropſie. When ſome of her Viſitants endeavour'd to divert her ſorrowful Thoughts, ſhe told them, *They were Strangers to her Diſtemper, but if they would diſſect her after her Death, they would find* Calais *next her Heart*. She endeavour'd to have ſet aſide her Siſter *Elizabeth*, and brought in the Queen of *Scotland* to the Crown; but ſhe was hinder'd from proceeding in it as a Matter impracticable. Thus on the ſeventeenth Day of *November* ſhe ended her unfortunate Life, in the forty third Year of her Age, after a ſhort and miſerable Reign of five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. At the ſame Time, as if one Star had rul'd both their Nativities, her Cardinal *Pool* was alſo expiring in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, being a Perſon of Learning, Humility, Prudence and Temper; who had certainly the beſt Notions of any of his Party then in *England*, ſo that if his Projects had been follow'd, Popery would probably have been fix'd in the Nation. But God deſign'd another Eſtabliſhment; and the Queen, whoſe Temper and Principles were fierce and ſevere, preferr'd the bloody Counſels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner* to thoſe wiſer and more rational Methods he often propos'd. And tho' his Zeal for the Church of *Rome* ſtill continu'd, yet his Eyes were open'd in many Things: His being Legate at *Trent*, and his Retirement at *Viterbo*, had both enlighten'd and compos'd his Mind; which being join'd to his Probity and ſweet Diſpoſition, produc'd extraordinary Effects in him.

The Queen's laſt Sickneſs, and Death.

As

As to the Character of the Queen, we need not ſay much after her Hiſtory; only as to her Perſon, as ſhe was not very amiable, ſo ſhe was without any Deformity; nor did ſhe want Parts or Underſtanding, but had the Advantages of Learning, and a good Underſtanding in the *Latin* Tongue. She was a Woman of a ſtrict and ſevere Life, who allow'd her ſelf few of the Diverſions belonging to Courts; was conſtant at her Devotions, and violently addicted to the Intereſts and Humours of the *Romiſh* Prieſts. She had great Reſentments of her Uſage in her Father's and Brother's Reign, which eaſily induc'd her to take her Revenge, tho' ſhe colour'd it with her Zeal againſt Hereſie. She much endeavour'd to expiate and reſtore the Sacrileges of the two laſt Reigns; beſides which laudable Intention, a froward ſort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety, are the beſt Things that can be ſaid of her. Her former Diſſimulations, her publick Breach of Faith to the *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others, and her barbarous Cruelties to thoſe call'd *Hereticks*, are inexcuſable Blemiſhes in her Character; and God thought fit to puniſh her with a barren Womb, and an untimely Death, and the World with a blaſted Name, which has made an indelible Impreſſion of Horror upon the Nation. To conclude, her Death was as little lamented, as of any that had worn the Crown, excepting by the Popiſh Clergy; and had it not been for the two worthy Foundations of *Trinity* and St. *John*'s Colleges in *Oxford*, there had been ſcarce any Thing in this Reign to have made it memorable, beſides the Calamities and Misfortunes of it. *Her Character.*

SECT. II.

The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

Containing 44 Years, 4 Months, and 6 Days.

Camden. Hayward. Heylin. Burnet. Bohun. &c.

I. THE ſhort and furious Storm that had rag'd within the Nation, being happily diſpell'd by the Deceaſe of Queen *Mary*, a glorious Sun-ſhine ſuddenly ſucceeded; which did not only illuminate the *Engliſh* Hemiſphere, but gradually diſplay'd its reviving Beams both to neighbouring and remote Regions. All which proceeded from the renown'd Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who without Oppoſition mounted the Throne of *England* by the Providence of Heaven, by Virtue of her Birth-Right, and the Act of Succeſſion made in the thirty fifth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Queen *Mary*'s Death was conceal'd for a few Hours, 'till about nine in the Morning, the Lord Chancellor *Heath* with a melancholy Countenance imparted the News to the Houſe of Lords; which, as it ſtruck the Biſhops with no ſmall Fear, ſo thoſe Counſellors who had been ſevere to her Siſter, were very apprehenſive of the Treatment they might receive. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her Queen; and by the Zeal ſhown for her Acceſſion to the Crown, deſign'd to ballance the Errors to which they had been formerly driven, more in Compliance to the Soveraign's Reſentments, than any real Prejudice to her Perſon. They immediately ſent for the Houſe of Commons, to whom the Lord Chancellor ſignify'd the Queen's Deceaſe; *which*, he ſaid, *would have been a much more ſenſible Affliction, if they had not ſuch a Succeſſor, who was the next and indiſputed Heir to the Crown*, ELIZABETH, *of whoſe Right and Title none could make any Queſtion; therefore the Lords were unanimouſly reſolv'd to proclaim her Queen.* This was immediately reſounded and eccho'd with innumerable repeated Acclamations, *God ſave Queen* Elizabeth! *Long and happily may ſhe Reign!* They firſt proclaim'd her at *Weſtminſter*, and then in *London*, A. D. 1558. Reg. 1. *Queen* Mary's *Death declar'd.* Elizabeth *proclaim'd Queen.*

London, in Conjunction with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; which was accompany'd with ſuch unuſual Tranſports of Joy, as gave the melancholy Prieſts juſt Cauſe to fear a new Revolution in Religious Affairs; and tho' the Queen's Death moſt ſenſibly afflicted them, yet the Joy in this Change was ſo great and univerſal, that a ſad Look was thought Criminal, and the Prieſts were forc'd to vent their Griefs in private Corners, and the moſt ſecret Receſſes.

Her Perſon and Character. This admirable Princeſs was now twenty five Years of Age, excelling in all the Perfections of her Sex, whether of Body or Mind. Her Perſon was graceful, her Mien noble, her Shape fine, and her Stature and Gait, both agreeable and majeſtick. Her Face had not all the Regularities of a finiſh'd Beauty; yet her Complexion was perfectly fair, her Eyes lively and ſparkling, and her whole Countenance carry'd ſomething ſo bright and dazling, as cover'd all ſmaller Defects. In every Thing ſhe ſaid or did, there was an Air of Majeſty, that naturally ſtruck more Awe than Love; but ſtill at her Pleaſure ſhe could aſſume ſuch powerful Charms, as few were able to reſiſt; and there was ſuch a happy mixture of Greatneſs and Sweetneſs, that all Perſons admir'd her. Her Mind was heroical and magnanimous, her Underſtanding was pregnant and penetrating, enlarg'd and poliſh'd by all the Advantages of a moſt refin'd Education. She wrote Letters in *Engliſh* and *Italian*, when ſhe was not full four Years of Age; and before ſhe was ſeventeen ſhe became perfect in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *French* and *Italian* Tongues, and not unacquainted with the reſt of the *Europæan* Languages. From whence ſhe proceeded by her indefatigable Induſtry to an extraordinary Knowledge in Philoſophy, Rhetorick, Hiſtory and Divinity; not forgetting Poetry, Muſick, and other Ornaments of Converſation. Of all that ſhe read or learn'd, ſhe made the beſt and trueſt Uſe; and being of a quick Apprehenſion, and a ſtrong Memory, ſhe drew from the Annals of all Nations, the Actions of the greateſt Men, with all their Fights and Conqueſts. She would frequently ſet before her the Monuments of her Predeceſſors, the illuſtrious Triumphs and Victories obtain'd by the *Engliſh* at *Creſſy*, *Poictiers*, *Agincourt* and *Vernevil*; and was wont to ſay, *Theſe Victories were more owing to the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, than the Arms of Men.* Being thus nobly accompliſh'd, train'd up to the moſt exalted Piety, and taught by her late Afflictions the profoundeſt Humility, ſhe became truly worthy of

The preſent State of the Nation. the *Engliſh* Crown; which ſhe receiv'd at a Time when the Nation was moſt low and afflicted, doubly imbroil'd with the *French* and *Scotch* War, overcharg'd with the Debts of *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth, the Treaſury exhauſted, the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France* loſt, the People diſtracted with different Opinions in Religion, and ſhe her ſelf deſtitute of all potent Friends, and foreign Alliance.

She was at *Hatfield* when ſhe receiv'd the News of her Siſter's Death, and that ſhe her ſelf was proclaim'd Queen; upon which, 'tis ſaid ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and after a ſhort Silence broke out in the Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, '*It is the Lord's Doing, and wonderful in our Eyes!* Which Words in *Latin* ſhe afterwards took for her *Motto* in ſome of her Gold Coins. She ſoon remov'd from thence to *London*; and on the nineteenth of *November* ſhe was met at *High-Gate* by all the Biſhops; whom ſhe receiv'd with great Sweetneſs, excepting *Bonner*, who being polluted with ſo much Blood, ſhe thought that

The Queen enters London. common Civility to him would give ſome Countenance to his Crimes. She was receiv'd into the City with ſuch numerous Throngs as was almoſt incredible, and ſurrounded with the loudeſt Acclamations of over-flowing Joy. When ſhe arriv'd at the Tower, upon her firſt Entrance ſhe devoutly kneel'd down and offer'd up her Thanks to God, *Who had thus bounteouſly chang'd her former Priſon into a preſent Palace.* She ſoon clear'd all Men's Apprehenſions as to thoſe Hardſhips ſhe had formerly ſuſtain'd, and ſhew'd that ſhe had abſolutely forgot from whom ſhe had receiv'd them; not excepting *Beneſield* himſelf, who had been the chief Inſtrument of her Sufferings. She gave immediate

Notice

Notice of her Sister's Death, and her own Succession, to all Foreign Princes; and wrote particular Acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the kind Offices he had done. Among the rest she wrote to Sir *Edward Karn*, who was her Sister's Ambassador at *Rome:* But the haughty Pope in his usual Stile told him, *That* England *was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Presumption in her, to assume the Crown without his Consent, especially since she was Illegitimate: But if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, she might expect all the Favour that could consist with the Dignity of the Apostolick See.* The Queen hearing this, with no small Resentment, recall'd *Karn*'s Power; but he being a zealous Papist, continu'd still at *Rome.* King *Philip* sent her a kinder Message, and propos'd a Marriage with her; undertaking to procure a Dispensation from *Rome.* But the Queen, as she continu'd her whole Life averse to that State, so she knew how unacceptable a Foreigner, especially a *Spaniard*, would be to her People; and she had made it the steady Maxim of her Reign, from which she never would deviate, 'To 'rule in their Affections, as well as over their Persons. Neither could she hearken to the Pope's Dispensation: For if two Sisters might marry the same Person, then two Brothers might likewise marry the same Woman; which would overthrow all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catharine*, upon which depended the Validity of her Mother's Marriage, and her own Legitimation. Yet tho' she firmly resolv'd not to marry King *Philip*, she thought, that during the Treaty of *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him out of all Hopes: Upon which he sent to *Rome* for a Dispensation; but the *French* sent to oppose it, and set up a Pretension for the young Queen of *Scotland*, as the righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*.

She writes to Foreign Princes.

King Philip *proposes a Marriage with her in vain.*

The wise Queen continu'd to imploy most of her Sister's Privy-Counsellors, as the Lord Chancellor *Heath*, the Marques of *Winchester*, and others, who had before so often turn'd in Matters of Religion, that it was very probable they would be complying at this Time. But still to ballance these she added several others of the Reformed Religion; the most celebrated of whom were Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, both of extraordinary Abilities. She order'd all who were imprison'd upon the Account of Religion to be set at Liberty: Upon which one who us'd to take an innocent Liberty with her, said, *The four Evangelists still continu'd Prisoners, and that the People much long'd to see them freed:* To which she as pleasantly answer'd, *She would talk with them her self, and know how they stood affected.* Some propos'd the annulling of all Queen *Mary*'s Parliaments, because Force was us'd in the Election of the First, and the Writs for another were not legal, because the Title of *Supream Head* was omitted in the Summons; but this was thought too bold an Attempt and Precedent to annul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular Disorders. The Queen desir'd that all the Changes to be made, might be so carefully manag'd as to breed as little Division among her People, as was possible; and she was not pleas'd with the Title of *Supream Head*, as importing too sublime an Authority. She lov'd Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other Affairs; which made her inclinable to preserve some former Ornaments, and even Images in Churches; and that the Popish Party might have the less Cause of Offence, she design'd to have the Manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament defin'd in general Terms, that it might comprehend all Sides. A Scheme was form'd of the Method, in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put into *Cecil*'s Hands. By this, 'It was judg'd 'necessary to do nothing 'till a Parliament was call'd: The Queen had reason to 'expect all the Disturbance the Pope could give her, who would certainly ex-'cite the *French* and *Scots*, and perhaps the *Irish*, against her. The Clergy, and 'those imploy'd in the late Reign, would oppose it, and use all Methods to in-'flame the Nation; and the greatest Part of the People lov'd the Pomp of the 'old Ceremonies. It was therefore propos'd, That the Queen on any Terms 'should

The Queen's wise Management.

Her Designs as to Religion.

A Scheme propos'd.

'ſhould make Peace with *France*, and incourage the Party in *Scotland*, that de-
'ſir'd a Reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for their Cruelty, and
'it would be eaſie to bring them within the Statute of *Premunire*: Care was
'alſo to be taken to expoſe the former Counſellors for their ill Conduct in the
'laſt Reign, and by that Means to diminiſh their Reputation. It was likewiſe
'propos'd to examine well the Commiſſions for the Peace and Militia, and to
'inſpect the Univerſities; and ſome Learned Men were to be order'd, to conſi-
'der what Alterations were fit to be made, and by what Steps they ſhould
'proceed.

By this Time the Exiles that had fled beyond Sea, return'd home; and theſe with ſome other zealous Perſons began in many Places to break down Images, and ſet up King *Edward*'s Service again. Upon this the Queen order'd, That the Litany, and other Parts of the Service ſhould be perform'd in *Engliſh*, and that no Elevation ſhould be us'd in the Maſs; but requir'd her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and uſe no other Forms, but what ſhe retain'd in her Chappel, 'till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed in Parliament. On the fifth of *December* ſhe order'd her Siſter's Obſequies to be celebrated with great Magnificence at *Weſtminſter*: *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who preach'd the Sermon, not only extoll'd her Government, but ſeverely reflected upon the preſent State of Affairs; for which he was for ſome Time confin'd to his Houſe. And many Sees being vacant, one of the firſt Things that came under Conſultation, was the finding proper Men to ſupply them. Doctor *Parker* was ſelected, as the fitteſt for the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bolen*, and had been imploy'd in inſtructing the Queen in the chief Points of Religion, when ſhe was young: He was well known to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; and both he and *Cecil* gave ſo high a Character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular Eſteem, it was reſolv'd to advance him. But as ſoon as he knew it; he us'd all poſſible Arguments againſt it both from the Weakneſs of his Body, and his Unworthineſs of ſo high a Charge. He deſir'd rather to be put into ſome ſmall Benefice of twenty Nobles a Year, ſo far was he from aſpiring to Wealth or Honour; and as *Cranmer* before him, he continu'd for many Months ſo averſe to it, that it was hard to overcome him. And it was thought no ſmall Honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Inſtruments that promoted it, *Cranmer* and *Parker*, gave ſuch Evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being ſo unwillingly advanc'd.

Queen Mary's *Funeral.*

Doctor Parker *advanc'd.*

A. D. 1559. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

In the Beginning of the new Year, the Queen thought fit to make ſome new Promotions: Particularly Sir *William Parre* was created Marqueſs of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymour* was made Vicount *Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hartford*; the Lord *Thomas Howard* was made Vicount of *Bindon*; Sir *Oliver Saint John*, Lord *Saint John* of *Bletſo*; and Sir *Henry Carew*, Lord *Carew* of *Hundſden*. They were all averſe to the Popiſh Religion; and as the Queen was not prodigal in any Thing, ſo ſhe was moſt ſparing in Diſtributions of Honour, by which ſhe advanc'd it to the higheſt Eſteem with all Men. The Seals were taken from Arch-Biſhop *Heath*, who could not join in the Queen's Deſigns, and given to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was declar'd *Lord-Keeper*, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellor's Office, without the Title; which was perhaps an Effect of his great Modeſty, that adorn'd his other great and noble Qualities. As he was eminent in himſelf, ſo he was happy in being Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories in the *Engliſh* Nation.

New Promotions.

Sir Nicholas Bacon *made Lord-Keeper.*

Theſe Acts of Grace and Favour being thus diſpatch'd, on the twelfth Day of *January* the Queen went to the Tower, in order to make a triumphant Paſſage through *London* to her Palace at *Weſtminſter*, before the Solemnity of her Coronation. As ſhe mounted her Royal Chariot at the Tower, with the pofoundeſt Marks of Devotion, ſhe bleſs'd the all-powerful God, *Who had ſav'd her, like the Prophet* Daniel, *out of the Mouths of the Lions, and preſerv'd*

ſerv'd her to ſee that joyful Day. As ſhe paſs'd through the City in great Splendor, ſhe was all the Way entertain'd with the moſt joyful Acclamations that could proceed from dilated Spirits; which ſhe continually return'd with the moſt charming Smiles, and often ſaying *God bleſs you, my People!* which was always accompany'd with ſuch a modeſt Affability, and obliging Gracefulneſs, that it drew Tears of Joy from the Eyes of many, and infinite Prayers and Thankſgivings from the Hearts of all. But nothing more endear'd her to the Spectators than her Behaviour as ſhe paſs'd under one of the Triumphal Arches, where a rich Bible was let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child repreſenting *Truth*: She with great Reverence kiſs'd both her Hands, and receiving it with another Kiſs, laid it next her Heart; profeſſing, *She was better pleas'd with that ſingle Gift, than all the magnificent Preſents ſhe had that Day receiv'd from the City.* On the next Morning, with the like Splendor and Magnificence, ſhe was attended to the Abby-Church at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was ſolemnly crown'd, according to the Order of the *Roman* Pontifical, by *Ogle-thorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*; with ſo much Satisfaction to the People, that afterwards, without any Command, and by an univerſal Conſent, they every Year celebrated her Coronation-Day with a Religious Joy. Yet none of the Biſhops, beſides *Carliſle*, would join in the Solemnity; for they ſaw the Alterations ſhe was daily making; and tho' many of them had often chang'd, yet they reſolv'd now to keep firmer to what they had lately profeſs'd, and for which they had ſhed ſo much Blood. Yet no Objection could be made to her Piety and Devotion, which was conſtant and remarkable both in private and publick, and ſhe moſt attentively heard all Sermons preach'd before her: But ſtill ſhe preferr'd the publick Prayers, and often us'd the Saying ſhe had read of her Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third, *That ſhe had rather converſe with God in Prayer, than hear others ſpeak eloquently of him.*

Her Coronation.

Abroad, the Treaty of *Cambray* was ſtill negotiated by the *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh* and *French* Commiſſioners; in which the greateſt Obſtacle was the Reſtitution of *Calais*; and King *Philip* for a long time inſiſted ſo poſitively on that Article, that he refus'd to make Peace upon any other Terms. *England* had loſt it by a War, in which they ingag'd on his Account, ſo that in Honour he was oblig'd to ſee it reſtor'd; but when the Hopes of marrying the Queen vaniſh'd, and he found ſhe was making Changes in Religion, he became more regardleſs of her Intereſts, and told the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, that unleſs they would enter into a League for continuing the War ſix Years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his own Affairs, and conclude a Peace. Upon which the Queen hearken'd to Propoſitions ſent from *France*; but much complain'd of the Queen of *Scotland*'s aſſuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was anſwer'd, That ſince ſhe had born the Title and Arms of *France*, ſhe had no Reaſon to contend upon that Account. She ſaw ſhe could not now make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a ſeparate Peace; and ſhe had no Deſire to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unſucceſsful, and certainly ſo burdenſome to her Subjects Purſes, as might indanger the Loſs of their Affections. And certainly in reſpect of her Sex, and want of Treaſure, Peace at this Time was more elegible than the juſteſt War, to her, who was wont to ſay, *It was more glorious to eſtabliſh a Peace with Wiſdom, than to finiſh a War with the moſt gallant Armies.* The Loſs of *Calais* was no Reproach to her, but fell wholly on her Siſter's Memory; therefore ſhe reſolv'd to make a Peace with *France*, upon the beſt Terms that could be obtain'd. So at length it was agreed, 'That the *French* ſhould hold *Calais* eight Years, at 'which Time it ſhould either be reſtor'd, or five hundred thouſand Pounds 'paid in lieu of it to the Queen of *England*: Yet if, during that Space, ſhe 'made War, either in *France* or *Scotland*, ſhe was to forfeit her Right to that 'Town: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be demoliſh'd, and all Differences on 'the *Borders* there, were to be determin'd by ſome deputed on both Sides.

The Treaty of Cambray.

A Peace made with France *and* Scotland.

This being adjuſted, a general Peace between the Crowns of *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Scotland* was concluded; to the Diſſatisfaction of many of the *Engliſh*, who made great Complaints againſt particular Perſons in the laſt Reign.

The wiſe Queen having happily for her own Deſigns made Peace both with *France* and *Scotland*, was now more at Liberty to ſettle her Affairs at home. D' Ewes &c.

The firſt Parliament in this Reign.

She had call'd a Parliament, which was open'd on the twenty fifth Day of *January*; at which the Lord *Bacon* made a long Speech, both concerning Matters of Religion and the State of the Nation, 'He deſir'd they would examine 'the former Religion without Heat or partial Affection; that all Reproaches 'might be forborn, and Extreams avoided; and that Particulars might be ſo 'eſtabliſh'd, as all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worſhip. He laid 'open the Errors of the former Reign, and aggravated the Loſs of *Calais*; but 'ſtill ſhew'd that it could not be eaſily recover'd. He made a noble Encomium 'upon the Queen, but when he ſhew'd under what Neceſſities ſhe lay, he de-'clar'd, *She would deſire no Supply, but what they ſhould freely and chearfully 'offer.* After ſome Debates about the Title of *Supream Head*, that was wanting in the Queen's Writs, and came to no Effect; the firſt Bill that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Reſtitution of the *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits* to the Crown; againſt which all the Biſhops proteſted. But that was all the Oppoſition that was made to it; 'By which, not only that Tax 'and Impoſition was again laid on the Clergy, but alſo all the Impropriated 'Benefices, which *Mary* had ſurrender'd, were reſtor'd to the Crown. After

The Queen deſired to marry.

this the Commons made a modeſt and handſome Addreſs to the Queen, 'Deſi-'ring her to chuſe ſuch a Husband, as might make both her ſelf and the Na-'tion happy. She receiv'd the Propoſal kindly, 'Since they had neither limi-

Her Anſwer.

'ted her to Time, nor Nation; but declar'd, That as hitherto ſhe had liv'd 'with great Satisfaction in a ſingle State, and had refus'd the Propoſitions that 'had been made to her, both in her Brother's and Siſter's Reign, ſo ſhe had no 'Inclination to change her Courſe of Life: If ever ſhe did, ſhe would take care, 'that it ſhould be to the Good and Satisfaction of her People. She thought 'ſhe was marry'd to the Nation at her Coronation, by the Ring ſhe then re-'ceiv'd, and look'd upon her People as her dear Children; and ſhe would be 'highly ſatisfy'd, if her Tombſtone might tell Poſterity, HERE LYES A 'QUEEN WHO REIGN'D SO LONG, AND LIV'D AND 'DY'D A VIRGIN. This Matter was ſoon dropt, and an acceptable Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was brought in: It was not thought neceſſary to repeal the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce, for it was declar'd, *That the Crown purg'd all Defects*; and it was thought needleſs to look back into a Matter, which could not be done without caſting ſome Reproach on

Her Title to the Crown acknowledg'd.

her Father: So it was in general Words Enacted, 'That they did aſſuredly be-'lieve and declare, That by the Laws of God and the Realm, ſhe was their law-'ful Queen, and was rightly and lineally deſcended to the Throne. This was thought a wiſer Way, than if they had examin'd the Sentence of Divorce that paſs'd upon the Confeſſion of a Pre-contract; which muſt have reviv'd the Remembrance of Things that ought to be forgotten; which was alſo thought the true Reaſon why in all her Reign no Apology was printed for her Mother. Other Bills were brought in, and one paſs'd, 'That reviv'd all Acts made againſt the Pope's 'Power, in King *Henry*'s Reign, and repeal'd thoſe made by Queen *Mary*:

Her Supremacy aſſerted.

'They enacted an Oath for acknowledging the Queen *Supream Governor in all 'Cauſes, and over all Perſons*; and the Refuſers of it were to be turn'd out 'of all Offices either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and to be under a Diſability du-'ring Life: If any ſhould advance the Authority of a Foreign Power, the firſt 'Offence was Fine or Impriſonment, the ſecond a *Premunire*, and the third 'Treaſon: The Queen was alſo impower'd to give Commiſſions, for Judging 'and Reforming Eccleſiaſtical Matters, under certain Limitations. From this laſt was the Court, call'd the *High Commiſſion Court*, founded; which in re-

ality was nothing, but the diſtributing that Authority into many Hands, which was in one Perſon in King *Henry*'s Reign.

During theſe Parliamentary Proceedings, great Complaints were made of Seditious Sermons, preach'd by the Popiſh Clergy; upon which the Queen follow'd her Siſter's Precedent, and forbad all Preaching without a Royal Licence obtain'd: She likewiſe ſent an Order to the Convocation, requiring that Body to make no Canons, under the Pains of a *Premunire*. Yet the lower Houſe inſiſting ſtill upon ſeveral Points, a publick and ſolemn Conference was appointed by the Queen, to be held between the *Romiſh* Biſhops and the Proteſtant Divines. This was firſt propos'd to Arch-Biſhop *Heath*, who was ſtill a Privy-Counſellor; and after ſome Conſultation with his Brethren, he accepted of it. Nine of each Side were appointed formally to diſpute upon theſe three Points; Worſhip in an unknown Tongue; the Power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Ceremonies; and concerning the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Maſs: All which were to be given in Writing. The laſt Day of *March* was the firſt Day of the Conference, which was held in *Weſtminſter*-Abby, in the Preſence of the Privy-Council, and both Houſes of Parliament, and vaſt Numbers of People who were gather'd together at ſo unuſual a Sight. The Applauſes of the Aſſembly were ſo much on the Proteſtants Side, that after the firſt Day, the other Party obſtinately refus'd to proceed according to the Form firſt agreed; and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* ſaid, The Faith of the Church ought not to be examin'd, but in a Synod of Divines; That it gave too great Incouragement to Hereticks to diſpute with them; and that the Queen and Council ought to be Excommunicated, for ſuffering them to argue againſt the Catholick Faith before an unlearned Multitude. Upon this they were ſent to the Tower, and the Lord-Keeper diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly with this Sentence to all the Biſhops, *Since you are not willing that we ſhould hear you, you ſhall very ſhortly hear from us.*

A publick Conference about Religion.

This being over, the Parliament was now in a better Diſpoſition to paſs the Bill for the *Uniformity* of the Service of the Church: The Book of Common-Prayer was now reviſ'd, and the moſt conſiderable Alteration, that the expreſs Declaration made againſt the corporal Preſence, in the ſecond Book ſet out by King *Edward*, was now left out; that none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church upon that Account; therefore the Matter was left undetermin'd, as a ſpeculative Point, in which the People were at their Liberty. The Book of Ordination was not ſpecially mention'd in the Act, which occaſion'd *Bonner* afterwards to queſtion the Legality of Ordinations made by it; but it had been made a Part of the Common-Prayer-Book in the fifth Year of King *Edward*, and the whole Book, then ſet out, was now confirm'd: So that by a ſpecial Act made ſome Years after this, it was declar'd, That that Office was underſtood to be a Part of it. Great Oppoſitions, and many Speeches were made in the Houſe of Lords againſt this famous Act of *Uniformity*; but at length it paſs'd with the Diſſent and Proteſtations of eight Spiritual and nine Temporal Lords, and has continu'd in Force to this Day. Another Act paſs'd with greater and juſter Oppoſition, 'That the Queen might reſerve 'ſome Lands belonging to Biſhopricks to her ſelf, as they became void, giving 'in lieu of them Impropriated Tithes to the Value of them: This was moſt oppos'd in the Houſe of Commons, who reaſonably apprehended, That under this Pretence, new Spoils might be made of Church-Lands; ſo that upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, ninety were againſt it, but a hundred and thirty three being for it, it paſs'd. Another Act paſs'd with the like Oppoſition, 'By 'which all Religious Houſes founded by Queen *Mary*, were ſuppreſs'd, and 'united to the Crown. A private Act paſs'd, declaring the Deprivation of 'the Popiſh Biſhops in King *Edward*'s Reign valid in Law, and all the Leaſes 'made by their Succeſſors legal. At laſt a Subſidy, two Tenths and

The Act of Uniformity paſs'd.

Other Acts.

two Fifteens were given, with the Tonnage and Poundage for the Queen's Life, and ſo the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the eighth of *May*.

Shortly after, in order to put the Laws in Execution, a general Viſitation was appointed, and a High Commiſſion Court ſet up; by which Means the eſtabliſh'd Liturgy in the vulgar Tongue, was ſoon brought into all Churches; Images were remov'd without Tumult, and the Oath of Supremacy offer'd to the Popiſh Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, which had been taken by moſt of them in the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth. As many as refus'd the Oath, were according to Law, turn'd out of all their Preferments; and of the nine thouſand four hundred Benefices, then nam'd in *England*, fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors, was the whole Number of thoſe that were depriv'd. But it was ſtrongly believ'd, that the greateſt Part comply'd againſt their Conſciences, and would have been ready for another Turn, if the Queen had dy'd, while that Race of Incumbants liv'd, and the next Succeſſor had been of another Religion. All the Biſhops were at firſt under Confinement, but they were ſoon after ſet at Liberty; only *Bonner*, *White* and *Watſon*, were detain'd Priſoners. Many grievous Complaints were brought againſt *Bonner*, for the illegal Cruelties he had exercis'd, and the Tortures he had put to his Priſoners; but the Queen reſolv'd not to ſtain the Beginning of her Reign with Blood; and the Reformed Divines were not for revenging themſelves, but for leaving all to the Juſtice of Heaven. *Heath* liv'd privately at his own Houſe, where he was ſometimes viſited by the Queen: *Pates*, *Scot* and *Goldwell*, had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewiſe out of *England*; and ſo mild and gentle was the Queen, that ſhe deny'd that Liberty to none that asked it.

The Number of the Churchmen that were turn'd out.

Doctor Parker *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

The Queen proceeded next to fill up the vacant Biſhopricks, and began with *Canterbury*; in which Affair Doctor *Parker* ſtood out for many Months, and he would not undertake ſo high a Charge, 'till his Friends had us'd all ſorts of Arguments both Threatning and Perſuaſive, to induce him to comply. Upon the ſending of the *Conge d'eſlire*, he was elected by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; and ſhortly after the Queen iſſu'd out a Warrant for his Conſecration, and after that a ſecond, directed to *Kitchin* Biſhop of *Landaffe*, the only complying Biſhop in Poſſeſſion, and to *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, three Biſhops depriv'd in the laſt Reign, and to *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory*, and two ſuffragan Biſhops beſides. Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth Day of *December*, by four of theſe, he was conſecrated in the Chappel at *Lambeth*, according to the Book of Ordination, ſet out under King *Edward*, only the Ceremony of the Paſtoral Staff was omitted; All which is apparent, not only from the Teſtimony of the Earl of *Nottingham* who ſaw it, but from the Records of the Crown, the Regiſters of the See of *Canterbury*, and the original Inſtrument deſcribing all the Particulars of his Conſecration, ſtill preſerv'd in *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*. And this inconteſtably confutes the ſcandalous Fable of the *Nag's-Head* Ordination, and all other improbable Stories, afterwards invented by the Enemies of the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*. After this Arch-Biſhop *Parker* proceeded regularly to conſecrate many other Biſhops; as *Grindall*, for the See of *London*; *Cox*, for *Ely*; *Horn*, for *Wincheſter*; *Merick*, for *Bangor*; *Young*, for St. *David*'s; *Bullingham*, for *Lincoln*; the famous *Jewell*, for *Salisbury*; *Davis*, for St. *Aſaph*; *Gueſt*, for *Rocheſter*; *Berkley*, for *Bath* and *Wells*; *Bentham*, for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *Alley*, for *Exeter*; and *Parre*, for *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Scory*, formerly depriv'd, were put into the Sees of *Chicheſter* and *Hereford*: And the Sees of *York* and *Durham* were kept vacant a Year, upon ſome Hopes that *Heath* and *Tonſtall* ſhould have conform'd; but after that, *Young* was tranſlated from St. *David*'s to *York*, and *Pilkington* advanc'd to *Durham*. In all theſe, and many other Advancements, when a Man was recommended to the Queen, as worthy of Prefer-

His Conſecration aſſerted.

Many new Biſhops Conſecrated.

Preferment, ſhe uſually ask'd, *If there were not others to be found, of more Learning and Piety, to whom ſhe might recommend the Care of the Church.*

Thus did this excellent Queen not only reſtore Peace to the Nation, but in the Compaſs of a Year recover the Reformation of Religion; while all Chriſtendom ſtood amaz'd to ſee it effected with ſo little Commotion. And all Things were carry'd with ſuch a general Temper and Moderation, that for ten Years there was no Diſturbances about Religion, nor any ſevere Puniſhment of *Roman* Catholicks. By means of this Change and Eſtabliſhment, as the Politicians obſerv'd, *England* became the moſt free of all Kingdoms in Chriſtendom, and the Scepter deliver'd from the foreign Servitude of *Rome*; the Nation grew more wealthy than in former Ages, when infinite Sums were annually exported to *Rome* for *Firſt-Fruits*, *Indulgences*, *Pardons*, *Appeals*, *Diſpenſations*, *Palls*, and other things, to the ſtrange Impoveriſhment of the Republick. And thus having recover'd the almoſt Shipwrack'd Veſſel to a ſafe Port, the Queen was able by the Bleſſing of God both to ſettle her Religion, and to lay the Foundations of a laſting Peace at home and abroad.

The Happineſs of England.

Camden. Spotſwood Heylin. Burnet. Rohun. &c.

II. While *England* was thus ſetled, and happy at home, *Scotland* was diſtracted, and began to ſuffer great Convulſions; all ariſing from the Factions within its own Bowels, and the Severity and Provocations of the Queen-Dowager, who was Regent of the Kingdom, and wholly in the Intereſt of *France*. The real Queen of *Scotland*, now ſeventeen Years of Age, was ſtill in *France*, and this Year her Husband the *Dauphine* ſucceeded to the Crown, under the Name of *Francis* the Second. He being govern'd by the Counſel of the *Guiſes*, who bore the chief Sway in *France*, join'd with the Queen-Regent in all her violent Proceedings in *Scotland*. Vaſt Diſturbances were rais'd, and innumerable Outrages committed in all Parts, upon the Account of Religion and Reformation: And at length the People made ſuch a general Inſurrection, that the Queen-Regent was compell'd to retire to *Dunbar* Caſtle. She was once willing to refer the whole Matter to a Parliament; but two thouſand Men coming over from *France*, and Aſſurances being ſent her of a greater Force to follow, ſhe aſſum'd new Courage, went and fortify'd *Leith*, and broke her Agreement with the People, which ſhe had more than once done before, upon a Pretence, *That Princes were not ſtrictly to be charg'd with their Promiſes, eſpecially when made to Hereticks.* Upon which the Lords alledg'd, 'That in their Queen's 'Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent 'was only the chief Adminiſtrator, and accountable to them: Therefore they reſolv'd to depoſe her from her Regency. They objected many Male-Adminiſtrations, as her Beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in Foreigners to ſubdue it, her embaſing the Coin, Governing without the Conſent of the Nobility, and breaking her Faith and Promiſes to them; upon which they declar'd, That ſhe was fallen from her Regency, and ſuſpended her Power 'till the next Parliament. The Lords, now call'd *The Lords of the Congregation*, retir'd from *Edengburgh* to *Sterlin*; upon which the *French* came to *Edenburgh*, and ſet up the Maſs in the Churches which had been laid aſide; and ſoon after a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marquiſs of *Elbeufe*, one of the Queen-Regent's Brothers, ſo that now there were four thouſand *French* in *Scotland*. By means of this Foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united againſt the Queen-Regent, and to look on her as a common Enemy.

A. D. 1559. Reg. 2.

The Troubles of Scotland.

The Queen-Regent depos'd

The *Scots*, who had been hitherto animated, and ſecretly ſupply'd with Mony and Ammunition from *England*, were now forc'd more openly to beg the Queen's Aſſiſtance, which occaſion'd ſeveral Debates in the Council, and many things were alledg'd to induce the Queen to join in this Affair. Particularly ſhe had been highly provok'd by the young Queen of *Scotland*, who together with her Husband the *French* King had aſſum'd and uſurp'd the Arms of *England*; which laid the Foundations of ſuch a Jealouſie

The Scots beg Aid of the Queen of England.

as nothing but Death could extinguiſh. Beſides it was thought highly impolitick to ſuffer the *French* to remain in *Scotland*, whoſe Deſigns were known to be deep and ſubtle, and their Ambition boundleſs: Inſomuch that it was become a Proverb in theſe Days, '*That* France *could neither be poor* '*nor peaceable for three Years together:* And Queen *Elizabeth* frequently us'd that Saying of *Valentinian*, '*Chuſe the* French *for your Friends, but not for* '*your Neighbours.* It was therefore finally reſolv'd, That it was juſt, honeſt and neceſſary, immediately to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1560. Reg. 2. The Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent to *Berwick* for this Purpoſe, and to treat with the Lords of the Congregation, now headed by the Duke of *Chattelherault*. On the twenty ſeventh of *February*, they agreed upon theſe Conditions, 'That the *Scots* ſhould be perpetual Allies to the Queen of *England*, and 'that after the *French* were driven out of *Scotland*, they ſhould continue their 'Obedience to their own natural Queen. Upon which two thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, under the Lord *Gray*, were ſent to aſſiſt the *Scots*, who after ſome Offers to the *French*, inveſted *Leith*. During that Siege, there were conſiderable Loſſes on both Sides, but thoſe on the *Engliſh* Side were more eaſily ſupply'd from the neighbouring Parts, than the other. And this ſo affected the *French*, that they offer'd to reſtore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if ſhe would withdraw her Forces from *Scotland:* She gave them a quick Anſwer, *That ſhe did not value that Fiſh-Town, ſo much as ſhe did the Quiet and Security of all* Britain. But ſhe offer'd to mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*; but before that could be effected, the Queen-Regent dy'd, having firſt ask'd Pardon of ſeveral of the *Scotch* Lords for the Injuries ſhe had done them. However, not long after, a Peace was concluded between *England*, *France* and *Scotland:* 'An Oblivion was granted for all that was paſt; 'the *French* and *Engliſh* were to be ſent out of *Scotland*; the Queen of *Scot-* 'land was to quit the Arms of *England* and *Ireland:* During the Queen's Ab- 'ſence, the Kingdom was to be govern'd by a Council of Twelve, all Natives; 'of whom the Queen was to nominate Seven, and the States Five: All other 'Matters were referr'd to a Parliament. Thus both *Engliſh* and *French* remov'd out of *Scotland*, and a Parliament met in *Auguſt*; in which all thoſe Acts that favour'd the old Way of Worſhip were repeal'd; and the Lands and Revenues of the Church were ſpoil'd after an unheard of Manner. However theſe Articles were rejected with Scorn by the King of *France*, ſo that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War; but ſhortly after, the Death of that King, after a Reign of ſeventeen Months, deliver'd them from all their Fears: And the *Scotch* Queen, having no longer the Support of ſo great a Crown, was afterwards oblig'd to return home, and govern in ſuch a Manner, as that Nation thought fit to allow. Thus did the Queen of *England* ſeparate *Scotland* from its ancient Dependance on *France*, and ſo united it to her own Intereſts, that ſhe was not only ſecure on that Side of her Dominions, but rais'd ſo great an Intereſt in *Scotland*, that Affairs there were generally govern'd according to the Directions ſhe ſent. This Peace was accounted advantageous for all *Britain*, the ancient Liberty of *Scotland* retain'd, and the Dignity of *England* preſerv'd, which from that Time fear'd nothing from *Scotland:* So that the *Engliſh* joyfully acknowledg'd their Queen to be the Founder of their Security, and the *Scotch* Proteſtants the Defender of their Liberty.

The Treaty of Edenburgh.

The Queen's Influence over Scotland.

She, like a true Mother of her Country, was all the while ſo intent upon the publick Welfare, that ſhe left no Room in her Thoughts for the Addreſſes of the moſt potent Princes. For beſides thoſe of King *Philip*, formerly mention'd, the Emperor *Ferdinand* recommended his younger Son *Charles*, Duke of *Auſtria*, to her for a Husband. And when this ſucceeded not, *John* Duke of *Finland*, ſecond Son to *Guſtavus* King of *Swedeland*, was ſent by his Father to ſollicit for his eldeſt Brother *Ericus*; who was honourably receiv'd, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holſtein*, Uncle to *Frederick*

The many Matches offer'd to her.

King

King of *Denmark*, came into *England*, with great Hopes of Succeſs; but the Queen beſtow'd upon him the Honour of the Garter, and an annual Penſion, but not her own Perſon. Likewiſe *James* Earl of *Arran* was recommended to her by the Proteſtants of *Scotland*; but neither the Man nor the Motion prov'd acceptable. Of inferior Fortunes, there were ſome at home that pleas'd themſelves with the Hopes of obtaining her: Firſt, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a noble Family, but moſt commended for his polite Studies, and ſweet Demeanor: Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining Age: Then *Robert Dudley*, youngeſt Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*, of excellent Features, and in the Flower of his Age, afterwards one of her chief Favourites. Neither theſe, nor any other could ever prevail upon this Maiden Queen; tho' ſhe was daily tempted to change her Reſolution by all the alluring Pleaſures of a Court, which ſhew'd it ſelf in Interludes, Banquets and Balls, and ſurrounded with all things that might provoke the moſt cool and languiſhing Deſires. Her Juvenile Age, and the Intemperance which ever attends a publick Court, gave occaſion to ſome injurious Reports; but ſhe eaſily waſh'd off that ſlanderous Infamy, one of the moſt raging Crimes of this Age, by the incredible Continence and Chaſtity of her whole Life, all natural Inclinations being over-rul'd by her Modeſty and Prudence. Her *Maids of Honour* always took a wonderful Pleaſure in her Manners, her Diſcourſes and Converſation, and wholly apply'd themſelves to imitate her, borrowing from her the moſt illuſtrious Examples of Modeſty and Chaſtity.

But all in vain.

As this Queen was courted in Marriage by many temporal Princes, ſo ſhe was courted in a different Manner by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, who being ſenſible of the Errors of his arrogant Predeceſſor, declar'd *He would humble himſelf even to Hereſie it ſelf, in regard that whatſoever was done to gain Souls to Chriſt, did become that See.* Accordingly he wrote a moſt loving Letter to her, kindly exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church: And it is ſaid, he made her great Offers, if ſhe would hearken to his Counſel; particularly, That he would recall the Sentence pronounc'd againſt her Mother's Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-Prayer in *Engliſh*, and permit her People to uſe the Sacrament in both Kinds. But the Queen, according to her fix'd *Motto*, *Semper Eadem*, perſiſted conſtant in her Reſolution, to maintain that Religion, which in her Conſcience ſhe was perſuaded to be moſt agreeable to the Word of God, and moſt conſonant to the Primitive Church. Likewiſe in the following Year, when the Pope ſent the Abbot *Martiningo* as far as *Flanders*, the Queen ſent her Commands to him not to croſs the Sea but at his Peril: And tho' the Emperor and the King of *Spain* did earneſtly intreat that he might be heard, yet ſhe ſtood her Ground, and reply'd, *That ſhe could not treat with the Biſhop of* Rome, *whoſe Authority was totally excluded out of* England *by Act of Parliament*. This Anſwer ſhe return'd to give them ſome Satisfaction, but to the Pope's *Nuncio*, ſhe only gave a direct Denial: For ſhe well perceiv'd this Remedy did not tend to the healing of the Wounds of the Church, but to the making them incurable; and the Event juſtify'd her Conduct.

The Pope's Endeavours to gain her to his Intereſt.

The Queen being now more ſecure, that the Church might continue uncorrupted, ſhe ſet forth two remarkable Proclamations: By one ſhe commanded the *Anabaptiſts*, and ſuch Heterodox People, who had flock'd from Foreign Countries to the Sea-Coaſts of *England*, to depart the Realm within twenty Days, upon Pain of Impriſonment and Loſs of Goods. By the other ſhe reſtrain'd a Sacrilegious Kind of People, who under Colour of aboliſhing Superſtition, began to pull down ancient Monuments, to deface the Epitaphs and Eſcutcheons of the nobleſt Families, and other venerable Remains of Antiquity, and to take the Bells and Lead from the Churches. She alſo converted the famous Abby of *Weſtminſter* into a Collegiate-Church; inſtituting a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a School-maſter, an Uſher, forty Scholars, with ſeveral Officers,

Her Care of the Church.

She regulates the Coin.

Officers, to the great Advantage of Religion and Learning. And then to the great Advancement of her Glory, ſhe began gradually to call in the Braſs Mony, and reſtore the Coin to its current and ſterling Purity, and to repair the Honour of the Kingdom, by preventing the Frauds of thoſe who adulterated the Coin both at Home and Abroad. All which ſhe happily perform'd within a few Months without Commotion; Firſt, by prohibiting the Melting down any Mony, whether Braſs or Sterling; then by reducing Baſe Mony to its juſt Value; and laſtly by purchaſing all that was bad with her own Mony, provided it was brought into the Mint at a fix'd Time. So that to Queen *Elizabeth* is to be aſcrib'd the Happineſs of having better and purer Mony in *England* than had been us'd for two hundred Years before; a great and memorable Act which neither King *Edward* could, nor Queen *Mary* durſt undertake.

A. D. 1561. Reg. 3/4.

Theſe things happily accompliſh'd, the Queen ſent the Earl of *Bedford* into *France*, to condole the Death of King *Francis*, and congratulate his Succeſſor *Charles* the Ninth, who was then but eleven Years of Age. The Earl, together with *Throgmorton* the Queen's Agent, often ſollicited the Widow Queen of *Scotland* to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*: But her Anſwer was always the ſame, *That ſhe neither could, nor would do it without the Advice of the Nobility of* Scotland. Upon which Queen *Elizabeth*, ſuſpecting that this Anſwer was only to amuſe her, while ſome dangerous Deſign was practiſing againſt her, ſent Sir *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, to perſuade the Lords of that Country to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her, and other Proteſtant Princes; and likewiſe to uſe all juſt Methods to hinder their Queen from contracting a ſecond Marriage with a Foreign Prince; for which many convincing Reaſons were alledg'd. In the mean Time the Queen of *Scotland*, deſigning to return into her own Country, ſent *D'Oiſely*, a *French* Lord, to deſire Queen *Elizabeth*, That with a ſafe Conduct ſhe her ſelf might paſs by Sea into *Scotland*, and *D'Oiſely* paſs through *England*. But the incens'd Queen, in the Preſence of a great Multitude, deny'd both the one and the other, unleſs ſhe would confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, declaring, *If ſhe perform'd that, ſhe ſhould find all the Kindneſs of a Queen, a Kinſwoman, and a Neighbour, whether ſhe went by Sea or Land.* The Queen of *Scotland* was ſenſibly affected with this Anſwer, and vehemently expoſtulated the Matter with *Throgmorton*, as tho' ſhe condeſcended too much in deſiring the Favour, which ſhe rather eſteem'd as a Piece of Juſtice. And now reſolving to run all Hazards, ſhe ſet Sail from *Calais*, and by the Benefit of a Fog, paſs'd by the *Engliſh* Fleet, which was thought to have ſtood ready to intercept her, and ſafely arriv'd in *Scotland*; where contrary to Expectation, ſhe us'd all poſſible Clemency to her Subjects, made no Changes in Religion tho' tumultuouſly ſet up, but began to govern the Kingdom by wiſe and excellent Laws. Soon after ſhe ſent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, offering all Obſervance and Readineſs to enter into a League with her, *provided ſhe might by Parliament be declar'd Heir apparent to the Crown of* England, *in Caſe ſhe dy'd without Iſſue.* This was a great Surprize to Queen *Elizabeth*, who expected nothing leſs than the Confirmation of the Treaty; ſo that the Subſtance of her Anſwer was, *That for her Amity ſhe wiſh'd her well, but as to her Propoſal, ſhe was not yet weary of her Life.* Yet to ſhow her Reſpect ſhe entertain'd her Uncles, the Dukes *D'Aumarl*, and *D'Elbeufe*, and the other *French* Lords that brought her home, and return'd through *England*, with great Splendor and Magnificence. Theſe two Queens had indeed both great Spirits, and Wiſdom, but there aroſe ſuch unhappy Jealouſies of State between them, that it kept them further aſunder in Love than in Blood, and was the Cauſe of many unkind Paſſages between them: In all which, tho' the Queen of *Scotland* was almoſt equal to the Queen of *England* in the Abilities of her Mind, yet in the Favours of Fortune ſhe was much her inferior.

The Queen of Scots *deſires a ſafe Conduct from* England.

She arrives in Scotland.

A Diſagreement between the Queens.

And

And now the wiſe and provident Princeſs, tho' ſhe found her Treaſure exhauſted, to ſecure her ſelf and People, began to furniſh her Armory with all neceſſary Proviſions for War, expending great Sums for Arms in *Germany*, and caſting great Numbers of Iron and Braſs Pieces of Cannon; which laſt was happily favour'd by a Diſcovery of a plentiful Mine of Braſs at *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, ſufficient to ſupply *England* and Foreign Nations. She likewiſe caus'd the firſt making of Gun-powder in *England*, that ſhe might not be oblig'd to beg or purchaſe it of her Neighbours. She increas'd alſo the Garriſon of *Berwick*, advanc'd their Pay, and fortify'd the Town with ſeveral new Works, which were finiſh'd in a ſhort Time. She ſent diſcreet and worthy Men to rebuild the ſtrong Caſtles within twenty Miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, and erected another upon the Banks of *Medway*, for the advantage of her Fleet; which ſhe ſo well furniſh'd and improv'd, as did not only exceed what had been ſeen by *Britain*, but Strangers worthily ſtil'd her, *The Reſtorer of the Naval Glory, and the Queen of the North-Sea.* The wealthier Inhabitants of the Sea-Coaſts did likewiſe follow the Queen's Example, in building Ships of War with all imaginable Chearfulneſs, inſomuch that the Queen's Fleet, in Conjunction with her Subject's Shipping, was able to furniſh twenty thouſand fighting Men for Sea Service. Moreover the Noblemen and Commons were in all Places as induſtrious in providing themſelves Arms; ſo that every Nobleman's Houſe was a compleat Armory. Frequent Muſters were obſerv'd, and the young Men were train'd up to the Arts of War, and exercis'd in Mock-Campaigns: And the Country People, when Licence was granted for the Tranſportation of Corn, began to follow their Husbandry with a double Diligence, and great Advantage. For the good of the Publick, ſhe increas'd the Salary of the Judges, and firſt allow'd them Proviſion for their reſpective Circuits: And tho' in many Caſes ſhe was a little ſparing, yet ſhe was never to learn where, when and how far to extend her Bounty; being really an equal Friend to Thrift, and Benefactor to Merit. In the midſt of theſe Cares and Concerns, the tall and beautiful Spire of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, five hundred and twenty Foot in Height, was burnt down by Lightning from Heaven, as it was then believ'd; for which Reaſon it was for near ſeventy Years reckoned among the ordinary *Epoches*, or Accounts of Time, in the common Almanacks; 'till an old Plumber at his Death confeſs'd that it happen'd through his Negligence, in leaving a Pan of Coals in the Steeple when he went to Dinner.

Queen Elizabeth's *Military Care of the Nation.*

The Strength of her Fleets.

St. Paul's *Steeple burnt down.*

While *England* was happy under the Government of a Maſculine Queen, *France* became miſerable under that of a Minor King. Violent Diſſentions were rais'd among the Peers, who were ſoon form'd into two Factions, both uſing the glorious Pretext of Religion: Of the one, the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Papiſt, was Head, of the other the Prince of *Conde*, a Proteſtant; and the Profeſſors of his Religion were moſt grievouſly afflicted, which by Degrees caus'd a War to break out, that was carry'd on for thirty Years together. Queen *Elizabeth* ſoon began to apprehend that *England* might feel the Heat of the neighbouring Flames: For ſhe underſtood that the *Guiſes*, to allure the King of *Navarre*, had made a private Offer to him of that Kingdom, and the Queen of *Scotland* for his Wife, together with the Kingdom of *England* in Dowry; and all this by the Wealth of *Spain*, and the Authority of the Pope, who ſhould diſſolve the Marriage of *Navarre* with his Wife, as being an Heretick, and depoſe the Queen of *England* for the ſame Reaſon. Upon which ſhe ſent over Sir *Henry Sidney*, a Perſon of approv'd Abilities, to ſound the Bottom of this Affair, and to perſuade the Heads of each Party to an Accommodation. But Matters were gone too far to admit of any Remedy of that Kind; whereupon he return'd out of *France*, and was immediately ſent to the Queen of *Scotland*, to defer the Enterview which ſhe had deſir'd with the Queen in *England*, 'till the following Year, or 'till the Wars in *France* were ended. All this was agreed; and Queen *Elizabeth*, after mature Deliberation, took into her Protection the *French* King's Subjects

A. D. 1562. Reg. 4 5.

The Troubles of France.

The Queen assists the French Protestants.

Subjects in *Normandy*, and made a Compact with the Prince of *Conde*, *Rohan*, *Coligny* and others, 'That ſhe would pay them a hundred thouſand Angels, 'and ſend them ſix thouſand Men, of which one half ſhould defend *Dieppe* and '*Roan*; and that they ſhould deliver into her Hands *Haure-de-Grace*, which 'ſhould be held by three thouſand *Engliſh* Soldiers, in the *French* King's Name, 'till *Calais* ſhould be reſtor'd. On the ſame Day that this Compact was made, ſhe by a publick Writing declar'd the Reaſons of her Proceedings; and in the Month of *September*, one Part of the *Engliſh* Army, under Sir *Adrian Poynings*, arriv'd at *Haure-de-Grace* or *Newhaven*, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants, and the other Part at *Dieppe*. After the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, General of the whole Army, they made ſome little Excurſions into the neighbouring Parts of the Country; to prevent which the *Rhinegrave* came and encamp'd near them. Nevertheleſs ſeveral ſlight Skirmiſhes paſs'd between the *French* and the *Engliſh*; and the Mariners of the Fleet in the mean Time ſcour'd the Seas, and almoſt every Day brought in rich Prizes.

Haure-de-Grace *put into her Hands.*

At home, ſeveral great Perſons were this Year call'd in Queſtion: *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, Neece to King *Henry* the Eighth, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for keeping ſecret Correſpondence with the Queen of *Scotland*, were deliver'd Priſoners to Sir *Richard Sackville*, Maſter of the Rolls, and detain'd for ſome Time. Alſo *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, Great Grand-Children to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had marry'd their Siſter, and others, were arraign'd, for Conſpiring to withdraw themſelves to the Duke of *Guiſe* in *France*; and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to proclaim the *Scotch* Queen Soveraign of *England*, and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*. All which they confeſs'd at the Bar, and were thereupon condemn'd to die; but their Lives were generouſly ſpar'd by the Queen, in regard they were of the Royal Blood. But the Lady *Catharine Gray*, Siſter to Queen *Jane*, met with leſs kind Uſage in the caſe of a ſmaller Fault: She having formerly been marry'd to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldeſt Son, and ſoon after legally divorc'd from him, afterwards ſhe was found with Child by *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*, who being at that Time in *France*, was immediately order'd to return: And being examin'd before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and affirming that they were lawfully marry'd, but not being able within a limited Time to produce Witneſſes of their Marriage, they were both committed to the Tower, where the Lady was deliver'd of a Son. Afterwards, by Connivance or Corruption of their Keepers, being ſometimes permitted to come together, ſhe was again with Child by him; which ſo provok'd the Queen, that Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was turn'd out of his Place, and the Earl was fin'd five thouſand Pounds in the Star-Chamber, and kept in Priſon nine Years after: Tho' in pleading of his Cauſe, one *John Hales* argu'd, They were lawful Man and Wife, by Virtue of their own bare Conſent, without any Eccleſiaſtical Ceremony. The unhappy Lady, afterwards with Grief falling into a mortal Sickneſs, humbly deſir'd the Queen's Pardon, for having marry'd without her Knowledge, and recommending her Children to her Clemency, dy'd in the Tower.

Several great Perſons condemn'd, yet ſav'd.

A. D. 1563. Reg. 5/6.

The ſecond Parliament in this Reign.

The Practices of the Papiſts, and the Dangers threatning both the Queen and Kingdom, occaſion'd her to call a new Parliament, which met on the twelfth of *January*, and particularly paſs'd an Act for the Preſervation of the Queen's Majeſty and the Realm, and for avoiding the future Inconveniences and Diſhonours, ariſing from the uſurp'd Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. 'In which it was made High-Treaſon for any to aſſert Thrice by Writing, 'Word or Deed, the Authority of any foreign Prince, Prelate or State, in Spi-'ritual Matters, in *England*, or any other of the Queen's Dominions; or re-'fuſe the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen in Matters Spiritual, or over Ec-'cleſiaſtical Perſons, after it had been twice tender'd; yet ſo as that they ſhould

D' Ewes &c.

'not

'not fall under an *Attainder*, nor forfeit their Goods and Chattels; nor that 'this Oath ſhould be exacted of any, but ſuch who were, had been, or 'ſhould be in Holy Orders, or did then bear, had born, or ſhould bear ſome 'Eccleſiaſtical Office; or that after Warning given, ſhould refuſe to obſerve 'the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; or ſhould diſhonour the 'ſame in Publick, or ſhould celebrate Maſs, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the Sta- 'tute it ſelf. In this Parliament ſeveral other good Laws were made, for the Relief of the Poor, the ordering of the Navy, the Support and Improvement of Tillage, beſides others for the puniſhing of Vagabonds, Forgers of Evidences, Conjurers and Fortune-Tellers, and ſuch as ſhould be guilty of Sodomy or Perjury; and one was made particularly for tranſlating the Bible into the *Welſh* Tongue. The Parliament moreover, as a Congratulation upon the happy Turn of Affairs, granted the Queen a Subſidy, beſides two Fifteenths and Tenths, in Conſideration that ſhe had reformed the Faith, reſtor'd Peace to her Kingdoms, reſcu'd *England* and *Scotland* from the common Enemy, refin'd the Coin, rebuilt the Navy, provided Ammunition for Sea and Land, and likewiſe the great Care ſhe expreſs'd towards *France* for the Security of its young King, the Safety of *England*, and the Regaining of *Calais*. So upon the tenth of *April*, the Parliament was prorogu'd to *October*, and then from Time to Time, for about three years.

The Queen's Supremacy aſſerted.

Other Acts.

The Convocation was no leſs buſily imploy'd about the Good of the Church and Publick: The Prelates had obſerv'd ſome Deviation from the Doctrine in King *Edward*'s Reign, and ſome other Irrugularities as to Diſcipline; which they were willing to impute to the Want of ſome known Rule, by which they were to regulate their Judgments, and conform their Actions. Therefore it was thought expedient, that the Book of Articles agreed in Convocation *Anno* 1552, ſhould be revis'd, and accommodated to the Uſe of the Church; all which was perform'd with the greateſt and wiſeſt Conſideration. Theſe Articles were now reduc'd to the Number of thirty nine, and publiſh'd both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, and are in full Force to this very Day. Thus was the Church of *England* fix'd and eſtabliſh'd upon a laſting Foundation, and the Reformation in a great Meaſure compleated; which was a noble Work, that with ſeveral Interminſions, had been carry'd on for above thirty Years, before it could be perfected.

The Church eſtabliſh'd.

Camden. Thuanus. Mezeray. Hoſlin.

III. Affairs were happily ſetled at home, but abroad they had a various Aſpect, and ſuch croſs and different Deſigns appear'd among the great Men in *France*, as requir'd a nice Politician to underſtand their Aims. The Wars and Diſturbances in that Country, caus'd the *French* Hoſtages, detain'd in *England* for the Payment of five hundred thouſand Crowns, if *Calais* were not reſtor'd, to prepare ſecretly to eſcape out of the Nation; but being ready to take ſhipping, they were diſcover'd, and brought back again. The Prince of *Conde* in his expeditious Journey to the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries in *Normandy*, was intercepted and taken Priſoner in the memorable Battel of *Dreux*, by the Duke of *Guiſe*: Which had been a great Diſappointment to the *Engliſh*, but the Duke of *Colen* join'd with him, beſieg'd *Caen* in *Normandy* and took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Falaiſe* and St. *Lo*. In the mean Time the Prince of *Conde*, drawn on with Hopes of marrying the Queen of *Scotland*, and to have the chief Government in *France*, during the King's Minority, concluded a Peace with the King and the *Guiſes*; ſo that now all *France*, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, requir'd to have *Haure-de Grace* deliver'd up. But the Earl of *Warwick*, perceiving the Unſteadineſs of the *French* Proteſtants, firſt to deſire his Preſence, and now upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion to require his Abſence; he ſuddenly turn'd all the Inhabitants of both Perſuaſions out of the Town, and ſiez'd on their Ships: On the other Side the *French* were ready to attack the Town, alledging, 'That they fought not now for Religion, but their Country; and it 'was neceſſary that both Parties ſhould join their Forces, ſince they had al-

'ready concluded a Peace between themſelves. And hereupon the Duke of *Montmorency* ſent a Trumpet to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to ſurrender the Town; and upon Anſwer, *That he would do nothing without his Queen's Leave*, he inveſted the Place, and carry'd on a furious Siege. This being known to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſent Orders to the Earl of *Warwick* to ſurrender upon honourable Conditions; which was accordingly perform'd in a ſhort Time, after the *Engliſh* had held the Place about eleven Months: And then return'd into *England*, without any Diſhonour in yielding up a Town, which the Peſtilence made him no leſs unwilling than unable to hold. But what was more unfortunate than the Loſs of that Place, he brought the Plague with him into *England*, which rag'd throughout the Nation, and above twenty thouſand dy'd in *London*. The Recovery of this Town not only caus'd the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of *France* openly pronounc'd, that by this War the *Engliſh* had loſt all their Right to *Calais*, and were no more to require it, ſince it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations ſhould make War upon the other: A Point much inſiſted upon afterwards.

Haure-de-Grace ſurrender'd.

A great Plague.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scotland*, was ſlain in the Heat of the War, upon which her Dowry-Mony was ſtopp'd, Duke *Hamilton* turn'd out of his Office, and the *Scots* excluded from being of the Life-Guard to the *French* King; all which that Queen highly reſented. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, another of her Uncles, being apprehenſive that this might provoke her to deſert the *French*, and court an *Engliſh* Intereſt, he once mov'd a Marriage with *Charles* of *Auſtria*, and offer'd the County of *Tyrol* in Jointure. She civilly imparted the Affair to Queen *Elizabeth*, who unwilling ſhe ſhould marry any Foreign Prince, perſuaded her to take a Husband out of *England*, and particularly recommended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley*; promiſing, *If ſhe conſented, ſhe ſhould by Act of Parliament be declar'd, her Siſter, her Daughter, and her Succeſſor, if ſhe dy'd without Iſſue.* But when her Uncles and the Queen's Mother were inform'd of this Motion, they look'd upon it with much Diſdain, and promis'd her, That if ſhe refus'd the Match, and adher'd to the *French* Intereſt, all her Dowry ſhould be paid, and the *Scots* reſtor'd to their former Privileges in *France*. They further ſuggeſted to her, *That Queen* Elizabeth *could never be in earneſt, when ſhe made this Propoſal, as expecting to have* Dudley *her ſelf, and deſiring that the other ſhould never marry*. The Queen of *Scotland* came to no Reſolution in this Matter, but referr'd her ſelf to a Conference; having her Thoughts extreamly employ'd about her Affairs at home, which now were in great Confuſion and Diſorder. As for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Ambaſſador here in *England*, but rather by way of Compliment, and to watch Advantages, than for any real Affection; which he began to withdraw from the *Engliſh*, as ſuſpecting them to deſign a Trade in the *Weſt-Indies*.

The Queen of Scots *Deſigns as to Marriage.*

This being the ſixth of this Queen's Reign, prov'd a fatal Year for the Death of many great Perſons. Firſt for that of *William* Lord *Gray*, of *Wilton*, Governor of *Berwick*, a Man famous for his great Services in War, and his Incouraging the Reformation. *William* Lord *Paget*, a Man as highly uſeful in Matters of Peace, who by his great Merits had advanc'd himſelf to many great Places; and tho' he was zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet he was held in great Eſtimation by the Queen to the laſt part of his Life. Next dy'd *Henry Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, deſcended by his Mother from King *Edward* the Fourth. And laſtly *Frances* Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* and King *Henry*'s Siſter *Mary*; after ſhe had ſeen her eldeſt Daughter *Jane* proclaim'd Queen, and beheaded with her Husband; her ſecond Daughter *Catharine*, divorc'd from her Husband, and confin'd to the Tower; her third Daughter *Mary* thrown away upon an unequal Match; and her ſelf, for-

The Death of ſeveral great Perſons.

getting her noble Deſcent, marry'd to *Adrian Stokes*, a mean Gentleman, which tho' it prov'd to her Diſhonour, ſhe did it for her Security.

In the following Year great Complaints were rais'd, that the *Engliſh* Merchants were injuriouſly treated both in *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, upon Pretence of civil Differences, but chiefly out of Hatred to the Proteſtant Religion. Upon which the *Engliſh* remov'd their Mart or Staple of *Engliſh* Cloaths and Commodities to *Emden* in *Freezland*. At this Time *Camden* aſſures us, that the Commerce between *England* and the *Netherlands* amounted to above twelve Millions of Ducats, and the *Engliſh* Cloaths alone to five. Therefore *Goiſman* the *Spaniſh* Agent, finding the great Damages that the *Netherlands* ſuſtain'd by theſe Differences, us'd all Methods to compoſe them; and upon that Affair the Viſcount *Montague*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Maſter of the Requeſts, were ſent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many Interruptions, brought the Affair at laſt to a tollerable Agreement. A. D. 1564. Reg. 6/7. *Foreign Trade regulated.*

But a greater Affair ſtill was tranſacted this Year: For when the Heat of the War between *England* and *France* was rather imperfectly ſmother'd, than intirely extinguiſh'd, Queen *Elizabeth*, having been ungratefully treated by the *French* Proteſtants, reſolv'd no longer to hazard her own Safety to ſecure other Mens, and began to entertain cool and ſerious Thoughts as to a Peace. This was negotiated by Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Perſon of great Senſe and Conduct; and *Throgmorton*, who was a kind of a Priſoner at large in *France*, was join'd with him in the ſame Commiſſion. *France* ſubmitted the Matter to the Management of the Biſhop of *Orleans* and the chief Secretary; who in *April* concluded a Peace at *Troyes* in *Champain*: The Subſtance of which was 'That 'there ſhould be a free Trade on both Sides; and no Rebels to be ſhelter'd, 'nor no Letters of Repriſal to be granted: That the Reſervation of all Rights, 'Titles, Claims and Demands, ſhall remain on both Sides ſafe and intire. That 'a certain Sum of Mony ſhall be paid to the Queen of *England*, at appointed 'Times: That the Hoſtages, for the Reſtoration of *Calais*, ſhould be return'd 'from *England*, upon the Payment of ſix hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns; 'and *Throgmorton* ſhould be at full Liberty. This Peace was ratify'd by Oath, both from the Crowns of *England* and *France*; and the *French* ſhew'd many ſignal Inſtances of their Joy and Satisfaction; and not long after the *French* King was inveſted with the noble Order of the *Garter* from *England*, with all the uſual Ceremonies and Solemnities. *A Peace concluded with France.*

Camden. Heylin.

IV. A general Peace being thus eſtabliſh'd, the Queen was at leiſure to take ſome particular View of her Kingdom, and accordingly went in Progreſs to enjoy the Pleaſures of the Country, and viſited the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. There ſhe was receiv'd with the higheſt Marks of Honour, and entertain'd with Tragedies, Commedies and Scolaſtical Diſputations. She view'd every College, and in a *Latin* Oration of her own, acknowledg'd their Civilities, commended their Plenty and Variety of good Learning, and recommended the Study of it to their firſt and greateſt Care, with a Promiſe that ſhe would be always ready to promote and incourage them. At this Time, as Doctor *Heylin* informs us, were unhappily ſown the Seeds of thoſe Diviſions, which have ever ſince diſtracted the Church of *England*. For it happen'd that Mr. *Preſton* of King's-College, and Mr. *Cartwright* of *Trinity*-College, were appointed for two in the Divinity Diſputation; in which the firſt, by reaſon of his graceful Perſon and Demeanour, was both lik'd and rewarded by the Queen, while the other receiv'd neither Reward nor Commendation: Which, according to this Author, ſo incens'd this proud and opiniated Man, that he retir'd to *Geneva*, where being throughly inform'd of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of that Eſtabliſhment, he return'd home with a Deſign to repair his Credit, or to gain himſelf a Name, by raiſing ſuch Flames in the Church, as could not be extinguiſh'd but by the immediate Hand of Heaven. *The Queen viſits Cambridge.* *The Beginnings of Presbitery in England.*

At the Queen's Return, she began farther to advance her mighty Favourite *Robert Dudley*, the Master of her Horse; who now was made Baron *Denbigh*, and had receiv'd all the Possessions belonging to the Honour; and to recommend him to the Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, he was the next Day made Earl of *Leicester*, which Honour was conferr'd upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. This prodigious Man was now in the Verdure and most flow'ring Spring of his Youth, of a graceful Behaviour, a stately Carriage, a beautiful Face, a modest and grave Look, and in outward shew of a pleasant and easie Disposition; and being endow'd with all those flattering Accomplishments the City and Court could produce, he had insinuated himself into the Favour and Familiarity of the Queen, by his specious shews of Loyalty, Industry and Vigilance in her Service, and long manag'd the greatest Station in the Court, and was reputed the prime Minister of State. His Brother *Ambrose*, who was made Earl of *Warwick*, was Heir to the Estate, but he to the Abilities of his Family; for he had all the Arts and Policies of his Father: He was the most reserv'd Man of that Age, who saw all, and was invisible himself; carying a Depth not to be fathom'd but by the *Searcher of Hearts*. He became afterwards sullen to his Superiors, haughty to his Equals, insolent to his Inferiors, ungrateful to his Friends, and pernicious to his Enemies; and in a Word, insupportable to all but the Queen. He put himself forwards, and assum'd the distant Employments of Peace and War; was continually working to find the Studies, Abilities, Forces and Dispositions of other Men; and so great was his Application and Parts, that he rarely miscarry'd in his Enquiries. He by his Interest advanc'd his Dependants, Kindred and Relations, to all Honours and Employments; and when he found the Opportunity, he as craftily sold his Mistress's Favours, and the Employments he had taken from others. He had by his subtle Projects and Counsels ingross'd all the Rewards of Virtue, Riches, Honours, Attendants, and the first Place of Minister of State; and he manag'd them, and liv'd without any Religion towards God, or Fidelity to Men, making it his great Design to cover all Things with Luxury, Cruelties and Rapines. For a considerable Time few were call'd to the Council-Table, or admitted to Titles of Honour, but by his Commendation and Procurement; so that he seem'd not so much to be the Queen's particular Favourite, as her Partner in the Soveraign Power, and was accordingly courted and revered by the rest of the Nobility. If we may believe some Mens Characters of him, he had all the Tyranny, Insolence and most aspiring Ambition of the worst of Favourites, and all the Luxury, Treachery, and most abominable Villanies of the worst of Men; and Queen *Elizabeth*, with all her Virtues and Excellencies, was scarce able to secure her self from being made infamous and unfortunate by the monstrous Wickedness of this Earl.

Boh. Drake.

The Character of the Earl of Leicester.

Having his Honours heap'd upon him, in order to gain the Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, he immediately accus'd the Lord Keeper *Bacon* to the Queen, as having interpos'd in the Succession of *Scotland*, and being privy to a Book in which *Hales* endeavour'd to derive the Title of the Crown of *England* to the House of *Suffolk*, in case the Queen dy'd without Issue. Hereupon *Hales* was committed to the Tower; but *Bacon*, tho' he deny'd it, was with much Difficulty restor'd to Favour by the Means of *Cecil*, who in this Point kept his Judgment first lock'd within his Breast, and so always resolv'd to do, *Unless the Queen her self commanded him to deliver it*. These Transactions were not hid from the Queen of *Scotland*, who to prevent any *English* Designs, sent for *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, who had marry'd *Margaret Douglas*, Neece to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Eldest Sister, and had been kept as an Exile in *England* for twenty Years. That Queen invited him into *Scotland*, under Pretence of restoring him to his ancient Patrimony; but in Reality to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darnly*; for he being reputed Heir to the Crown of *England*, next to her self, she thought by matching

The Queen of Scots designs to marry the Lord Darnly.

ing with his Son, to ſtrengthen her own Title, and to prevent the Hopes of others. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon earneſt Sollicitation, gave the Earl leave to go; but ſoon after ſuſpecting the *Scotch* Queen's Intentions, by way of Prevention, ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Randolph*, to remonſtrate to her, 'That if ſhe 'proceeded in the Match, ſhe would exceedingly injure her ſelf; for it was ſo 'highly diſlik'd by the *Engliſh*, that ſhe was forc'd to prorogue her Parliament, 'to prevent ſomething being enacted againſt her Right of Succeſſion: But if ſhe 'would marry the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſhe ſhould then be declar'd next Heir to 'England in Parliament: Hereupon, in *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randolph* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earls of *Murray* and *Liddington* for Queen *Mary*, at *Berwick* enter'd into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners urg'd the great Benefits that this Match would bring to the Queen of *Scotland*, and her whole Kingdom: On the other ſide the *Scotch* alledg'd the great Diſparagement it would be to their Queen, if after her Refuſal of ſo many honourable Matches, ſhe ſhould condeſcend to ſo mean a Perſon as the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This Affair was long depending, partly becauſe the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were ſo inſtructed by Queen *Elizabeth*; and partly becauſe the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had a Deſire to hinder their Queen from all Matches; and partly becauſe the Earl of *Leiceſter*, having ſtill Hopes of obtaining Queen *Elizabeth*, by ſecret Letters warn'd the Earl of *Bedford*, not too much to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, but privately to favour the Lord *Darnly*.

Queen Elizabeth *propoſes the Earl of* Leiceſter.

Spotſwood. Melvil: &c.

This Affair being thus protracted for a long Space, the Queen of *Scotland*, impatient of longer Delays, found Means to obtain Leave of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Lord *Darnly* might go into *Scotland*, only for three Months, to be a Partner of his Father's Reſtoration. Accordingly in *February* he came to *Edinburgh*; and being a Gentleman of nineteen Years of Age, of a beautiful and noble Preſence, and of a fine and ſweet Diſpoſition, the Queen immediately fell in Love with him: Yet modeſtly diſſembling her Thoughts, ſhe firſt ſent to procure a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, becauſe of their nearneſs in Conſanguinity. And now her Inclination being grown ſo apparent, that ſhe could no longer conceal it, ſhe ſent *Liddington* to Queen *Elizabeth* to deſire her Conſent. But ſhe, by the ſly Suggeſtions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induc'd to believe, that the *Scotch* Queen deſign'd by this Marriage both to gain the Crown of *England*, and to introduce Popery, enter'd into Conſultation with her Privy-Council, how to hinder the Match. Here it was concluded, that the moſt effectual Means were: Firſt to have a ſufficient Number of Soldiers for Terror's ſake about the Borders of *Scotland*: Next to impriſon the Counteſs of *Lenox*, Mother to the Lord *Darnly*, and to recall the Earl and his Son from *Scotland*, upon Pain of the Loſs of all their Poſſeſſions in *England*: Then that thoſe *Scots* who were known to be averſe to the Marriage, ſhould be reliev'd and aſſiſted: And laſtly, that *Catharine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, ſhould be receiv'd into ſome Favour, as being the only Perſons whom the Queen of *Scotland* eſteem'd as her Co-Rivals in the Succeſſion. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* to adviſe her in the Queen's Name not to proceed in the Marriage, and to ſhew her the numerous Inconveniences that would ariſe from it. But ſhe anſwer'd, *That the Matter was too far gone to be recall'd, and that the Queen of* England *had no cauſe to be diſpleas'd, ſince ſhe had now follow'd her former Advice, Not to match with a Foreigner but an* Engliſhman *born.*

A. D. 1565. Reg. 7/8.

The Queen of Scots *falls in love with the Lord* Darnly.

Queen Elizabeth *endeavours to hinder the Marriage.*

Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd of this Anſwer, immediately call'd home the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Darnly* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modeſtly excus'd himſelf by Letters; and the Son humbly begg'd of her not to be a Hindrance to his Preferment, which he vow'd to employ in her Majeſty's Service, to the utmoſt of his Power. And now to make him a more proper Match, the *Scotch* Queen firſt honour'd him with

with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rothſay*; which Dukedom by Birth belongs to the eldeſt Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, before he had been five Months in *Scotland*, ſhe marry'd him; and with the Conſent of many of the Peers, declar'd him King. Never did a Marriage prove more calamitous to the Parties themſelves, more diſhonourable to the Nation, or finally more ſcandalous to both Religions; and fortunate in nothing but the Birth of *James* the Sixth, who became the firſt Governor of both Kingdoms. Upon this the Earl of *Murray* and his Party were extreamly inrag'd, and began to move turbulent Queſtions, 'As whether it was lawful to admit a Popiſh King? Whether the 'Queen of *Scotland* could chuſe a Husband at her own Pleaſure? And whether 'the Peers of the Kingdom might not of their own Authority impoſe one upon 'her? But however they took up Arms, and had diſturb'd the Nuptials, but that the Queen levy'd an Army to oppoſe them; with which ſhe purſu'd them ſo cloſely, that they were forc'd to fly into *England* for Protection; where Queen *Elizabeth* made no ſcruple to receive them, ſince the *Scotch* Queen had before receiv'd *Taxley*, *Standon* and *Walſh*, who were fled out of *England*. The politick Queen of *England*, tho' expreſſing an open Diſpleaſure, was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly becauſe of the mild Diſpoſition of the Lord *Darnly*, and the ſmall Acceſs of Strength it brought to the Queen of *Scotland*; but chiefly becauſe ſhe ſaw that great Troubles would ariſe in *Scotland* about it, which would certainly promote the Quiet of *England*, which, as the true Mother of her Country, was the principal Thing ſhe endeavour'd.

The Queen of Scots *Marriage with the Lord* Darnly.

Troubles ariſe upon it in Scotland.

New Propoſals of Marriage to Queen Elizabeth.

Upon this Marriage, thoſe for the Proteſtant Intereſt in *England*, thought nothing could more effectually promote that End, than if Queen *Elizabeth* would be pleas'd to marry her ſelf, and ſo defeat all the Queen of *Scotland*'s Hopes as to the Succeſſion. And very ſeaſonably for that Purpoſe, the Emperor *Maximilian* did now renew his former Suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Auſtria*, by his Ambaſſador *Adam Smircorite*. The Propoſal was much oppos'd by the proud Earl of *Leiceſter*, and as much promoted by the brave Earl of *Suſſex*, who was almoſt the only Man who durſt withſtand him: Which occaſion'd ſo great a Conteſt between them, that the Court became divided into Parties and Factions; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carry'd vaſt Retinues of armed Servants. But after a few Days the Queen interpos'd and reconcil'd them, or rather occaſion'd them to ſmother their Reſentments. As for the Feuds of the Nobility, and that vulgar Motto, *Divide & Impera*, now us'd as a mock Phraſe, the good Queen utterly condemn'd; as being of Opinion, that the Force of Authority lay moſt in the ready Inclinations of ſuch as were to obey. Every thing ſhe ſaid or did was worthy of her ſelf; and her Praiſes reſounding in all Kingdoms of the North and Weſt, did now invite *Cecily*, Siſter to the King of *Sweden*, and Wife to the Marqueſs of *Baden*, to undertake a tedious Journey both by Sea and Land, from the furtheſt Parts of the North, to ſee the Splendor of her Court, and obſerve the Wiſdom of her Government. While ſhe was at the *Engliſh* Court ſhe was deliver'd of a Son, to whom, in Requital of her Kindneſs, the Queen was God-Mother, and gave him the Name of *Edward Fortunatus*, beſides an annual Penſion to her and her Huſband. At this Time alſo, for the great Fame of her Wiſdom, *Donald Mac-Carty*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and deliver'd into her Hands his ample Territories; and then receiv'd them again to hold them to him and his Heirs, and for want of ſuch to revert to the Queen. She likewiſe in Requital inveſted him with the Honour of Earl of *Glencarn*, and his Son with the Baron of *Valence*; and beſides many Preſents given him, ſhe paid the Charges of his Journey.

Which cauſes Factions in the Court.

The King of Sweden's Siſter comes to viſit the Queen

And alſo Donald Mac-Carty.

A. D. 1561. Reg. 2/9. To add to the Reputation of this mighty Queen, in the Beginning of the following Year *Charles* King of *France* ſent his Ambaſſador *Ramboulet* into *England*, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of St. *Michael*, to beſtow

ſtow on which two of her Nobility ſhe pleas'd. She made choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the one for his Nobility, and the other out of Amity; and accordingly they were inveſted with that Honour which had never been conferr'd upon any *Engliſh* Man, but *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, tho' afterwards proſtituted with too little Diſtinction. After this the Queen took her Progreſs into the Country for her Recreation; and to ſhew her ſelf no leſs favourable to the Muſes at *Oxford*, than ſhe had been at *Cambridge*, ſhe made a Viſit to that Univerſity; where ſhe receiv'd a magnificent Entertainment, and ſtaid ſeven Days. She was extreamly delighted with the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, the Beauty of the Colleges, and the Wit and Learning of the Students, who diverted her in the Days with curious Diſputations, and at Nights with Tragedies and Comedies: For which ſhe with great Sweetneſs return'd them her Thanks in a *Latin* Oration, and took of them and the Place a moſt gracious Farewel.

The Order of St. Michael ſent over to her.

She makes a Viſit to Oxford.

Beſides the Diverſions of this Year, the Queen was entertain'd with ſomething of another Nature, which gave her a Mixture of Diſquiet and Curioſity; which was the News of the *Scotch* Queen's Delivery of a Son, upon the nineteenth Day of *June*, brought her by Sir *James Melvil*. With all her Spirit and Greatneſs ſhe ſecretly envy'd her Rival the Honour of being a Mother before her; and could not conceal her Uneaſineſs from ſome of her Ladies, ſaying, *The Queen of* Scotland *has brought forth a Prince, but I am a barren Tree.* Yet ſhe diſpatch'd away Sir *Henry Killegrew* to congratulate her ſafe Delivery, and the Birth of an Heir: And being afterwards deſir'd to be God-Mother to the Royal Infant, ſhe readily ſent over the Earl of *Bedford*, with a noble Preſent of a Golden Font; but expreſly commanded, that neither he, nor any *Engliſh* Man in his Company, ſhould give the Title of King to the Lord *Darnly*. On the fifteenth Day of *December*, the Baptiſm was ſolemniz'd with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Prince was publickly proclaim'd by his Names and Titles, CHARLES JAMES, *Prince and Steward of* Scotland, *Duke of* Rothſay, *Earl of* Carrick, *Lord of the* Iſles, *and Baron of* Renfrew.

The Birth of King James *in* Scotland.

But before this paſs'd, the Parliament of *England* met, after it had been ſeveral Times prorogu'd from the Year 1563. They ſoon fell into a warm Debate upon the ſubject Matter of the Succeſſion, and moving the Queen to marry; in which Points ſome proceeded ſo far as to accuſe the Queen, as one diſregarding Poſterity; to defame *Cecil* with Libels and Reproaches, as a great Counſellor in this Matter, but above all to curſe Dr. *Huic*, her Phyſician, who was thought to diſſuade her from Marriage, on Pretence of ſome ſecret Impediment. At length in the Houſe of Lords it was agreed, that the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, ſhould in all their Names humbly beſeech the Queen to marry; and withal to declare a Succeſſor to the Crown, in caſe ſhe dy'd without Iſſue: For which he gave her many Reaſons, 'Laying open the great Miſchiefs that threat-'en'd the Kingdom, if ſhe ſhould die before a Succeſſor was appointed. But in the Houſe of Commons, *Bell* and *Mouſon*, two great Lawyers, and ſome others, proceeded to bolder Expreſſions, and a Diſparagement of the Queen's Authority, declaring, 'That Princes were oblig'd to appoint a Succeſſor; and 'in refuſing to do it, the Queen would ſhew her ſelf no better than a Parricide 'of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear Words ſpoken in Parliament, which ſhe would not have indur'd in another Place: But not willing to expoſtulate the matter with the whole Body, ſhe commanded thirty of the Upper Houſe, and as many of the Lower, ſhould attend her; whom ſhe qualify'd with the moſt obliging Expreſſions; and after a Reproof that carry'd a Sweetneſs mix'd with Majeſty, ſhe diverted them from their Reſolutions, promiſing them not only the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderneſs of a Mother. And whereas the Parliament had offer'd extraordinary Subſidies, on Condition ſhe would declare her Succeſſor, ſhe utterly refus'd thoſe unuſual Grants, accepted

The ſecond Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament of this Reign.

The Queen deſir'd to marry.

She qualifies their Heats.

cepted of an ordinary Sum; and then remitted the fourth Part of what was granted, generouſly declaring, *That Mony in her Subjects Purſes, was as good as in her own Exchequer.* And on the laſt Day of the Parliament, ſhe made ſuch an affectionate Speech to both Houſes, as ſtifl'd all Commotions; which were ſo ſetled and compos'd by Time, that few but Malecontents and Seditious Perſons appear'd ſollicitous in the Buſineſs of a Succeſſor.

Epiſcopacy Eſtabliſh'd.

During this Parliament, beſides other things for the publick Advantage, by Reaſon of the unjuſt Pretences of *Bonner*, and ſome others, it was unanimouſly declar'd, 'That the Election, Conſecration, Confirmation and Inſtalment of 'Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of *England*, were Lawful; and that the ſaid Bi-'ſhops were duly elected and conſecrated according to the Laws and Statutes of 'the Land. And it was likewiſe enacted, that both they, and ſuch as ſhould 'be hereafter conſecrated, were and ſhould be eſteem'd as rightly and duly con-'ſecrated, notwithſtanding any former Law or Canon to the contrary. And thus the Church of *England*, as it were, had its finiſhing Stroke; and had all the neceſſary Advantages of a Human, as well as a Heavenly Eſtabliſhment.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

And now having finiſh'd all Buſineſs, the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the ſecond Day of *January*.

A. D. 1567. Reg. 9/10.

V. The great Queen of *England*, and her Kingdom, were now in a happy and flouriſhing Condition; but the *Scots* and their Queen began at this Time to fall into infinite Troubles and Diſtractions; the Riſe of which, among others, proceeded from the ambitious Earl of *Murray*. This Man was the natural Son of King *James* the Fifth, and ſo the baſe Brother of the Queen; made at firſt Prior of St. *Andrews*, but not pleas'd with that Religious Title, he rather affected ſome Temporal Honour. This being deny'd him when the Queen was in *France*, he in a ſullen manner return'd into *Scotland*, where by the Advice of *Knox*, whom he eſteem'd a great Patriarch, he ſo manag'd Affairs, that in an Aſſembly of the States, the Religion was alter'd, and the *French* baniſh'd out of *Scotland*. Yet as ſoon as the Queen was a Widow, he haſten'd into *France*, and ſo ingratiated himſelf with her, that ſhe created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he return'd into *Scotland*; where to ſooth his ambitious Deſigns, he ſow'd Seeds of Sedition, often complaining of the Miſeries of a Female Government, and affirming, *That Soveraignty was not to be confin'd to any Family or Kindred, but to Virtue alone, whether the Parties were Legitimate or not*; by which he endeavour'd to make way for himſelf to the Kingdom. To this End he us'd all Methods to ſecure the Queen from marrying again; but that not ſucceeding, he was compell'd to fly into *Englaud*; where notwithſtanding, he ſtill by his Agents found means to create Diſcord between her and her Husband. The Love that was ſo warm now daily diminiſh'd; and ſhe that had ſo ſuddenly heap'd Honours upon him, was now as ready to withdraw them: For whereas in publick Acts, ſhe was wont to place her Husband's Name firſt, now ſhe caus'd it to be plac'd laſt, and in the Coining of Mony began to leave it quite out. This Unkindneſs between them was much fomented by one *David Rizio*, an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, firſt as a Muſician, and afterwards as her Secretary for the *French* Tongue; and after that he became ſo much in Favour, that it reflected no ſmall Diſhonour upon the Queen, being often allow'd ſecret Conferences with her, when the King her Husband could not be admitted. The King himſelf, being much addicted to his Pleaſures of Hunting and Hawking, did not ſo much reſent this Indignity, as ſome Lords who were his Friends; who told him plainly, *That it was not conſiſtent with his Honour to ſuffer this inſolent Man to live.* Being fir'd with the Senſe of Injury, at an appointed Time, the King with the Lord *Ruthven* and others with drawn Swords ruſh'd into the Queen's Appartment when ſhe was at Supper; where finding *Rizio* at the ſame Table, he ſeiz'd upon

Great Troubles in Scotland, *from the Earl of* Murray.

Melvil. Spotſwood Camden. Thuanus &c.

The Murder of David Rizio.

on him, while he hung about the Queen's Waſte for Protection, and dragg'd him into another Chamber, where with many Wounds he was murther'd; the Queen being at that Time big with Child, and near miſcarrying with the Fright. This Fountain of Blood being open'd, a new Stream follow'd: For not many Months after, the King was firſt poiſon'd, and ſhortly after barbarouſly murther'd in his Bed at Midnight; and to make the Surprize the greater, the Houſe was blown up by Gun-powder, and his Body thrown out into an Orchard. *And of the King.*

The Rumour of this Murther being ſpread abroad, common Fame immediately laid it upon *Murray*, lately recall'd home, and upon *Morton* and *Bothwell*; and they on the other Side charg'd it upon the Queen: But we are not to give Credit to *Buchanan*'s Account of it, who to ingratiate himſelf with the Earl of *Murray*, wrote moſt ſcandalouſly concerning the Queen; of all which he earneſtly repented and acknowledg'd before his Death. The King thus murther'd, and the Queen left alone to her ſelf, ſhe was ſoon adviſ'd to marry with ſome Perſon that might be able to aſſiſt her againſt all Oppoſers: *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, being then highly in her Favour, and eminent for his Courage and Valour; and tho' he was one who committed the Murther, yet he was by *Murray* and his Confederates recommended to the Queen. To this Motion, as being deſtitute of Friends, and not knowing whom to truſt in theſe dangerous Times, ſhe at laſt conſented; but upon theſe Conditions, that above all Things, Reſpect ſhould be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* ſhould firſt be legally acquitted both from the King's Murther, and from the Obligation of his former Marriage. Hereupon a Project was contriv'd, by which *Bothwell* was formally call'd to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, and *Lenox* his chief Accuſer not daring to appear, he was fully acquitted by Sentence of the Judges. Upon this he was created Duke of *Orkney*, and by the Conſent of ſeveral of the Nobility, was precipitately marry'd to the Queen; which Action increas'd the Suſpicion of many, that the Queen was an Acceſſary in the Murther, the Belief of which was the only thing they intended by the Marriage. This Suſpicion being blown up to the Heighth, *Murray* politickly retir'd to *France*; and the ſame Perſons who had acquitted *Bothwell*, and gave him their Conſents to marry the Queen, immediately took up Arms againſt him. But ſtill they gave him ſecret Notice to provide for himſelf; both to prevent his Diſcovering the Plot, if once taken, and alſo to make uſe of his Flight, the more plauſibly to charge the Queen with her Husband's Murther. After that they proceeded ſo far as to ſeize on her Perſon, and treated her after the moſt contemptuous Manner, and allowing her but ordinary Cloathing, they impriſon'd her at *Loch-Levin*, and put her into the Cuſtody of *Murray*'s Mother; who having been Miſtreſs to *James* the Fifth, inſulted over the captiv'd Queen's Misfortunes, and boaſted that ſhe was the lawful Wife of King *James*, and that her Son *Murray* was his Legitimate Iſſue. All theſe Miſeries did King *James* bring upon his Kingdom, and unfortunate Daughter, by breaking the Precepts of Heaven with one Woman; the common Effects of unlawful Love in Princes and great Men, and naturally more fatal than in inferior Perſons. *The Queen marries the Earl of Bothwell.* *She is made a Priſoner.*

When Queen *Elizabeth* had Notice of this unexpected Revolution, ſhe ſent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland* to expoſtulate with the Confederates, concerning this ſtrange Uſage of their Queen; and to conſult by what means ſhe might recover her Liberty. *Throgmorton* found the Confederates more inſolent than had been reported: Being divided in their Opinion concerning their Proceedings with the Queen, ſome adviſ'd to have her perpetually baniſh'd into *England* or *France*; others, to have her examin'd before the Judges, committed to perpetual Cuſtody, and her Son proclaim'd King: But ſome, more inhuman, would have her at once depriv'd of Regal Authority and Life; and this was the Doctrine of *Knox*, and ſome other Miniſters, in their Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other Side, 'Alledg'd many Paſſages out of the Scriptures con- *Queen Elizabeth interpoſes by her Agent Throgmorton.*

'cerning Obedience to the higher Powers, and maintain'd, that the Queen was 'ſubject to no Tribunal under Heaven; that there was no Office nor Juriſdiction in *Scotland*, but was deriv'd from her Authority, and revokable at her 'Pleaſure. They again oppos'd, 'The peculiar Right of the Kingdom of *Scot-* '*land*; and that in extraordinary Emergencies, extraordinary Decrees muſt be 'made; borrowing the Arguments of *Buchanan*, who at that time wrote a Dialogue, in which he endeavour'd to prove, that the People have Power both to create and depoſe their King. After long Debates, all that *Throgmorton* could gain from them was a Writing without any Subſcription, in which they proteſted, 'They had ſecur'd the Queen for no other Deſign, but to keep her 'from *Bothwell*, whom ſhe lov'd ſo deſperately, that to enjoy him, ſhe regar- 'ded not all their Ruins; deſiring him to reſt ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, 'till 'the reſt of the Peers could meet. And notwithſtanding all his Arguments, they brought the Queen to a more ſevere Reſtraint, tho' in the humbleſt Manner ſhe beſought them to deal more gently with her, and let her but once have a Sight of her Son; which would not be granted her. At length, when civil Perſuaſions would not prevail to make her freely reſign her Kingdom, they openly threaten'd her to bring her to a publick Trial for Incontinence, Murther, and Tyranny; ſo that through Fear of Death, ſhe was compell'd, unheard, to ſet her Hand to three Inſtruments: By the Firſt of which, ſhe reſign'd the Crown to her Son, then ſcarce thirteen Months old: By the Second, ſhe conferr'd the Regency upon *Murray*, during the Minority of her Son: In caſe he refus'd it, the Third conferr'd that Power upon the Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*, with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Lenox*, *Atholl*, *Morton*, *Glencarn* and *Marre*. Next ſhe repreſented to the Queen of *England*, that ſhe reſign'd upon Force, and by the Counſel of *Throgmorton*, who told her that ſuch an extorted Reſignation was void of it ſelf.

The Queen of the Scots *reſigns her Crown to her Son.*

King James *crowned at thirteen Months of Age.*

Five Days after this Reſignation, *Charles James* the Queen's young Son was anointed and crown'd King, by the Name of *James* the Sixth; and *John Knox* preach'd the Coronation Sermon: And the *Hamiltons* enter'd a Proteſtation, that it ſhould not prejudice the Title of the Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault* to the Succeſſion, in Oppoſition to the Houſe of *Lenox*. But Queen *Elizabeth* forbid *Throgmorton* to be preſent at the Solemnity, leſt ſhe might be thought to give Countenance to this uncommon Proceeding by the Appearance of her Ambaſſador. Fifteen Days after, *Murray* himſelf return'd out of *France* into *Scotland*, and ſhortly repair'd to the Queen with ſome other of the Confederates, who charg'd her with many heavy Crimes, and urg'd her, as ſhe tender'd her Life and Honour, to obſerve theſe Preſcriptions: 'Not to diſturb the Peace 'of the Kingdom, nor deſire to be at Liberty: Not to excite the Queen of '*England*, or the King of *France* to infeſt *Scotland* with any foreign or do- 'meſtick War; nor to think any more of *Bothwell*'s Love, or mediate any Re- 'venge upon *Bothwell*'s Adverſaries. *Murray* being now proclaim'd Regent of *Scotland*, bound himſelf under his Hand and Seal to act nothing concerning War or Peace, the King's Perſon or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the Conſent of the Confederates; and then gave *Throgmorton* Notice by *Lydinton*, not to make any further Interceſſion for the Queen's Liberty, *for he and the reſt were reſolv'd to run the utmoſt Hazards rather than conſent to it.* Shortly after he executed *John Hepburn*, *Daglaſh*, and ſome other of *Bothwell*'s Servants, for being concern'd in the Murther of the King. But they, contrary to Expectation, when ready to die, moſt ſolemnly proteſted, *That* Bothwell *had told them, that* Murray *and* Morton *were the firſt Authors of the Murther.* They freed the Queen from all Suſpicion; as did *Bothwell* himſelf afterwards, who when Priſoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, declar'd the Queen was Innocent. And fourteen Years after, *Morton* going to Execution, confeſs'd that *Bothwell* had urg'd him to conſent to the Murther; but when he refus'd, unleſs he had the Queen's Hand for his Warrant, *Both-*

Murray *made Regent.*

Some Executions.

well

well anſwer'd, *That could not be, for the Fact was to be done without her Knowledge.* But as to the unfortunate Queen, notwithſtanding all the Solicitations of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*, they could not procure her Liberty.

Calais *demanded in vain.*

As to the *French* Affairs, the eight Years limited for the Delivery of *Calais* to the *Engliſh* were now expired; and Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *William Winter* were ſent into *France* to demand it; but they ſo delay'd and protracted the Debate, that by Degrees it expired in Silence, by means of Civil Wars ariſing in *France*. And without doubt the *French* never deſign'd to reſtore it, for as ſoon as it was taken, they threw down the old Forts, and built others, let out the Houſes and Lands for fifty Years, and gave ſome away for ever. While this was Negotiating in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the former deſign'd Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*; about which the Queen had lately ſent the Earl of *Suſſex* to the Emperor; in which Service that Earl us'd his utmoſt Endeavours, that the Queen might be marry'd to a Prince, and *Leiceſter* be diſappointed of his Hopes. Nothing was more frequently ſaid by *Suſſex* than *that a Foreign Prince was to be preferr'd before the nobleſt* Engliſh *Man, whether we reſpect Honour, Power or Riches.* Inſomuch that one of the other Party pleaſantly reply'd, *That where thoſe three only were regarded in Marriage, the World and the Devil were the Match-makers.* *Suſſex* ſtaid five Months in *Auſtria*, and was honourably entertain'd at the Emperor's Charge; but many Difficulties ariſing about Religion, Maintenance, Titles, and the Succeſſion, time wore out thoſe Propoſals that had been ſeven Years making by honourable Mediators. The Arch-Duke not long after marry'd the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Daughter; yet both he and the Emperor ever after continu'd a good Correſpondence with the Queen. About the ſame time Ambaſſadors came from *Muſcovy* with rich Furs of Sables, and the like, and made large Offers to the Queen which were accepted; from whence the Company of *Ruſſia* Merchants had its firſt Eſtabliſhment. With the Ambaſſadors, *Anthony Jenkinſon* return'd into *England*, who in his Travels had made curious Obſervations of *Muſcovy* or *Ruſſia*, ſet out a Geographical Deſcription of it, and was the firſt of the *Engliſh* that ſail'd through the *Caſpian* Sea. In the ſame Year, *June* the eighth, Sir *Thomas Sackvile* was created Baron of *Buckhurſt*.

The Duke of Auſtria *revives his Suit.*

The Ruſſia *Company begun.*

A. D. 1568. Reg. 10 11.

Having before paſs'd over the firſt Act of the Queen of the *Scots* Tragedy, we are now arriv'd at the ſecond; having been eleven Months detain'd Priſoner, by the Aſſiſtance of *George Douglaſs*, to whoſe Brother ſhe was committed, ſhe made her Eſcape from *Loch-Levin* to *Hamilton*'s Caſtle. Here upon the Teſtimonies of *Robert Melvil*, and others, in an Aſſembly of a great Part of the Nobility, a Declaratory Sentence was pronounc'd, 'That the Re-'ſignation extorted from the Queen, during Confinement, was abſolutely void 'from the Beginning. Upon which Declaration great Multitudes repair'd to her, ſo that within two Days ſhe had gotten an Army of ſix thouſand Men; but when they ventur'd to join Battel with *Murray*, being raw and undiſciplin'd, they were ſoon defeated. In this melancholy Condition, the Queen to ſave her ſelf, travell'd threeſcore Miles in one Day, and by Night arriv'd at the Houſe of *Maxwell* Lord *Heris*; chuſing rather to commit her ſelf to the Mercy of the Sea, and the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, than to the Loyalty of her own Subjects. From hence ſhe ſent *John Beton* to the Queen of *England*, with a Diamond Ring, which ſhe had formerly receiv'd from her, as a Pledge of mutual Amity; intimating that ſhe would come into *England*, and implore her Protection, if her Subjects perſiſted in their Rebellious Hoſtilities. Queen *Elizabeth* promis'd her all the Love and Kindneſs of a Siſter; but before the Meſſenger was return'd, contrary to the Advice of her Friends, ſhe enter'd a ſmall Bark, and with the Lord *Heris* and *Flemming*, and a few others, landed at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, upon the ſeventeenth Day of *May*. From hence ſhe

The Queen of Scots *eſcapes out of Priſon.*

She is defeated.

She flies into England.

ſhe immediately wrote Letters in *French* with her own Hand to the Queen, importing, 'That having providentially eſcap'd out of the Hands of her inſo-'lent and rebellious Subjects, ſhe was now come into *England*, upon ſure Con-'fidence of her approv'd Clemency; and therefore humbly requeſted, That ſhe 'might be forthwith conducted to her Preſence. Queen *Elizabeth* with Let-ters ſent by Sir *Francis Knolles*, kindly promis'd her Protection *according to the Equity of her Cauſe*; but deny'd her Acceſs, as being reputed guilty of many hainous Crimes, and gave command to have her brought to *Carliſle*, as a Place of greater Safety. The *Scotch* Queen receiving this Anſwer, and find-ing Acceſs deny'd her, by another Letter requeſted, 'That ſhe might have 'leave both to unfold the Injuries ſhe had receiv'd, and to anſwer the Crimes 'objected, in her own Preſence; humbly beſeeching her, That either ſhe might 'be admitted to have Conference and Aſſiſtance, or elſe have free Liberty to 'depart out of *England*, to gain Supplies elſe where, and not be detain'd Pri-'ſoner in *Carliſle*; ſince ſhe came voluntarily into *England*, relying upon the 'Love ſhe had ſo often profeſs'd.

Upon theſe Letters Queen *Elizabeth* exceedingly commiſerated her unfor-tunate Condition, and could have yielded to admit her into her Preſence, but that her Counſellors conceiv'd it to be a Matter for mature Conſultation, how to act in ſuch a nice Caſe. To detain her in *England*, had many Miſchiefs attending it; to ſend her into *France*, as many; and to ſend her back into *Scot-land*, many more. Therefore in Concluſion, the Majority were of Opinion to have her detain'd, as one taken by Right of War, and not to be diſmiſs'd, 'till ſhe had made Satisfaction for aſſuming the Arms and Title of *England*, and for the Death of the Lord *Darnly* her Husband, who was born an *Engliſh* Subject. In the mean time *Murray* the Regent call'd a new Parliament in *Scotland*, in the King's Name, and proſcribed ſome of the Queen's Adherents, and ſeiz'd on their Poſſeſſions. At which the Queen of *England* being highly diſpleas'd, ſent him a ſharp Meſſage by *Middlemore*, 'That ſhe could not per-'mit the ſacred Authority of Princes to be held in ſuch Contempt, and ſub-'mitted to the Will of factious and rebellious People; and tho' they had forgot 'the Duty of Subjects, and their Loyalty to their Queen, yet ſhe could not 'be unmindful of any Office either of Piety or Kindneſs to her Siſter and 'Neighbour; and therefore commanded him to appear before her, and give 'an Account of his Actions.

The Queen of Scots detain'd in England.

Murray having no Means to maintain his Regency in *Scotland*, but what depended upon *England*, obey'd the Summons, and came to *York*, the Place appointed to determine this unuſual Affair. He brought with him ſeven of his intimate Friends, as Deputies for the Infant King, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* of *Dunfermelin*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lindſey*, *James Mac-Gilly*, *Henry Balnaw*, and *George Buchanan*; together with *Lidington* the Secretary. And the ſame Day came *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a Privy-Counſellor, appointed Commiſſioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scotland* there appear'd *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *William* Lord *Levingſton*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Gawin* of *Kilwinin*, *John Gordon*, and *James Cockborn*.

Commiſſioners meet at York *to hear her Cauſe.*

Being met on the ſeventh of *October*, *Lidington* firſt freely adviſ'd his Coun-trymen, 'Maturely to conſider what Prejudice they would draw upon them-'ſelves, by publickly accuſing their own Queen before the *Engliſh*, who were 'profeſs'd Enemies to their Nation. Wherefore he thought they ought to deſiſt, 'unleſs the Queen of *England* would enter into a mutual and firm League, 'againſt all thoſe, who under this Pretence, ſhould endeavour to moleſt them. Upon his Speech the Deputies for the Queen of *Scotland* made Proteſtation, 'That tho' their Queen thought fit that the Cauſes between her and her diſ-'loyal Subjects ſhould be debated before the *Engliſh*; yet being a free Princeſs, 'ſhe did not thereby acknowledge her ſelf ſubject to the Soveraign Command

'of

'of any. On the contrary the *Engliſh* proteſted, 'That they did in no wiſe 'admit of that Proteſtation, in Prejudice to the Right, which the Kings of *En-* 'gland have anciently challeng'd as *Superior Lords of the Kingdom of* Scot- 'land.

The next Day the *Scotch* Queen's Deputies ſet forth at large, 'The injuri- 'ous Proceedings of *Murray*, *Morton* and others againſt the Queen, whom they 'had by the Fears of Death compell'd to reſign her Kingdom; which therefore 'was of no Force. *Murray* and his Adherents made Anſwer, 'That they had 'done nothing but by the Conſent of the Peers in Parliament; and that to pro- 'ſecute *Bothwell*, the Author of the King's Murder, whom the Queen pro- 'tected; and as for her Reſignation, it was a voluntary Act of her own. All this the Queen of the *Scots* Deputies anſwer'd and confuted, particularly affirm- ing, 'That of the hundred Earls, Biſhops and Barons that had Voices in Par- 'liament, not above four Earls, one Biſhop, two Abbots, and ſix Barons, were 'preſent in that tumultuous Aſſembly: Wherefore they pray'd, That the 'Queen of *England* would conſider of theſe Indignities, and take ſome courſe 'for a ſpeedy Redreſs. After this ſome new Commiſſioners from Queen *Eli- zabeth* were added to the former, as *Bacon*, *Arundell*, *Leiceſter*, *Clinton* and *Cecil*; to ſome of whom the *Scotch* Queen took Exception, 'Unleſs the *French* 'and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors might be join'd with them, her ſelf admitted to the 'Preſence of the Queen and them, and *Murray* be oblig'd to appear before 'them, whom ſhe was able to prove the chief Agent in the Murder of her 'Husband *Darnly*. This was accounted a juſt Demand by ſome of the *En- gliſh* Commiſſioners; upon which Queen *Elizabeth*, with ſome Reſentment ſaid publickly, *The Queen of* Scotland *would never want an Advocate while* Norfolk *was alive*. After a long Agitation of this Affair, and nothing concluded, *Murray*, a little before his Return into *Scotland*, privately propounded the Mar- riage of the *Scotch* Queen with the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he with a mo- deſt Anſwer declin'd, as a thing full of Danger. But withal, *Murray* the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind, caus'd a Report, That the *Scotch* Queen had transferr'd her Right to the Crown of *England* to the Duke of *Anjou*, and that the Tranſaction was confirm'd at *Rome*: He alſo ſhew'd Letters which the Queen of the *Scots* had written to ſome intimate Friends, in which ſhe accus'd the Queen of *England* for not treating her according to Pro- miſe, and boaſted of Succours ſhe expected from others. The laſt Clauſe ſomewhat diſturb'd Queen *Elizabeth*, who could not conjecture from whence ſuch Succours ſhould come; ſince *France* with the Civil Wars, and the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries* had ſufficient Imployment at home. But at laſt the Secret broke out, that one *Ridolph* a *Florentine*, under the Habit of a Merchant in *London*, was ſuborn'd by Pope *Pius* the Fifth, to cauſe a ſecret Commotion of the Papiſts in *England* againſt the Queen, which he perform'd with extraordinary Privacy and Subtilty. Whereupon the Queen of *Scotland* was remov'd from *Bolton* Caſtle, where all the neighbouring People were Pa- piſts, to *Tutbury*, more towards the Heart of the Country, under the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. As this was very hard upon Queen *Mary*, ſo it was not a little unfortunate to *Elizabeth*; who deteſted the Inſolency of the *Scotch* Subjects for depoſing their Queen, yet durſt not permit one Act or Step towards her Reſtoration.

Murray propoſes a Match between the Queen of Scots *and the Duke of* Norfolk.

And indeed the Queen began now to meet with ſome Perplexities, both in Church and State; and the Peace of the former was diſturb'd by a twofold Ene- my: *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders* and other Fugitive *Romiſh* Prieſts, took upon them by Authority from the See of *Rome*, to grant Abſolution to the Queen's Enemies, and to corrupt her Subjects in Point of Religion and Al- legiance. On the other ſide, *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham* and *Benſon* open- ly call'd in Queſtion the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and endea- vour'd to reform it after the *Geneva* Pattern; and this Sect did greatly in- creaſe

The Beginning of the Puritans.

creaſe in a ſhort Time, by means of their reſolute Temper; the Negligence of ſeveral Biſhops, and the Favour of ſome Noblemen, who were thirſting after the Patrimony of the Church; and this Sect was ſoon known by the inviduous Name of *Puritans*. In all theſe Troubles the good Queen took care as much as poſſible to preſerve the Peace and Unity of the Church, as likewiſe to ſuccour all diſtreſſed Proteſtants in foreign Parts. For about the ſame Time the *Guiſes* in *France*, and the cruel Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, began to endeavour the utter Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion. In *France*, the Miniſters of the Goſpel were commanded to depart the Kingdom within a limited Time; when the Queen forgetting the unſteadineſs of the Proteſtants at *Haure-de-Grace*, once again took them into her Protection, generouſly ſupply'd them with two hundred thouſand Crowns in Mony, beſides Ammunition in Abundance, and with great Humanity receiv'd ſuch as fled into *England*; and the readier, becauſe they made ſolemn Proteſtation, *That they did not take up Arms againſt their Prince, but only ſtood upon their own Defence.* In the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Alva* breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, and ſowing the Seeds of a long and dangerous War, great Numbers of the Inhabitants fled into *England* as into a Sanctuary. Theſe were kindly receiv'd, and by the Queen's Permiſſion, they ſeated themſelves at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone* and *Southampton*, to the great Benefit and Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation: For they were the firſt that brought into the Kingdom the Art of making thoſe ſlight Stuffs, call'd *Bays* and *Says*, and other Linnen and Woollen Manufactures of the ſame kind.

Queen Elizabeth aſſiſts the Proteſtants in France,

and in the Netherlands.

About the ſame Time a mighty Maſs of Mony borrow'd from the *Genoeſe*, and other *Italian* Merchants, was ſent out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, there to be imploy'd in Bank; which being brought by Shipping, was purſu'd by the *French*, and forc'd to fly for Succour into the *Engliſh* Havens, whom the Queen commanded to be protected, as conceiving the Mony to belong to the King of *Spain*. But at the ſame Time, Cardinal *Odeſte* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving Information to the Queen, That the Mony did not belong to the King of *Spain*, but to certain *Italian* Merchants, from whom the Duke of *Alva* had taken it againſt their Will, with a Deſign to employ it to the Ruin of the Proteſtants; ſhe reſolv'd to borrow it of the Merchants, and give Security for it, as Princes uſually do of Goods found in their Ports, and as the *Spaniard* himſelf had often done. The Detaining this Mony gave Occaſion to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſeveral of the prime Nobility, to ſhew their ſecret Hatred againſt Sir *William Cecil*; whom they envy'd for his great Favour with the Queen, and upon a Suſpicion that he inclin'd to the Houſe of *Suffolk* in the Matter of the Succeſſion. Hereupon they ſecretly conſpir'd to throw him into the Tower; and *Throgmorton*, his chief Emulator, ſuggeſted, *That if he was once impriſon'd, they might ſoon find means to cruſh him*: But the Queen, well knowing the Worth of ſuch a Miniſter, in due Time ſurpriz'd them, and by the Authority of her Royal Preſence, aw'd them out of theſe little Contrivances. But this Mony being detain'd caus'd a greater Diſturbance from the Duke of *Alva*, who upon Notice of it, ſeiz'd upon all the Goods of the *Engliſh* in the *Netherlands*, and kept the Men Priſoners: The Queen reſolutely did the like by the *Low-Country* Merchants, with much greater Advantage: Letters of Repriſal were granted on both ſides; which occaſion'd ſuch a Conteſt between the Nations, that being nouriſh'd and increas'd by ſucceeding Differences, it produc'd the famous *Spaniſh* Invaſion, that will be memorable to all future Ages.

Cecil *in Danger.*

The Beginnings of the Wars with Spain.

A. D. 1569. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The *Scotch* Affairs began more and more to create Troubles to *England*; and the Earl of *Murray* being return'd into *Scotland*, rais'd new Diſturbances in that Kingdom. He caus'd an Aſſembly to meet at *Edinburgh*, under Pretence of reſtoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as her Friends, *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*, who had been appointed her Vicegerent, and the Lord

Further Troubles in Scotland.

Lord *Heris*, were coming thither, he intercepted them, and threw them into Priſon; and immediately after, in open hoſtile Manner, he ſuppreſs'd all her chief Favourers. It is reaſonably thought, that this prevailing Earl could have willingly conſented to have the Queen freed from a Priſon; but he knew that her Liberty could not be effected without his Servitude: And Queen *Elizabeth* probably would gladly have had her reſtor'd to her Kingdom; but ſhe fear'd, That ſuch a Reſtoration would endanger her Security. And thus while both regarded their own Intereſts in the firſt Place, and hers but in the ſecond, ſhe had the Fortune to be pity'd, but not the Happineſs to be reliev'd: And all ſhe was able to do, was only to tye her Bonds the ſtronger; which by ſitting ſtill might have looſen'd of themſelves, but by moving would entangle her to her Ruin.

The Duke of Norfolk's *Deſigns in marrying the Queen of the* Scots.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Intereſt being involv'd in that of this unfortunate Queen, his fatal Deſtiny began at this Time to operate. It was now ſtrongly reported that the Duke was to marry her in a ſhort Time; and in Reality Motions had actually been made, but the Buſineſs was not ſo forward as it was generally believ'd. It was firſt propos'd to the Duke of *Norfolk*, by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and afterwards, in Pretence at leaſt, by *Murray* himſelf at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would reſolve in the Matter, conſulted with ſeveral of the Nobility, and with *Leiceſter* himſelf, who all judg'd it proper for him to acquaint her Majeſty with it firſt, and then leave the Matter to her Pleaſure. Shortly after, *Throgmorton* meeting the Duke at *Weſtminſter*, adviſ'd him to move the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf to embrace the Match, ſince he had formerly ſu'd for it; but if he declin'd it, then at leaſt to take him along with him, for he believ'd that he alone would hardly be able to obtain the Queen's Conſent. Two Days after, *Leiceſter* himſelf propos'd the Matter to the Duke, and then communicated the ſame to the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, who together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the *Scotch* Queen, recommending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband. The Duke likewiſe wrote himſelf to her, with a particular Tender of his great Love and Reſpect to her. Upon this Articles were drawn, written by *Leiceſter*'s own Hand, and ſent to the *Scotch* Queen; to which if ſhe conſented, they then promis'd to procure Queen *Elizabeth*'s Approbation, that ſhe ſhould alſo be reinveſted in her Kingdom, and the Succeſſion be confirm'd to her. The Queen of *Scotland* readily accepted of the Terms, tho' her Husband *Bothwell* was alive, and a Priſoner in *Denmark*; and the Duke imparted the Matter to the Lord *Lumley*, and by *Leiceſter*'s Conſent, afterwards to Secretary *Cecil*.

Articles drawn.

The Report of this Marriage was ſoon brought to the Queen's Ears; which the Duke underſtanding, he earneſtly ſollicited the Earl of *Leiceſter* to have the Matter immediately propos'd to her Majeſty. *Leiceſter* treacherouſly made Delays, and pretended Cauſes to defer it; upon which *Cecil* fairly adviſ'd the Duke to go and acquaint the Queen with it himſelf; which Counſel *Leiceſter* oppos'd, promiſing to open it to the Queen, as ſhe went in her Progreſs. But while he with fair Words ſtill delay'd him, the Queen took the Duke to her Table at *Farnham*, and pleaſantly adviſ'd him *to Beware upon what Pillow he laid his Head.* After this, *Leiceſter* fell into a real, or pretended, Sickneſs at *Titchfield*; and when the Queen in a Viſit adviſ'd him to be of good Chear, he with Sighs and Tears crav'd Pardon for his Crime, and diſclos'd to her the whole Tranſaction, with all the Circumſtances. Upon which the Queen call'd the Duke into the Gallery, and ſharply reprimanded him for attempting ſuch a Marriage, without her Knowledge; and commanded him upon his Allegiance to deſiſt. The Duke made her a free and hearty Promiſe of Obedience; and added by Way of Slight to the Queen of *Scotland*, *That his Revenues in* England *were not much leſs than hers in* Scotland; *and when he was at his Tennis-Court in* Norwich, *he thought himſelf not inferior to ſome Kings.* But notwithſtanding, diſcovering the Queen's Anger by her Countenance, and finding

Queen Elizabeth *oppoſes it.*

finding *Leiceſter* in a manner alienated, and moſt of the Nobility cold and regardleſs of his Perſon, he became extreamly dejected, and immediately prepar'd to leave the Court; deſigning to ſtay at *Norwich*, 'till by his Friends Interceſſion, and his own ſubmiſſive Letters, the Queen's Heart might be mollify'd. At his Departure, the Queen with Indignation rejected the *Scotch* Ambaſſador, who ſu'd for the Enlargement of his Miſtreſs, adviſing *Her to reſt ſatisfy'd, leſt ſhe ſaw ſome of her greateſt Supporters ſhorter by the Head.* The Court was apprehenſive leſt the Duke ſhould raiſe a Rebellion; and if he did, it was thought the Queen of the *Scots* would ſuddenly be diſpatch'd. But returning again ſhortly after, and being examin'd concerning the Marriage, and his ſecret Conferences with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, he confeſs'd moſt of the Objections, and was committed to the *Tower*. Two Days after the Biſhop of *Roſs* was likewiſe examin'd, and together with *Ridolph* the *Florentine*, was deliver'd to the Cuſtody of Sir *Francis Walſingham*; and the Earl of *Pembroke* was confin'd to his Houſe and examin'd; but his Confeſſion was not committed to Writing, as being not able to write himſelf.

The Duke ſent to the Tower.

At this Time the Rumour of an Inſurrection in the North grew very ſtrong, by reaſon of ſome frequent Meetings between the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, and others; who being for this commanded upon their Allegiance inſtantly to repair to the Queen, made dilatory Pretences, waiting indeed for Supplies, both from the *Scots* and the Duke of *Alva*. Whilſt the Earl of *Northumberland* continu'd in Suſpence, he was purpoſely frighted by his Friends, who in a tempeſtuous Night cry'd out, That an armed Power was ready to ſeize him, which caus'd him to riſe out of his Bed, and repair with all ſpeed to *Branſpith*, the Earl of *Weſtmorland*'s Houſe, where great Numbers acquainted with the Enterprize were aſſembled. Here they broke out into an open Rebellion, being the firſt that had diſturb'd the publick Peace, after eleven Years Calm in this Reign. The chief Incendiary was *Nicholas Morton* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, ſent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick, and one that had forfeited all Right of Soveraignty, and immediately they publiſh'd a Writing, in which they declar'd, 'They took up Arms only to reſtore the 'Religion of their Fore-fathers, remove evil Counſellors from the Queen, and 'relieve the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Loyal Noblemen now under Diſ-'grace; but to the Queen they profeſs'd themſelves moſt dutiful Subjects. They alſo wrote Letters to the Papiſts throughout the Kingdom, requiring them to come to their Aſſiſtance; but they were ſo far from joining with them, that many ſent both the Letters and Bearers of them to the Queen; every one freely offering his Purſe and his Perſon againſt them, and particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*. So that from hence the Queen aſſuredly underſtood the great Affection of her Subjects towards her; and was not backward in acknowledging the Goodneſs of Heaven to her upon that Account.

A Rebellion in the North.

The Rebels, to the Number of four thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe, march'd directly to *Durham*, where they impiouſly tore and trampled upon all the *Engliſh* Bibles and Common-Prayer Books which they found in that Cathedral and other Churches: But when they underſtood that the Queen of *Scotland*, for whoſe Deliverance they took up Arms, was convey'd from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*; that the Earl of *Suſſex* had rais'd a powerful Army againſt them; that Sir *George Bowes* had a ſelect Party on their Rear, and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had reinforc'd *Carliſle*, they return'd to *Bernard* Caſtle, beſieg'd and took it by Compoſition. On the ſame day they were Proclaim'd *Traitors*; *Suſſex* march'd againſt them with ſeven thouſand Men, accompany'd with the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Evers*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. Being advanc'd as far as *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great Fear to *Hexham*, and afterwards through By-ways to *Naworth* Caſtle; where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* and *Clinton*, Lord Admiral, purſu'd them with twelve thouſand Men, from the South

Parts

Parts of *England*, the two Earls with a ſmall Company, and unknown to their Confederates, withdrew themſelves into *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was deliver'd into the Hands of *Murray*; and *Weſtmorland* eſcap'd into the *Netherlands*, where he led a poor miſerable Life, even to old Age, living upon a ſlender Penſion from the *Spaniards*. The reſt being diſpers'd ſav'd themſelves, ſome by Flight, and ſome by hiding in ſecret Places. Threeſcore and ſix, for a Terror to others, were hang'd at *Durham*, and ſeveral at *York* and other Places. The two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, and about fifty more of the higher Birth were convicted of Treaſon, and preſcrib'd; but the reſt, who had no Eſtates, or had not fled the Land, were pardon'd. Thus happily ended this Rebellion; and *Vitelli*, Agent and Promoter from the Duke of *Alva*, before the Queen and Lords openly admir'd, but inwardly griev'd, that it was ſo ſuddenly and early extinguiſh'd, and that his coming into *England* was of no Effect.

The Rebels diſperſe themſelves.

Yet not long after, out of the Aſhes of this Rebellion there broke out another Flame at *Nuworth* in *Cumberland*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, for the Deliverance of the Queen of *Scotland*. He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking out ſooner than he expected, and he at that Time being at the Court, and there tend'ring his Service to go againſt them, to that purpoſe he was ſent into his Country: But in his Journey, branding himſelf with Treachery and Diſloyalty, he conſulted with the Rebels, and encourag'd them to proceed; and by Virtue of a Letter of Credence from the Queen, he ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Greyſtock*, and other Houſes of the *Dacres*, and gather'd together an Army of three thouſand Men. He was attack'd by the Lord *Hunſdon*, whom he receiv'd with great Bravery; but being overcome, he fled into *Scotland*, from thence he croſs'd the Sea into *Flanders*, and dy'd in a miſerable Condition at *Lovain*; where he inherited his Father's Curſes laid upon him on his Death-Bed for his Diſobedience. The Lord *Hunſdon* having taken in the Caſtles, committed the Charge of them to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Men; and the Queen by publick Proclamation pardon'd the Multitude, whom their Leader had excited to Rebellion.

A ſecond Rebellion.

It is quell'd.

Tho' the Queen's Affairs were thus embroil'd with one Rebellion after another, yet ſhe was not at all regardleſs of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in *France*: For ſtill ſhe excited the Proteſtant Princes to defend the common Cauſe, ſupply'd the Queen of *Navarre* with Mony, and gave leave to *Henry Champernon* to lead into *France* a hundred *Engliſh* Gentlemen, all brave Voluntiers; among whom was the famous *Walter Rawleigh*, a very young Man, who now began to launch into the World. The *French* King, to exhauſt the Treaſure of *England*, and turn the Stream into ſome other Channel, reſolv'd to raiſe a new War in *Scotland* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and deſign'd to ſend *Sebaſtian Montigues* with an Army into that Country; but he being kill'd at the Siege of St. *John de Angeli*, that Deſign vaniſh'd into Air. Nor was *Ireland* in this Year free from Rebellions, for *Edmond* and *John Butler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, being aſſiſted by the Pope and the *Spaniard*, endeavour'd to re-eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion, and to diſpoſſeſs Queen *Elizabeth* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. To ſupport this Rebellion, *Juan Mendoza* was ſent privately out of *Spain*; and to put an End to it the Earl of *Ormond* went from *England* to that Kingdom, who being extreamly griev'd that any Plot ſhould fall upon his noble Family, perſuaded his Brothers to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Queen's Mercy, and at his Requeſt their Pardons were granted, and the Rebellion ſoon ended.

The French *Proteſtants again reliev'd.*

Diſturbances in Ireland.

Camden. Spotſwood. Melvil. Bohun. Mezeray. &c.

VI. The Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* being happily extinguiſh'd, new Accidents aroſe from *Scotland*, where *Murray* the Regent earneſtly endeavour'd to have the Queen of the *Scots* deliver'd into his Hands; and therefore to ingratiate himſelf with Queen *Elizabeth* by ſome meritorious Exploit, he

A. D. 1570. Reg. 12/13.

march'd into the *Scotch* Borders in queſt of the *Engliſh* Rebels, of whom he took ſeveral. But when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure, riding through the Streets in *Lithgow*, he was ſhot into the Bowels by one *Hamilton*, in a private Revenge for Injuries done to him, who immediately eſcap'd into *France* to avoid the Puniſhment. *Spotſwood* ſays his Death was greatly lamented by all good Men, having in a little above a Year quieted a broken and diſorder'd State; and was ſo remarkable for Devotion and Piety, that ever after he was call'd by the Title of *The good Regent*. However, as his Ambition was too aſpiring, ſo his Activity was too irregular to be vindicated; and *Melvil* was wont to tell him, *He was like an unskilful Player in a Tennis-Court, ever running after the Ball; whereas an expert Artiſt would diſcern where it would light or rebound, and with ſmall Labour let it fall into his Racket.*

Murray the Scotch Regent ſlain.

His Character.

After *Murray*'s Death, the Kingdom being without a Regent, there aroſe many violent Diſorders; and *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal Men in the *Scotch* Borders, and devoted to their Queen, made Inroads into *England*, waſting all Places with Fire and Sword; 'till by Forces ſent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the Lord *Hunſdon*, they were Defeated: In whoſe Purſuit, three hundred Villages were fir'd, and fifty Caſtles deſtroy'd. For theſe and other Services ſoon after, the Earl made ſeveral Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Sir *George Carie*, and Sir *Robert Conſtable*; and now to prevent further Diſorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to meet about the Election of a new Regent, they deſir'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice in the Matter: Her Anſwer was, *That ſhe would not intermeddle in the creating a Regent, leſt ſhe might ſeem to prejudice their Queen, whoſe Cauſe was not yet decided.* But ſoon after they choſe the Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, to be Regent of *Scotland*, without any Oppoſition from Queen *Elizabeth*; who knew that out of natural Affection, he would be tender of his Grandſon, and affectionate to the *Engliſh* for the Civilities he had receiv'd; and doubted not his being at her Devotion, ſince ſhe had his Wife in her Power. In the mean time the contrary Party, *Hamilton* Duke of *Caſtel-Herault*, with the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, imploy'd the Lord *Seton* to the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, to uſe all Arguments, 'That 'the ten thouſand Ducats aſſign'd the Queen of the *Scots* might be paid, and that 'he would aſſiſt her for the Recovery of her Liberty; alledging how acceptable 'it would be to all Chriſtian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church. The Duke promis'd to give all neceſſary Aſſiſtance; the *French* King alſo ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* to the ſame purpoſe; and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in his Maſter's Name, urg'd it with no leſs Vehemence. Queen *Elizabeth*, violently attack'd with all theſe Importunities, made Anſwer, *That as ſhe would omit nothing that might tend to the Reconciling of the Queen of* Scotland *and her Subjects; ſo ſhe muſt take leave to provide for her own and her Peoples Security and Quiet, according as Nature, Reaſon, and her Princely Reputation and Honour requir'd.*

The Earl of Lenox *made Regent.*

Endeavours to free the Queen of the Scots.

When all other Means prov'd ineffectual, the *Romiſh* Party in a Rage had recourſe to their laſt Effort, Pope *Pius* the Fifth; who having the laſt Year Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and excited her Subjects to a Rebellion, now caus'd his plenary Bull to be fix'd upon the Gates of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, under this Title: *A Declaratory Sentence of our holy Lord Pope* Pius Quintus, *againſt* Elizabeth, *the pretended Queen of* England, *and the* Hereticks *her Adherents. In which alſo her Subjects are declar'd abſolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and any other Duty they owe to her; and whoever ſhall henceforward obey her, are included in the ſame* Anathema. In the Bull it ſelf, which is long, the Pope declares himſelf *to have a Power over all Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up, deſtroy, ſcatter, conſume, plant and build.* And afterwards, pronounces *Elizabeth* to be a *Heretick*, as likewiſe all her Adherents, and Excommunicated from that Church, *out of which there is no Salvation:* 'And

Pope Pius's Bull againſt Queen Elizabeth.

'And further declares her to be depriv'd of all Titles, Dominions, Dignities 'and Privileges whatſoever; and commands all her Subjects that they preſume 'not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates and Laws, upon pain of the ſame 'Sentence.

The *Romiſh* Subjects of *England*, being thus debauch'd from their Allegiance, by the Pope's Authority and Approbation, there ſoon follow'd ſeveral Seditions and Inſurrections; and ſome of the Nobility and Gentry of that Perſuaſion, who had felt all the Happineſs of the Government, in compliance with their Religion, began to be ill-affected towards their Soveraign. The firſt Inſurrection, after this Bull appear'd in *England*, was among ſome of the Hut-Gentry of *Norfolk*, who reſolving to ſet their Duke at Liberty, form'd a Plot, that when the People reſorted to a Fair at *Harleſtone*, they ſhould gather the Multitude together by ſound of Trumpet, under pretence of expelling the Foreigners out of *England* that had fled from the Duke of *Alva*. But their Deſigns were diſcover'd and prevented before they came to Maturity; and of the many that were condemn'd, only three were Executed, the principal of whom was *John Throgmorton*, who tho' he ſtood mute at the Bar, confeſs'd at the Gallows that he had been the Author of the Sedition. Not long after *John Felton*, that had ſet up the Pope's Bull upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, not attempting to fly, was taken, and being arraign'd, undauntedly confeſs'd the Fact, without acknowledging any Crime, and was hang'd near the Place of his Treaſon, where by his Suffering he obtain'd the Reputation of a Martyr: Tho' the more moderate ſort of Papiſts diſallow'd of the Pope's whole Proceedings, as Unjuſt and Illegal. The ſame Day that *Felton* was arraign'd, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon his Confeſſion of having acted imprudently, and ingaging under his Hand not to concern himſelf further in the Marriage, without the Queen's Approbation, was diſcharg'd from Impriſonment. *Cecil* being his Friend earneſtly mov'd him to marry ſome other Perſon with all ſpeed, and ſo remove all future Suſpicion; yet ſome again thought that this Inlargement of the Duke's, was purpoſely to bring him into greater Dangers.

An Inſurrection in Norfolk.

The Duke of Norfolk *ſet at Liberty.*

Many Conſpiracies at the ſame Time were form'd to ſet the Queen of the *Scots* at Liberty; for the effecting of which, *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons to the Earl of *Darby*, were chiefly concern'd; but the Matter being diſcover'd, they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd, and ſome ſuffer'd Death. And now the *Scotch* Lords of their Queen's Party, continuing to protect the *Engliſh* Rebels, the Earl of *Suſſex* once again, accompany'd with the Lord *Scroop*, enter'd *Scotland*, burnt the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compell'd Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing ſign'd with their own Hands and Seals, to abandon the *Engliſh* Rebels. *Suſſex*, upon his Return, Knighted ſeven Gentlemen for their Valour; and he himſelf, for his approv'd Wiſdom and Virtue, was admitted of the Queen's Privy-Council. And now the Queen being too often diſturb'd by Conſpiracies, ſent Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scotland*, then at *Chatteſworth* Houſe in *Darbyſhire*, to conſult with her by what means to make up the Breach in *Scotland*, to reinveſt her in her former State, and to ſecure both her Son and the Queen of *England*. The *Scotch* Queen did nothing but deplore her wretched Condition, throwing her ſelf wholly upon the Queen's Clemency; and when the Commiſſioners made to her certain Propoſitions of Agreement: Firſt, That the 'Treaty of *Edinburgh* ſhould be confirm'd: Then, That ſhe ſhould renounce 'her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, or any Chil-'dren of her Body lawfully begotten: And, That ſhe ſhould ſend her Son 'for a Hoſtage into *England*, with ſix others, ſuch as the Queen ſhould 'nominate: Laſtly, That the Caſtle of *Humes* and *Eaſt-Caſtle*, with ſome 'others, ſhould be held by the *Engliſh* for three Years. To theſe Articles, the Queen of *Scotland* for the preſent made a prudent Reply; but referr'd a more compleat Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, her Ambaſſador in *England*, and

Offers made to the Queen of the Scots.

some other Commissioners; who afterwards approv'd of some of the Propositions,
But to no Effect. but disallow'd of the rest: So that the Treaty drop'd, and the Matter rested in the former State.

The twelfth Year of this Reign being happily expired, in which some credulous Papists had expected, according to the Prediction of certain Fortune-Tellers, their *Golden-Day* as they term'd it, all good Men throughout *England* triumph'd with Thanksgivings, Sermons in Churches, repeated Prayers, publick Tournaments, and festival Joy; and so solemniz'd the seventeenth Day of
The Anniversary of this Reign first celebrated. *November*, being the Anniversary of the Beginning of her Reign; which Day, in Testimony of their great Affection to her, they never ceas'd to observe as long as she liv'd. And indeed the Love of the People was so just and general, notwithstanding some secret Enemies, that if this excellent Queen happen'd to be Sick, or a little disorder'd in her Health, her Courtiers would be so allarm'd at it, that they would scarcely stir from her to eat or drink, or take any Care of themselves: And all Degrees of People would fly in vast Numbers to the Churches, and with the most devout Prayers and Tears beg her Health and Continuance of her happy Government, 'till God had heard their Petitions, and restor'd her to her Health.

A. D. 1571. Reg. 13/14. Still the Affairs of the *Scots*, and their Queen, was the great Concern of the Court of *England*; and this Year, in the Name of the King of *Scotland*, there came the Earl of *Morton*, the Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gilly*; whom Queen *Elizabeth* requir'd to show more clearly, for what Causes they had depos'd their Queen. They exhibited a large Discourse, in which, with peculiar Freedom, they endeavour'd to prove, 'By the ancient Right of the 'Kingdom of *Scotland*, the People were superior to the King; and urg'd *Cal-* 'vin's Authority, that Popular Magistrates were constituted for Moderation of 'the Licentiousness of Princes; and that it was lawful for them, upon just 'Causes, both to imprison and to depose Kings. The Queen could not read this Writing without Indignation; but gave this Answer to the Deputies, *That she saw no just Cause for the severe Treatment of their Queen*; therefore she order'd them *to consult immediately about Methods for healing the Dissensions in* Scotland. Hereupon in the House of the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of *Ross*, and the other Deputies for the *Scotch* Queen,
Proposals about the Queen of the Scots. 'That for the Security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*, it was 'necessary, that before the Queen of *Scotland* should be set at Liberty, Duke 'Hamilton, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Heris*, and 'another Baron should be deliver'd for Hostages, and the Castles of *Dunbriton* 'and *Humes*, yielded to the *English* for three Years. But they made Answer, 'That to yield up such Men, and such Fortifications as were demanded, was 'only to leave the miserable Queen destitute of faithful Friends, and naked of 'Places fit for Guard and Defence: Yet they offer'd to give two Earls and two Barons for Hostages, 'till two Years were expired. This not being accepted, they immediately concluded, and publickly said, *That now they perceiv'd the* English *design'd to keep their Queen perpetual Prisoner, and to break off the Treaty; since they insisted upon such Security as* Scotland *was not able to give.* And now Queen *Elizabeth* perceiving that nothing could be effected for the Safety of her self, and the King and Queen of *Scotland*, unless both the *Scotch* Parties consented; she held it proper that the Lords of *Scotland* should themselves appoint some select Persons to accommodate this nice Affair.

Troubles in Scotland. While these Transactions pass'd in *England*, the Queen of the *Scots* Party were severely treated in *Scotland*, many executed and several slain, the strong Castle of *Dunbriton* taken, and *J. Hamilton* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrew's* and Brother to the Duke of *Castle-Herault*, as an Accessary to the Lord *Darnly's* Murther, was hang'd without being arraign'd according to Law. In *England* the Queen of the *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten, and a Priest to say Mass; with which Indignities that Queen was so exasperated,

that ſhe caus'd a large Writing of her Counſels, with certain Love-Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carry'd to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolpho* the *Florentine*. This being firſt brought to the Duke, was copy'd out by *Higford* his Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; who being commanded to burn all that he had writ, ſecretly hid the Papers under a Mat in the Duke's Bed-Chamber. *Ridolpho*, to induce the Duke to be Head of the diſaffected Party in *England*, aggravated the Injuries he had ſuffer'd; how contrary to Law he had been detain'd Priſoner, and now not ſummon'd to the Parliament: He exhibited to him a Catalogue of ſuch of the Nobility, as had promis'd to aſſiſt him: He ſhew'd 'how the Pope, to promote the Catholick Religion, 'would himſelf bear all the Charge of the War, and had already depoſited a 'hundred thouſand Crowns, of which he himſelf had diſtributed twelve 'thouſand among the *Engliſh* Fugitives: He promis'd alſo that the King of 'Spain would ſend four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot to his Aſſiſtance. To theſe Reaſons the Biſhop of *Roſs* added, 'That it was an eaſie Enterpriſe 'for him to ſurprize the Queen; and when he had her once in Poſſeſſion, he 'might then with no Difficulty obtain both the Liberty of the *Scotch* Queen, 'and a Toleration of Religion. The former Reaſons made ſome Impreſſion upon the Duke; but this Point of ſurpriſing the Queen, he abhorr'd as an impious Fact, and to be rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

A Deſign againſt Queen Elizabeth.

In *France*, not long before this, the Marriage was ſolemniz'd between *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*: In Congratulation of which, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent over the Lord *Buckhurſt*, who was receiv'd with great Magnificence, and perhaps the greater, in regard of a Motion now to be made. For the Lord *Buckhurſt* having in his Retinue one *Cavalcanti*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, the Queen-Mother of *France*, as a Native of the ſame Place, had frequent Conferences with him, and often inſiſted upon the Happineſs that would accrue to both Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England*, and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*; and at laſt deſir'd him to recommend the Motion to Queen *Elizabeth*, both from her, and her Son the King of *France*, as highly deſirable to both. The Lord *Buckhurſt* return'd, being preſented by the King of *France* with a Golden Chain weighing a thouſand *French* Crowns; and *Cavalcanti* at his Return made the Motion to the Queen, who ſeem'd not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match might be added to the Kingdom of *England* the rich Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, and in Poſſibility the Kingdom of *France* it ſelf. Upon which a Treaty was negotiated, in which the *French* propos'd three Articles, 'One concerning the Coronation 'of the Duke; another, concerning the joint Adminiſtration of the Govern-'ment; and a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion. To which it was anſwer'd, 'That the two firſt Articles might in ſome Meaſure be com-'poſ'd; but the third was ſcarce practicable: *For tho' a contrary Religion 'might be tolerated between Subjects of the ſame Kingdom, yet between a 'Husband and Wife it ſeem'd very incongruous and inconvenient.* Yet the Matter at laſt was brought to this Concluſion, 'That if the Duke would afford 'the Queen his Preſence at Divine Service, and not refuſe to hear and learn 'the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he ſhould not be compell'd to uſe 'the *Engliſh* Rites, but at his Pleaſure uſe the *Roman*, as far as was conſiſtent 'with God's Word. But upon this Punctilio, they could not come to Agreement; and the Treaty, after it had continu'd almoſt a Year, intirely broke off. It was indeed generally believ'd, That the Match was never really deſign'd on either Side, but that both pretended it to promote their own Intereſts: For the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who knew more of the Queen's Thoughts than any Man, wrote at this time to *Walſingham* the Queen's Ambaſſador in *France*, *That he found the Queen's Inclination ſo cold in the Matter, that tho' the Point of Religion were fully agreed; yet ſhe would ſtill find one Point or other to prevent the Marriage.*

A Match propos'd between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou.

The Treaty broke off.

But

A Match deſign'd between the Duke of Norfolk *and the Queen of the* Scots.

But the *French* King took not greater Pains for accompliſhing this Marriage, than ſome *Engliſh* did to haſten a Marriage between the Queen of the *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom they had again drawn into the Snare; which came to be diſcover'd by a Packet of Letters, ſent by *Ridolpho* to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and by the Confeſſion of *Bayliff*, who brought the ſaid Letters. Upon which the Biſhop of *Roſs* was confin'd to the Iſle of *Ely*; Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolton*, were committed to the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had aſpir'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, was committed to the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. At the ſame time the Queen of the *Scots* ſent Mony to her Confederates in her own Kingdom; which was by *Higford*, the Duke's Gentleman, deliver'd to one *Brown*, as only ſo much Silver: But he finding by the Weight that it was Gold, he became ſuſpicious; and thereupon went and deliver'd the Mony and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this, *Higford* being examin'd, confeſs'd the whole Project, and withal gave Information of the ſecret Writing of the Queen of the *Scots*, which he had hid under the Mat, unknown to the Duke his Maſter. Two Days after, the Duke himſelf, being examin'd by the Council, and knowing nothing of what his Servants had confeſs'd, he deny'd every Particular; and thereupon was again ſent to the Tower, to the great Concern and Affliction of the People. After him *Baniſter*, his Lawyer, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley* and *Cobham*, *Henry Piercy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Goodyer*, and others, were committed to Priſon; who, upon Hopes of Pardon, confeſs'd all they knew concerning this peculiar Affair. When theſe Things, and eſpecially the private Writing, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were ſhew'd him, he in Confuſion cry'd out, *I am betray'd by my Confidents, being unwilling to be diſtruſtful, tho' it is the very Eſſence of Wiſdom.* And then with the moſt humble Submiſſion he beg'd the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he proteſted he never had the leaſt Thought of doing any Prejudice.

The Duke again ſent to the Tower.

The Biſhop of *Roſs*, by the Confeſſion of all the Criminals, and the Duke himſelf, being charg'd as the chief Projector of the whole Conſpiracy, it caus'd great Debates how to proceed againſt him, who was an Ambaſſador; but the learned Civilians, having upon ſome curious Queries determin'd that he had loſt the Privilege of an Ambaſſador, he was brought before the Council, and told, *That by his Actions he had forfeited his Character, and ſhould be puniſh'd according to his Deſerts.* The Biſhop anſwer'd, *He was the Ambaſſador of an abſolute, tho' unfortunate Queen, whoſe Privileges by the Law of Nations were not to be violated.* Upon which *Cecil* in a grave Reply ſhew'd him, *That the Privilege of an Ambaſſador could not protect a Perſon in Crimes againſt the publick Majeſty of a Prince, and conſequently he was liable to Puniſhment; or elſe every wicked Ambaſſador might plot againſt the Lives of crown'd Heads without Controul.* He urg'd that the Privileges of Ambaſſadors had never been violated *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti*; and adviſ'd them *not to uſe harder Meaſures to him, than had been us'd to the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors*, Throgmorton *in* France, Randolph *and* Tamworth *in* Scotland; *who had there rais'd Rebellions, without any other Puniſhment, than to be oblig'd to depart at a limited Time.* And when *Engliſh* Evidences were to be produc'd againſt him, he alledg'd, as a Cuſtom obtaining the Force of a Law, *That the Teſtimony of an* Engliſhman *againſt a* Scot, *or of a* Scot *againſt an* Engliſhman, *was not to be admitted.* However, after ſome further Conſultations, this Biſhop was committed cloſe Priſoner to the Tower. At this very time *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, and Regent of *Scotland*, being ſurpriz'd by the Nobility of the adverſe Party, was murther'd by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had carefully govern'd the Kingdom about fourteen Months; and was ſucceeded in the Regency by *John Averkin*, Earl of *Marre*; who being a Man of a mild Diſpoſition, and harraſs'd between the different Counſels of his Friends, and

Debates about the Biſhop of Roſs.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Regent of Scotland *ſlain.*

the Insults of his Enemies, he ended his Days with Sorrow, after he had govern'd about thirteen Months.

D' Ewes, &c. But long before this happen'd, a new Parliament was call'd, which met on the second Day of *April*; and her Majesty with great Splendor and Attendance, open'd it with these Words, which she pronounc'd with a Grace that charm'd the whole Assembly; *My right loving Lords, and you my right faithful and obedient Subjects, We in the Name of God, for his Service, and for the Safety of this State, are now here assembled, to his Glory I hope, and pray that it may be to your Comfort, and the common Quiet of ours, yours, and all ours for ever.* And then the Parliament proceeded to Variety of Business; and among other things it was Enacted, 'That if any one affirm'd, that any other 'hath a Right to the Crown, than the present Queen; or that the Laws and 'Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the Crown, and the Succession 'thereof, every such Person shall be guilty of High-Treason. By another Statute it was Enacted, 'That whoever should reconcile any Person to the 'Church of *Rome*, and those also who should be reconcil'd, should incur the 'Penalty of High-Treason. These severe Laws were judg'd necessary at this time to quel the turbulent Spirits of some restless Men. Therefore a Bill also was brought in against the Queen of the *Scots*, that if she again offended against the Laws of *England*, she should be judg'd as the Wife of an *English* Peer: But here the Queen interpos'd her Authority, and would not suffer such a peculiar Law to pass. After several other Acts had pass'd, the Parliament was dissolv'd on the twenty ninth Day of *May*. About which time a solemn Tournament was perform'd at *Westminster*; where the chief Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Christopher Hatton*, Esq; who all perform'd valliantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* gain'd the greatest Honour. This was not long after succeeded by the Execution of Doctor *John Story*, who tho' he pretented to be a Foreigner, was convicted and suffer'd for High-Treason.

The third Parliament in this Reign.

Acts pass'd.

But in the Beginning of the next Year, was try'd a more considerable Man, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*; who became a new and sorrowful Spectacle in *Westminster-Hall*, such as had not been seen for eighteen Years. He was arraign'd before *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, constituted Lord High-Steward upon that Occasion, and twenty five other Lords. The Substance of his Indictment was, 'That in the eleventh Year of this Reign he had traiterously 'consulted to depose the Queen, and to bring in Foreign Forces to invade the 'Kingdom: That he treated with the Queen of the *Scots* concerning Marriage, 'contrary to his Promise, and to the Hazard of the Realm: That he sent Mony 'to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who had rais'd a Rebelli-'on against the Queen: That he implor'd Aids from the Pope, the King of 'Spain, and the Duke of *Alva*, for the freeing the Queen of the *Scots*, and 'restoring the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he had sent Supplies to the 'Lord *Heris*, and other of the Queen's Enemies in *Scotland*. The Duke yielding to be try'd by his Peers, first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Gerrard* the Queen's Attorney, and lastly *Bromeley* her Sollicitor, enforc'd the Crimes objected against him: To all which the Duke made handsom and colourable Answers; but most of them being mov'd by sufficient Testimony, he occasionally ask'd, *Whether the Subjects of another Prince, in League with the Queen, were to be accounted Enemies?* To which *Cataline* answer'd, *They were; and that the Queen of* England *might make War with any Duke of* France, *and yet keep Peace with the* French *King*. After a long Trial, the Lord High-Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any thing more to alledge for himself; who answer'd, *I rely upon the Equity of the Laws.* After this the Lords withdrawing a while, brought him in guilty of High-Treason; and the Lord High-Steward with a Flood of Tears pronounc'd his Sentence in the usual Form. His Condemnation produc'd a new Conspiracy from *Barney* and *Mather*,

A. D. 1572. Reg. 14/15.

The Trial of the Duke of Norfolk.

He is found guilty of Treason.

ther, who joining with one *Herle*, reſolv'd to kill certain of the Counſellors, and ſet the Duke at Liberty; but *Herle* diſcovering the Matter, the other two were both executed. As to the Duke, the greateſt Favour he begg'd was, *That her Majeſty would be kind to his Children and Servants, and that his Debts might be paid.*

The fourth Parliament in this Reign.

This Plot, and ſeveral other Practices to deliver the Priſoner, occaſion'd the Calling of a new Parliament; againſt which the Queen honour'd *Walter D'Evereux*, Viſcount *Hereford*, with the Title of Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, with that of Earl of *Lincoln*; and alſo ſummon'd four new Barons to this Parliament, *John Powlet* of *Baſing*, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheiney*, and *Henry Norris*. The Parliament met on the eighth Day of *May*, and within ſix Weeks Time broke up, without a Diſſolution, or enacting very much beſides the preſent Security of the Nation. The principal Law paſs'd was, 'That whoever ſhould endeavour to free any Perſon impriſon'd by the 'Queen's Commandment, for Treaſon, or Suſpicion of Treaſon, before his 'Indictment, ſhould forfeit his Eſtate during Life, and be impriſon'd during 'the Queen's Pleaſure; if indicted, he ſhould incur the Pains of Death; and 'if condemn'd, the Penalty of High-Treaſon. As the Severity of this Law was only neceſſary for the Times, ſo the Parliament thought fit to make it Temporary. But ſo many Deſigns of this Nature were ſet on foot, as haſten'd the unfortunate Duke's Execution; which however was deferr'd for about four Months. For before that Time, neither the Commons in Parliament, the Counſellors at Court, nor the Importunity of Preachers, by ſuggeſting of the Greatneſs of the preſent Danger, could overcome the Queen's Clemency.

The Duke of Norfolk *brought to the Scaffold*

But on the ſecond of *June*, the great Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-Hill, accompany'd by *Nowell* Dean of St. *Paul's*; and after Silence obtain'd, he thus deliver'd himſelf to the Multitude, *It is no new Thing for Men to ſuffer Death in this Place; tho' ſince the Beginning of our moſt excellent Queen's Reign, I am the* Firſt, *and God grant I may be the* Laſt: To which the People moſt affectionately cry'd *Amen*! He then acknowledg'd, 'That he was juſtly condemn'd by his Peers; and acknowledg'd he had treated 'with the Queen of the *Scots* in Matters of great Conſequence, contrary to his 'Soveraign's Knowledge, and after Pardon obtain'd, and Promiſes given, he 'had repeated the ſame Crime; for which he was a humble Penitent. He 'clear'd himſelf of ſome Imputations, and declar'd, That he had not been 'addicted to Popery, ſince his firſt Notions of Religion; tho' he had ſome of 'that Profeſſion among his Servants and Familiars: And if he had offended 'God, the Church, or the Proteſtants, he begg'd that all would forgive him. Then after the Recital of one or two Pſalms, he cry'd out, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit!* After which tenderly embracing Sir *Henry Leigh*, he whiſper'd ſomething to him and Dean *Nowell*, who turning to the People, ſaid, *The Duke deſires you all to pray to God for his Mercy to him*; and when one reach'd him a Hankerchief to cover his Eyes, he refus'd it, couragiouſly ſaying, *I fear not Death.* So devoutly falling upon his Knees, and fixing his Mind upon Heaven, he laid his Head upon the Block, which at one Stroke was ſever'd from his Body, and by the Executioner ſhown as a melancholy Sight to the weeping Spectators; whoſe Sorrows were augmented by the Conſideration of his noble Preſence and Greatneſs, his Affability and Munificence; and by the Remembrance that his Father, at the ſame Place met with the ſame Fate twenty five Years before, only for Quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confeſſor* with his own. But as the Crimes of his Father and Grandfather were greater, than thoſe for which they ſuffer'd; it is no Wonder if Providence extended the Puniſhment further than their Perſons.

He is beheaded.

Not long after, *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had formerly rebell'd, and fled into *Scotland*, was for a Sum of Mony deliver'd by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*; and after that was be-

beheaded at *York*. And now as theſe two great Men were fatally taken off by violent Means, ſo three others this Year were remov'd by a natural Death. Firſt, *William Powlet*, the old Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; who notwithſtanding his continual Adherence to the Popiſh Religion, was by the wiſe Queen continu'd in his Place to the laſt, being then ninety ſeven Years of Age, and having ſeen a hundred and three Perſons of the Iſſue of his own Body. Next dy'd *Edward* Earl of *Darby*, with whom the Glory of the *Engliſh* Hoſpitality ſeem'd to fall aſleep, as *Camden* obſerves. Laſtly Sir *William Peter*, a great Benefactor to *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, who from an honeſt Parentage rais'd himſelf to be Privy-Counſellor and Secretary to four crown'd Heads, *Henry* the eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The Lord Treaſurer's Place was fill'd up by Sir *William Cecil*, whom the Queen the laſt Year had created Lord *Burleigh*; with Commendations anſwerable to his extraordinary Worth and Abilities.

The Earl of Northumberland *beheaded.*

A few Days after the Death of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *De la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Doctor *Wilſon*, and *Thomas Bromley*, were ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* to expoſtulate with her as to her Proceedings; 'That ſhe 'had uſurp'd the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had refus'd 'to renounce the ſame, contrary to the Treaty of *Edinburgh*: That ſhe had 'endeavour'd the Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting his 'Soveraign, and had us'd all forcible Means to free him out of Priſon: That 'ſhe had rais'd the Rebellion in the North, and reliev'd the Rebels both in '*Scotland* and the *Netherlands*; and had implor'd Aids from the Pope, the 'King of *Spain*, and others: That ſhe had conſpir'd with certain *Engliſh* Men 'to free her out of Priſon, and proclaim her Queen of *England*: Laſtly, That 'ſhe had procur'd the Pope's Bull againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſuffer'd her ſelf 'publickly to be ſtil'd Queen of *England* in Foreign Countries. All which Accuſations ſhe either abſolutely deny'd, or plauſibly extenuated; and tho' ſhe declar'd her ſelf to be a free Queen, and not ſubject to any Creature upon Earth, yet ſhe was content, and requeſted that ſhe might make her Perſonal Anſwer in the next Parliament.

Expoſtulations with the Queen of the Scots.

About the ſame Time *Charles* the *French* King, in all Appearance, fixing his Thoughts upon the *Netherland* War, concluded a Peace, and enter'd into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their own two Lives, but alſo between their Succeſſors, if the ſaid Succeſſor ſhould ſignifie to the Survivor within a Year, that he accepted it, otherwiſe to be at Liberty. It was likewiſe agreed what Aid by Sea and Land, they ſhould each of them afford to the other upon Occaſion. And for the Ratification of this League, the Earl of *Lincoln* Admiral of *England* was ſent into *France*, accompany'd with the Lords *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The *French* King likewiſe ſent the Duke of *Montmorency* and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a ſplendid Retinue; that the Queen in the Preſence of them, and the ordinary Ambaſſador, might ſwear to the League, which ſhe did at *Weſtminſter*, on the ſeventeenth of *May*; the Day after which ſhe honour'd *Montmorency* with the Order of the *Garter*. This Duke, while he ſtay'd in *England*, interceded in his Maſter's Name, That all Favour, not really dangerous, might be ſhown to the Queen of *Scotland*; and then again reviv'd and promoted the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*: But finding great Obſtacles, by Reaſon of the Diverſity of Religion, he without further Expectation return'd into *France*, where his Maſter began to grow cold and remiſs as to the *Scotch* Queen, becauſe ſhe inclin'd more to the *Spaniard* than to him. Shortly after the Queen-Mother of *France* commanded the *French* Ambaſſador in *England* to propoſe a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth*, and her youngeſt Son *Francis* Duke of *Alenſon*, which he did at *Kenelworth*: But the Queen modeſtly excus'd her ſelf, upon the Difference of Religion and Inequality of Age, he being but ſeventeen, and ſhe thirty eight; yet ſhe promis'd to con-

A League with France.

A Match propos'd between the Queen and the Duke of Alenſon.

conſider of it, ſo that *Alenſon* proſecuted his Suit with Vigour by the Mediation of *Flerie*. But at the ſame Time greater Preparations were made for a Marriage between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the *French* King's Siſter; to which great Solemnity, with profound Diſſimulation, the Queen of *Navarre* and the Heads of all the Proteſtants were allur'd, with Promiſes that there ſhould be a Renovation of Love, and a perpetual Peace eſtabliſh'd. The Earl of *Leiceſter* likewiſe and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and the Sons of the Elector Palatine out of *Germany*, under the Colour of Reſpect and Honour; but in Reality, that they and the reſt might be inſnar'd, and that the Proteſtant Religion at one Blow might be exterminated, or receive a mortal Wound. For upon the Celebration of the Marriage, there immediately follow'd the infamous and execrable *Maſſacre of Paris*, and the terrible Slaughter of the Proteſtants throughout all the Cities of *France*. But to put a Colour of Equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were ſet forth, importing, That the Proteſtants had conſpir'd againſt the King, and all the Royal Family; and in Memory of it Medals were ſtruck, as of an Action fortunate and honourable. But the King of *France*, notwithſtanding all his Shews of Piety, did not eſcape the Divine Vengeance; for before two Years were expir'd he was ſeiz'd with unnatural Diſtempers, and ſtrange Irruptions of Blood, and afterwards with long and grievous Torments ended his Life.

The Maſſacre of Paris.

The Queen, who had enjoy'd a perfect Health, fell ſick of the Small-Pox at *Hampton-Court*, but fully recover'd before her Illneſs was known abroad, and immediately proceeded to the Care of the Goverment; commanded *Portſmouth* to be new and ſtrongly fortify'd, increas'd the Number of the Ships; made Muſters of the Train-Bands in every County, and caus'd the Youth to be taught the Exerciſe of Arms, and all this in a time of profound Peace. And having formerly borrow'd Mony of her Subjects, ſhe now repaid it with ſuch Thanks, as won her no leſs Love, than if ſhe had given it; and at this Time ſhe gain'd further Love by iſſuing out two Proclamations; by one of which ſhe commanded the Nobility to obſerve the Laws againſt keeping many *Retainers*; by the other, ſhe reſtrain'd *Informers*, who under Colour of diſcovering Crown Lands conceal'd by private Perſons, ſacrilegiouſly ſeiz'd upon the Lands of Churches and Alms-Houſes, piouſly endow'd by the Queen's Anceſtors. What ſtill added to her Honour and Eſteem was the performing two Acts of Juſtice much deſir'd; by one ſhe ſatisfy'd the Merchants out of the detain'd Goods belonging to the *Dutch*, reſtor'd the reſt to the Duke of *Alva*, and made a full Agreement with the Merchants of *Genoa*, for the Mony formerly intercepted: By the other ſhe diſcharg'd *England* of the Debts which her Father and Brother had contracted with Foreigners, which were much increas'd by annual Intereſt, and likewiſe caus'd the Charters of *London*, which had been ſo often renew'd, to be now reſtor'd, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Citizens. In *Ireland* were ſome Commotions, occaſion'd by the too rigorous Conduct of Sir *Edward Fitton* Governor of *Cownaught*, for which the Queen remov'd him from that Poſt, and made him Treaſurer of *Ireland*. In *Leinſter* alſo the *O-Moors*, a ſeditious kind of People, made an Inſurrection; but being proclaim'd Traitors, they return'd to their Duties at the Perſuaſion of the Earl of *Kildare*.

The Queen's Care of the Publick.

A. D. 1573. Reg. 15 16.

VII. While *England* was generally at Peace within it ſelf, and free from Foreign Diſturbances, the *Netherlands* felt all the Troubles of inteſtine Convulſions, and the Miſeries of Tyrannical Proceedings. The King of *Spain*, by his Ambaſſador, had complain'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *Netherland* Rebels were harbour'd and entertain'd in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League: Whereupon the Queen iſſu'd out a ſevere Proclamation, commanding all the *Dutch*, ſuſpected of Rebellion, immediately to leave the Nation; which yet turn'd little to the Advantage of the Duke of *Alva* or the King of *Spain*.

Great Troubles in the Netherlands.

Camden. Spotſwood. Strada. Melvil. Bahun.

Spain. For upon this, Count *Vander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England*, ſoon ſurpriz'd the *Brill*, and then *Fluſhing*; and drawing other Towns to revolt, in a ſhort Time they in a manner excluded the Duke of *Alva* from the Sea; which was judg'd a great Error in that active Governor. Shortly after many Military Men in *England*, having no Imployment at home, went over to the *Netherlands*, ſome to the Duke of *Alva*, but the far greater Number to the Prince of *Orange*, who headed the contrary Party, who in Time caus'd himſelf to be declar'd Stadtholder to the King of *Spain*. The firſt who went over was *Thomas Morgan*, who carry'd three hundred *Engliſh* to *Fluſhing*; and then by his Procurement follow'd nine Companies more under the Conduct of *Humphry Gilbert*; and afterwards it became the Nurſery of all the *Engliſh* Soldiers. After theſe Misfortunes, the Duke of *Alva*, contrary to his Inclinations, began to ſhow more Kindneſs towards the *Engliſh*, ſo that in the Month of *January* this Year, the Trade which had been forbidden in the Year 1568, was now allow'd again between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* for two Years. But all that this Duke could do, did not hinder him from being recall'd from his Government; and *Zuniga*, a Man of a more peaceable Diſpoſition, was ſent in his Room. Thus were the Foundations of the Liberties of the *United Provinces* in the *Netherlands*, laid in the Blood of its Inhabitants; and at firſt as zealouſly promoted by the Popiſh Subjects, to preſerve their Civil Privileges, as by the Proteſtants to ſecure their Lives and Fortunes from the Fury of the *Spaniards*.

Many Engliſh go thither.

The Duke of Alva remov'd.

In *France*, the laſt Year, in *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-Mother; who accordingly ſent the Earl of *Worceſter* into *France* with a Font of Maſſie Gold, to ſtand as her Deputy at the Solemnity. Upon this, and the Queen's Promiſes to obſerve the League ſtrictly, the *French* King and the Queen-Mother began more tenderly to affect her, and the Duke of *Alenſon* writ ſeveral Love-Letters to her, while the *French* King and his Mother paſſionately interceded for the Marriage. At this Time the Queen, upon many Conſiderations, began to think it proper for her to marry; but the Courtiers, for their own Intereſt, us'd as many to diſſuade her from it. At length the Queen-Mother of *France* became extreamly importunate, That her Son *Alenſon* might have leave to come and viſit her; and ſhe being weary'd with continual Letters and Meſſages, gave her Conſent; but with this Precaution, *That he ſhould not take it for any Diſhonour to him, if he return'd without obtaining his Suit*. But as ſoon as ſhe underſtood that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was dangerouſly ſick, ſhe gave Intimation to *Alenſon*, *That he ſhould not too much haſten his Paſſage into* England; *but ſhould firſt procure a Peace in* France, *and declare by ſome memorable Action his Affection towards the Proteſtants, by which he might become a more welcome Gueſt in* England. Upon this, a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in ſome Places the Proteſtants were allow'd to exerciſe their Religion: And then again the *French* King and the Queen-Mother us'd all their Endeavours to promote the Marriage; and withal, they requeſted of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea, he might have publick Security to ſail through the *Britiſh* Ocean. To this laſt Requeſt, ſhe not only conſented with all Readineſs, but alſo offer'd him a particular Fleet to conduct him. In the mean Time, *Alenſon* fell ſick of the Meaſles, which his Mother ſignify'd to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Gondy*, with an Excuſe for his not coming to *England* as he had determin'd. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, who receiv'd him with great Honour; and Archbiſhop *Parker* gave as noble an Entertainment to them both, as had been given to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and King *Henry* the Eighth, at the ſame Palace in the Year 1519.

The Duke of Alenſon proſecutes his Suit.

In *Scotland*, ſince the Death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent; but now chiefly by the Procurement of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of

The Affairs of Scotland.

Morton was made Regent; who by the Authority of a Parliamentary Aſſembly, Enacted many profitable Laws, for the Defence of Religion againſt Papiſts and Hereticks, in the Name of the King: But the Protection and Keeping of the King's Perſon, was confirm'd to the young Earl of *Marre*, as a Right belonging to that Family; yet upon theſe Conditions, That no Papiſts nor Factious Perſons ſhould be admitted to his Preſence. In the mean Time the *French* King ſent his Ambaſſador to corrupt the Earls of *Atholl* and *Huntley*, with large Promiſes, to oppoſe the Regent; while Queen *Elizabeth* as much labour'd to defend him, and inſiſted upon the Popiſh Cruelties in the late *Maſſacre of Paris*. But tho' by the Management of *Killigrew*, ſhe had drawn Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Huntley*, and the moſt Eminent of their Party to acknowledge the Regent upon indifferent Conditions; yet the Lord *Grange*, Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, the Lord *Humes*, Biſhop *Lidington* and others, would by no means admit of the Regent's Government, but by *Lidington's* Advice, held out that Caſtle in the Name of the Queen of *Scotland*, relying upon the Strength of the Place, and the Promiſes of the *French* and *Spaniards*. When no Perſuaſions could prevail upon theſe Men, Queen *Elizabeth* ſuffer'd her ſelf to be intreated by the Regent, to ſend Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for attacking the Caſtle, upon Condition that ten Hoſtages ſhould be ſent into *England*, to be Security for returning all the Men and Ammunition, not loſt by the common Hazard of War. The Conditions being ſettled, *William Drury*, Marſhal of the Garriſon at *Berwick*, with ſome great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Soldiers, and ſeveral brave Volunteers, enter'd into *Scotland*, and inveſted the Caſtle, which after thirty three days Siege was deliver'd up to the Regent for the King's Uſe, with all the Perſons that were in it. The Lord *Grange* and his Brother, with one or two more, were hang'd; tho' extraordinary Offers were made to ſave the Life of the firſt: The Lord *Humes* and the reſt were ſpar'd, through the gracious Interceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*; *Lidington* was ſent to *Leith*, where he dy'd, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon; a Man of an excellent Wit, and great Underſtanding, but too variable in his Temper. And now from this Time *Scotland* began to breath, after long Civil Wars; and the Commanders, as well as Soldiers of both Parties, betook themſelves to *Sweden*, *France* and the *Netherlands*, where they reap'd more Laurels than they did in their own Country. As for the famous Biſhop of *Roſs*, he was ſet at Liberty, but commanded immediately to depart out of *England*; and being beyond Sea, he ſtill continu'd to ſollicite the Cauſe of his Miſtreſs, the Queen of *Scotland*, with moſt of the Potentates of Chriſtendom; from whom he met with many Promiſes, but no effectual Performances.

They are ſettled by Queen Elizabeth's *Power.*

In *Ireland*, many particular Inſurrections were made this Year by the *O-Conors*, and the *O-Moors*, but more eſpecially by *Mac Phelim* and his Adherents, who burnt *Carickfergus*, and committed many Outrages. Againſt theſe the valiant *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex* offer'd his Service to the Queen; and with great Expence to himſelf, went over with ſeveral brave Adventurers. But meeting with many unexpected Difficulties, for which the Earl of *Leiceſter* has been much condemn'd, after the waſting of a Year's Time and much Treaſure, with no anſwerable Succeſs, he obtain'd leave to return home to *England*. Here all Things were ſtill in a quiet Condition, only the Queen and the Eccleſiaſtical State were much tormented with the new Sect call'd *Puritans*, who under a Pretence of greater Purity in Doctrine and Diſcipline, endeavour'd to eradicate Things that were well eſtabliſh'd, to make way for their own Novelties; therefore the Queen, to prevent a Schiſm in the Church, commanded the Law concerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers, to be in all Places put into Execution. It was thought the more neceſſary to reſtrain all new Opinions and Notions, by reaſon of one *Peter Bourchet* of the *Middle-Temple*, who taught that it was lawful to kill any that oppos'd the Truth of the Goſpel; and

The Earl of Eſſex *goes into* Ireland.

The Queen ſtrict againſt Puritans.

and ſo ſtrictly purſu'd that Principle by his Practice, that it brought upon him the Guilt of Murder, for which he ſuffer'd Death, according to Law.

A. D. 1574. Reg. 16/17.

The Duke of *Alenſon*, the moſt importunate of all the Queen's Suitors, by Letters and *Maveiſeir* the *French* Ambaſſador, now reviv'd his Amours, and begg'd leave he might come into *England* and proſecute them in Perſon; and the Queen having an Eſteem for him, and at preſent ſome Inclinations to marry, ſhe granted him a ſafe Conduct, with Demonſtrations of great Reſpect for his Perſon. But before her Anſwer came to him, it was ſuſpected by the Queen Mother, That he and the King of *Navarre* would remove her from the Government, and therefore they had Keepers ſet over them, and were committed to Cuſtody: For the *Guiſes* had ſuggeſted that *Alenſon* held intimate Correſpondence with Admiral *Coligny*, the Head of the Proteſtants in *France*. But *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dale*'s Secretary, came privately to them both, and comforted them in the Queen of *England*'s Name, promiſing ſhe would omit no Opportunity to relieve them: For which the ſubtle Queen Mother made ſuch Complaints to Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Wilkes* was compell'd to go into *France* and beg Pardon for his Fault; tho' twenty five Years after, he receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood from *Navarre*, when he was King of *France*. Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *Thomas Randolph* into *France* to the Queen-Mother, that if it were poſſible he might gain Reconciliation for *Alenſon* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*: But before he landed in *France*, King *Charles* dy'd in great Torment, as was hinted before; whoſe Funeral Obſequies were ſolemnly perform'd in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral in *London*. Now *Henry* the Third ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent the Lord *North* to congratulate his Return out of *Poland* to his own Inheritance, and deſir'd him to reſtore *Alenſon* into Favour, but the Ambaſſador effected nothing material; for *France*, puſh'd on by its own fatal Deſtiny, ran deſperately into a Civil War. Nevertheleſs, the new King and his Mother ſent *Le Garde* into *England*, again to promote the Marriage with the Queen, and to divert the young Duke from War and Faction at home.

Alenſon revives his Suit.

The King of France dies.

In theſe Times, *Camden* obſerves, That an extraordinary Exceſs in Apparel had ſpread it ſelf over all *England*, and the Habit of the Country, by a peculiar Vice incident to an imitating Nation, grew into ſuch Diſeſteem, that Men by their New-faſhion'd Garments, and gaudy Attire, diſcover'd the Deformity and Weakneſs of their Minds, while they ſhin'd in their Silks laced or imbroider'd with Silver and Gold. The Queen obſerving, that to maintain this Exceſs, large Sums were yearly exported to buy Silks and other Foreign Ornaments, to the impoveriſhing of the Republick; and that many of the Nobility that might be ſerviceable to the State, and others of noble Extract, not only waſted their Eſtates, but alſo ran ſo much into Debt, as to be tempted to raiſe Commotions in the Nation; ſhe therefore commanded them by Proclamation, That all Perſons ſhould within fourteen Days conform themſelves in Apparel to a certain preſcrib'd Faſhion, leſt they incurr'd the Severity of the Laws made under *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Mary*: And ſhe began the Example her ſelf in her own Court. But ſtill through the Untowardneſs of the Times, both the Proclamation and the Laws by ſeveral ſteps gave way to the Pride of the People; which alſo began to be attended with luxurious Banquets, and Prodigality in Buildings. For at this Time more large and magnificent Buildings were erected, than in any other Age before, to the great Ornament of the Kingdom, but as our Author ſays, to as great Decay of the glorious Hoſpitality of the Nation.

Exceſs in Apparel reſtrain'd.

D'Ewes. The Conſideration of ſome of theſe Matters was one Occaſion of the Meeting of a new Seſſion of Parliament, upon the eighth Day of *February*; which was the very ſame Parliament that laſt broke up in the Year 1572, and is not mention'd by *Camden*, and the common Hiſtorians, either for the Shortneſs of the Seſſions, or the ſmall Importance of the Acts. Here one Subſidy, two Fifteenths and Tenths were granted the Queen, without any Oppoſition; and the Houſe

A. D. 1575. Reg. 17/18.

The ſecond Seſſion of the fourth Parliament of this Reign.

Houſe of Commons again deſir'd, That her Majeſty would make the Nation happy in her Marriage. To which ſhe anſwer'd by the Mouth of the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, *That tho' in her own private Thoughts ſhe was no ways diſpos'd towards Matrimony, yet for their Sakes, ſhe would ſurmount her Averſion; when all things ſhould concur agreeable to the Majeſty of her Perſon, the Dignity of the State, and the Advantage of Religion.* This Speech was the laſt made by this great Man in Parliament, in which, in the Preſence of both Houſes, he among other Things declar'd, *That her Majeſty's Affections were ſo great to her People, that if the Virtues of all the Princes in* Europe *were united in her Perſon, ſhe would gladly employ them to their Good; and ſhe wiſh'd that the Benefits they receiv'd from her were Treble in Number, and Quadruble in Greatneſs and Goodneſs.* Then as to the Aids they had granted, *She eſteem'd their Readineſs to give, and the Heartineſs of their Love, more than ten Subſidies; and ſhe was ready to return all back to them, with the ſame Alacrity it was granted, if the Neceſſities of the Realm, and their Security would permit it.* After this Speech, this Parliament was Prorogu'd on the fifteenth Day of *March* from Time to Time, during five Years, 'till the Year 1580.

The Lord Keeper's Speech.

Notwithſtanding the Queen of *Scotland* was ſtill a Priſoner, all was calm and quiet in *England* for this Year; only a Difference aroſe between Sir *John Forſter* Governor of *Berwick*, and *John Carmichill* Warden of *Liddeſdale* in *Scotland*. In compoſing of which, the Regent himſelf having diſpleas'd the Queen of *England*, was oblig'd to come unarm'd before the Earl of *Huntington* the *Engliſh* Commiſſioner at *Bondenrod*; and thus the Matter was compos'd, and the Regent ever continu'd conſtant in obſerving the Queen's Pleaſure, and to his great Commendation reſtrain'd the Free-Booters of the *Borders*, to the Peace and Proſperity of both Kingdoms. In *Ireland*, the Earl of *Eſſex* having reſign'd up his Command in *Ulſter* to the Lord Deputy, as unable to proſecute his Deſigns with the ſmall Number allow'd him, he was commanded to re-aſſume it; but he had ſcarce march'd againſt *Turlogh*, but he receiv'd other Orders to finiſh the War, and make as honourable a Peace as he could. Which being ſoon effected, he march'd againſt the *Hebredian Scots*, who had ſeiz'd upon *Clandeboy*, and drove them into the retiring Places; and by the skilful Conduct of *Norris* attempted the Iſle of *Rachlin*, put four hundred of the Inhabitants to the Sword, forc'd the Caſtle, and garriſon'd it with *Engliſh*. But in the midſt of his Victories and Succeſſes, he was again, contrary to Expectation, commanded to reſign his Authority; only as an ordinary Captain he had the Command of three hundred Men given him, and by the wicked Contrivances of the Earl of *Leiceſter* was ever croſs'd in his good and honourable Deſigns.

The Earl of Eſſex *in* Ireland.

In the *Netherlands* the Troubles and Commotions were greater; where *Zuniga*, Succeſſor to the Duke of *Alva*, was wholly reſolv'd to recover the Command of the Seas, which *Alva* had neglected: But not being ſufficiently provided with a Navy, he ſent *Boiſchoit* into *England*, that with the Queen's leave he might take up Ships and Seamen to act againſt the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*; but this ſhe would not grant. Next he deſir'd, That the Queen would not take it amiſs, if the *Engliſh* Exiles in the *Netherlands* ſerv'd the King of *Spain* by Sea againſt the *Hollanders*; and that they might have free Acceſs to the Ports of *England*, to buy Proviſions for ready Mony. This being alſo refus'd, he then requeſted, That the *Dutch*, who were Rebels to the King of *Spain*, might be driven out of *England*; but neither would ſhe conſent to this, as being an Action void of Humanity, and contrary to the Laws of Hoſpitality. Yet becauſe ſhe would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* Alliance, ſhe commanded by Proclamation, That ſuch *Dutch* Ships as were in the *Engliſh* Ports ſhould be ſtopp'd, and thoſe *Dutch* who had taken up Arms againſt the King of *Spain* ſhould be hinder'd from entering the Ports of *England*, in which was nam'd the Prince of *Orange*, and fifty others of his Party. All this ſhe

The Affairs of the Netherlands.

did with the more Readineſs, becauſe *Zuniga*, at Interceſſion of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, had remov'd the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and other *Engliſh* Fugitives out of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, and had alſo diſſolv'd the *Engliſh* Seminary at *Doway*; tho' inſtead of that, the *Guiſes*, through the Procurement of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, eſtabliſh'd another at *Rheims*.

And now the Politick Prince of *Orange* finding his Forces but ſmall, and having little Hopes of Aſſiſtance from *England*, enter'd into a grand Conſultation with the Confederate States, to whoſe Protection they could moſt ſecurely betake themſelves: They knew the Princes of *Germany* were not all of one Opinion, parted from their Mony with Difficulty, and could not unanimouſly concur with them in their Religion; therefore they were not Perſons proper for their Purpoſe. Next they ſaw the *French* were involv'd in a Civil War, and had ſufficient Imployment at home; beſides the Remembrance of the old Reſentments and Fewds between them and the *Dutch*; therefore neither were they thought proper for this critical Juncture. There remain'd then only the *Engliſh*, if they might be obtain'd, as beſt for their Deſigns, of the ſame profeſs'd Religion, and of a Language not much different, ſtrong in Shipping, and rich in Merchandize. After a full Conſultation, they ſent over an honourable Embaſſie of ſeveral Perſons, with Doctor *Melſen*; who in an eloquent Oration offer'd the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be poſſeſs'd or protected by the Queen, as being deſcended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa*, Wife to the great *Edward* the Third, Daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hannault* and *Holland*; by whoſe other Siſter, the Hereditary Right of thoſe Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this Offer the Queen took time to reply, and after mature Conſideration, her Anſwer was, *That ſhe was not yet ſatisfy'd how ſhe might with her Honour and a ſafe Conſcience take thoſe Provinces into her Protection, much leſs into her Poſſeſſion; but promiſs'd to deal earneſtly with the* Spaniard *to procure them a happy Peace*. Shortly after *Zuniga* the Governor of the *Netherlands* dy'd; upon which the States of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, aſſum'd the ancient Adminiſtration and Authority in the Republick; which the King of *Spain* was compell'd to confirm to them, 'till ſuch time as Don *John* of *Auſtria* was come among them, whom he deſign'd for their Governor. In the mean time Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, ſent *William Daviſon* as Ambaſſador to thoſe Provinces, to exhort them to a peaceable and quiet Condition; which prov'd of no great Effect, by reaſon of the continual Outrages of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers.

The Confederate States chuſe Queen Elizabeth *for their Protector.*

A. D. 1576. Reg. 18/19.

Great Troubles in the Netherlands.

Theſe daily increas'd, and the Inhabitants were roughly treated and harraſs'd with all manner of Injuries; *Antwerp*, the moſt beautiful and famous Place of Trade in all *Europe*, was miſerably pillag'd, and the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants rifled; inſomuch that the States were driven to take up Arms, and Emiſſaries were ſent to all neighbouring Princes. To Queen *Elizabeth* was ſent Monſieur *D'Aubigny*, both to repreſent the juſt Reaſons they had for taking up Arms, and likewiſe to borrow a large Sum of Mony, to enable them to reſiſt the *Spaniard*; but ſhe being certainly inform'd, That they had firſt ſu'd to the *French* King for Aid, deny'd the Requeſt, yet promis'd earneſtly to intercede with the King of *Spain* for a Peace. And to that Purpoſe ſhe ſent Sir *John Smith*, who was Couſin-German to King *Edward* the Sixth, a Man of *Spaniſh* Behaviour, and well known to that King, who honourably receiv'd him at his Court; where this Ambaſſador with ſuch Diſcretion retorted the detracting Speeches of the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo* and the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors, who would not admit the Queen's Title of *Defender of the Faith*, that he obtain'd Thanks from the King of *Spain* himſelf, who deſir'd him not to mention the Matter to his Queen, and gave ſtrict Command that the Title ſhould be admitted. At this time Don *John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth,

Don John *Governor.*

Fifth, came into the *Netherlands* with Supream Power; to whom Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *Edward Horſey*, Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*, to congratulate his Arrival, and offer him Aſſiſtance in caſe the Confederate States call'd the *French* into the *Netherlands*. Yet at the ſame time, as a compleat Politician, upon the great Importunity of theſe States, ſhe ſent them twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling, upon Condition they ſhould neither change their Prince nor Religion, receive no *French* into their Country, nor yet refuſe a Peace, if Don *John* ſhould condeſcend to reaſonable Conditions: But if he embrac'd a Peace, then the Mony ſhould be paid to the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who were ready to Mutiny for want of Pay. So careful was this great Queen to retain theſe wavering Provinces in their Fidelity and Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

England was at this time in a pleaſant Calm and Quiet, and the Trade between the *Engliſh* and *Portugueze* was inlarg'd; and at this time ſome Studious Heads, excited with a laudable Deſire to diſcover the more remote Regions of the World, undertook a Voyage to try if they could find any Sea upon the North Parts of *America*, leading to the wealthy Coaſt of *Cathay*, by which might be join'd in one Commerce the Riches of both the Eaſt and Weſt Parts of the Globe. In this Voyage was imploy'd *Martin Forbiſher*, who ſet Sail from *Harwich* the eighteenth Day of *June*; and the ninth of *Auguſt*, enter'd into that Northern Bay or Sea, but could paſs no further by reaſon of the Snow and Ice. The like Expedition was undertaken two Years after, but with no better Succeſs. In this Year 1576, dy'd *Maximilian* the Emperor, a Prince who had merited much from Queen *Elizabeth* and the *Engliſh*; and thereupon the famous Sir *Philip Sidney* was ſent to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Father's Death, and congratulate his Acceſſion to the Empire; as alſo to do the like to the Elector *Palatine*, *Frederick* the Third, with his ſurviving Son.

The Emperor's Death. Rodolphus *ſucceeds.*

As *Germany* had a great Loſs from the Death of theſe Princes, ſo *England* and *Ireland*, in Proportion, had no leſs from that of *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*; who by the Envy of wicked *Leiceſter* was recall'd from *Ireland*, and by his Fears ſent back again with the empty Title of *Earl Marſhal of* Ireland; where with Grief, a bloody Flux, and probably with ſomething worſe, he ended his Days in great Torments. In the midſt of his Pains, by a kind of a prophetick Spirit, he deſir'd his Friends about him, to admoniſh his Son, who was then ſcarce ten Years of Age, *To have always in his Thoughts the thirty ſixth Year of his Age, as the utmoſt Boundary of his Life, which neither he nor his Father could paſs*, and to which his Son could never arrive, as will be ſhew'd in its proper Place. He likewiſe ſaid to young *Homines* his Page, *We have been both poiſon'd, you have only loſt your Hair, but I muſt loſe my Life.* This was believ'd to have been effected by one *Crompton*, by the Procurement of *Leiceſter*; which Suſpicion was much increas'd by that Earl's Behaviour immediately after his Death, who having by large Promiſes and Mony put away *Douglaſs Sheffeild*, by whom he had a Son, openly marry'd *Eſſex*'s Widow. For tho' it was reported that he had already marry'd her in private, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leiceſter*'s raving Amours, would not believe him in earneſt unleſs he himſelf was preſent at the Marriage, and had it teſtify'd by a publick Notary. At this time alſo dy'd Sir *Anthony Cook*, a learned Man, who had been School-Maſter to King *Edward* the Sixth, who had given ſuch a learned Education to his five Daughters, above their Sex, that he marry'd them all to Men of great Note and Honour: The firſt to the great Lord *Burleigh*, the ſecond to the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, the third to Sir *Thomas Hobby* who dy'd Ambaſſador in *France*, the fourth to Sir *Ralph Roulet*, and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

The Death of the Earl of Eſſex.

His Widow marries Leiceſter.

A. D. 1577. Reg. 19/20. Hitherto the Papiſts in *England* had met with nothing but fair and calm Weather, and by a tender Connivance enjoy'd their own Way of Worſhip in their Houſes in a manner without Puniſhment; and tho' they were prohibited by

by the Laws of the Land, yet the merciful Queen thought that Violence was not to be offer'd to their Conſciences. But after the Thunders of the Vatican were levell'd againſt the Queen, this fair Seaſon turn'd gradually into Clouds and Tempeſts, and caus'd a ſtrict Law in 1571 againſt any who ſhould bring any Bulls from *Rome*, or any Marks of Papal Obedience, or ſhould reconcile any Perſon to the Church of *Rome*. Yet there was no Man in ſix Years time proceeded againſt upon that Law, tho' ſome were apprehended who had broken it: But this Year, *Cuthbert Main*, a Prieſt, was the firſt who felt the Severity of it; who being an obſtinate Maintainer of the Pope's Authority againſt his Prince, was put to Death at *Launſton* in *Cornwall*; and one *Tragion* a Gentleman, who had harbour'd him, was condemn'd to loſe his Eſtate, and to perpetual Impriſonment.

Laws firſt put in Execution againſt Papiſts.

The Queen was every Day more neceſſitated to be ſtrict and vigilant, in relation to thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, by reaſon of their many Plots and Conſpiracies, not only at home, but alſo in *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*. In which laſt Country, Don *John*, the Governor, tho' he pretended nothing but Peace and Gratitude to Queen *Elizabeth*, yet through a reſtleſs and treacherous Diſpoſition, he ſecretly treated with the Pope to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himſelf to marry the Queen of *Scotland*, and to invade *England* both from *Ireland* and *Scotland*; of all which Deſigns the Prince of *Orange* gave her the firſt Intelligence. Upon which, finding the *Spaniard*'s deep Diſſimulation, the great Hardſhips of the Confederate States, and the Dangers threatning the Proteſtant Religion, ſhe enter'd into a League with the ſaid States, for mutual Defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain fix'd Conditions; by which ſhe was to aſſiſt them with one thouſand Horſe and five thouſand Foot, whoſe *Engliſh* Commander ſhould be admitted into the Council of the Eſtates. But becauſe ſhe would not be ſlander'd with aſſiſting Rebels againſt their Prince, ſhe ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with theſe Informations: 'That ſhe had always endeavour'd to preſerve the *Netherlands* 'in Obedience to the King of *Spain*; and had us'd both Perſuaſions and Threat-'nings to the Prince of *Orange* to accept of a Peace: But withal, if the King 'of *Spain* expected to have his Subjects obedient to him, ſhe requeſted him to 'do Juſtice to his afflicted People, and reſtore their Privileges; and likewiſe to 'remove Don *John* from his Government, who was not only her mortal Ene-'my, but labour'd by all Methods to reduce the *Netherlands* to an intire Ser-'vitude. If this were granted by the King of *Spain*, ſhe then faithfully pro-'mis'd, That if the States perform'd not their Allegiance to him, as they had 'oblig'd themſelves by Ingagements to her, ſhe would utterly abandon them, 'and uſe all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* remonſtrated theſe Matters in *Spain*, Don *John* on the other Side ſent his Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*, highly accuſing the States for their unreaſonable Diſobedience, and making a large Apology, and an Enumeration of the Reaſons why he had again taken up Arms. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* ſate as an Heroical Princeſs and Arbiter between the *Spaniards*, *French*, and Confederate States: Which was very agreeable to what an Author who wrote in thoſe Times obſerv'd, *That* France *and* Spain *were the Ballances in the Scale of* Europe, *and* England *the Beam to turn them either Way*; for they ſtill prevail'd, to whom ſhe adher'd.

Don John's *Deſigns againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

The Queen enters into a League with the Confederate States.

Her Declaration.

Great Numbers went out of *England* into the *Netherlands* about this time, particularly *John North*, Eldeſt Son to the Lord *North*, *John Norris*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendiſh*, and *Thomas Morgan*, Colonels, with many Volunteers, to learn Military Experience. There came alſo *Caſamire* the Elector *Palatine*'s Son, with an Army of *German* Horſe and Foot, at the Queen of *England*'s Charge. Upon their Arrival Don *John*, aſſiſted by the Prince of *Parma*, and other chief *Spaniſh* Commanders, being aſſur'd of Victory, ſet furiouſly upon them, before they expected him, yet after a long Fight was forc'd to retreat: Then wheeling about, and endeavour-

A. D. 1578. Reg. 20/21.

The Engliſh *Victorious in the* Netherlands.

ing to break through certain Hedges and Coverts, where the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Volunteers had plac'd themſelves, he was again repuls'd; for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* were ſo violently hot in the Conflict, that throwing away their Garments, they fought bravely in their Shirts faſten'd about their Thighs. *Norris* the *Engliſh* General, fighting valiantly, had three Horſes ſlain under him, and gain'd great Reputation; as alſo did *Stuart* a *Scotchman*, *Pingham* Lieutenant to *Cavendiſh*, and *William Markham*. To comfort the afflicted Provinces, Ambaſſadors were ſent from the Emperor, and the *French* King, and laſtly from the Queen of *England*, with Commiſſions to procure Conditions of Peace; but they return'd without effecting any thing, by reaſon that Don *John* refus'd to admit the Proteſtant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refus'd to return into *Holland*. About this time *Egremond Ratcliff*, Son to the Earl of *Suſſex*, who had been a violent Man in the Rebellion in the North, and now ſerv'd under the *Spaniard*, was accus'd by the *Engliſh* Fugitives, that he was ſecretly ſent to aſſaſſinate Don *John*; but whether it was true or falſe, he was thereupon apprehended and put to Death. The *Spaniards* affirm'd that at his Execution he confeſs'd, That he was freed out of *London* Tower, and mov'd by *Walſingham*'s large Promiſes to commit this Fact; but the *Engliſh* that were preſent deny'd that he confeſs'd any ſuch thing, tho' the *Engliſh* Rebels us'd all means to extort this Confeſſion from him. Shortly after Don *John* himſelf dy'd, as ſome ſay of Grief, for being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a Man of an inſatiable Ambition, who firſt aim'd at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and then that of *England*, and who without the Privity of the Kings of *France* or *Spain*, had made a League with the *Guiſes*, for the Defence of both Crowns.

The Death of Don John.

In the mean time new Alterations began to be made in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Morton* ſtill govern'd as Regent; who tho' he was a Man of great Wiſdom and Valour, was now ſo overcome with Avarice, that he became univerſally hated. Whereupon, with the joint Conſent of the Nobility, the Adminiſtration of the Government was transferr'd to the King, tho' he was yet but twelve Years of Age; and twelve of the principal Lords were appointed to attend in Council, three of them by Courſe for three Months; among whom the Earl of *Morton* was one, that he might not ſeem to be totally laid aſide. The young, but underſtanding King, having aſſum'd the Adminiſtration to himſelf, immediately ſent the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great Favours to him, and deſir'd to have the Treaty of *Edinburgh* confirm'd; and withal, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*, deſcending from his Grandfather and Grand-mother, the Earl and Counteſs of *Lenox*, might be deliver'd to him, as neareſt Heir. The Queen readily promis'd to grant the former Demands, but a little heſitated on the latter; for ſhe would not grant, That *Arbella*, Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scotland*'s Uncle, and born in *England*, was next Heir to the Lands in *England*; nor would ſhe allow the Ambaſſadors Proof out of Hiſtory, that the Kings of the *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet ſhe commanded a Sequeſtration to be made of the Revenues of thoſe Lands by *Burghly* Maſter of the Wards; and ſignify'd to the Ambaſſador, That the King ſhould ſatisfie his Grand-mother's Creditors out of the Lands of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*. For ſhe took it unkindly that the King had recall'd the Infeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* made to his Uncle and his Heirs, and to the Prejudice of the Lady *Arbella*; tho' it was a Privilege of the Kings of *Scotland* to revoke prejudicial Donations made in their Minority. The Earl of *Morton* in the mean time, not enduring the Diſgrace of being remov'd from his Regency, regarded not the Form of Government lately made, but drew the Adminiſtration of all Affairs to his own Perſon, and kept the King in his own Power at the Caſtle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his Preſence, but whom he pleas'd. The Lords being exaſperated at this Preſumption, made the Earl of

The Earl of Morton *remov'd from his Regency in* Scotland.

of *Atholl* their Commander, and in the King's Name levy'd a powerful Army, and prepar'd to ingage the Earl of *Morton*: But by the Interceſſion of *Bave*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, they were reſtrain'd from Blood-ſhed; and *Morton*, as weary of Employment, withdrew himſelf to his own Houſe, but the Earl of *Atholl* ſoon after dy'd not without Suſpicion of Poiſon.

The Pope and King of Spain *combine againſt* England.

While all Things ſeem'd ſafe and ſecure in *England*, the King of *Spain* and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held ſecret Conſultations, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the abſolute Ruin of their moſt formidable Enemy Queen *Elizabeth*. Religion was the main Pretext, yet the Pope's chief Deſign was to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Boncompagni*, whom he had made Marqueſs of *Vincola*; and the King of *Spain*'s Intention was ſecretly to relieve the *Iriſh* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* had aſſiſted the *Dutch*; while Amity in Expreſſions was all the Time maintain'd on both Sides. Theſe two well knowing, that the greateſt Strength of *England* conſiſted in the Royal Navy, and Merchant Ships, projected, that the *Italian* and *Low-Counry* Merchants ſhould hire what Veſſels they could for long Voyages; while they were abſent the Queen's Navy might be ſurpriz'd by a Superior Fleet; and at the ſame Time *Thomas Stukeley*, an *Engliſh* Fugitive, ſhould join himſelf to the *Iriſh* Rebels with new Forces. For he by his large and ſpecious Promiſes to the Pope, of procuring the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his natural Son, had ſo inſinuated himſelf with the ambitious old Man, that he adorn'd him with the glorious Titles of Marqueſs, Earl, Viſcount and Baron, of the principal Places of that Kingdom; and made him Commander over eight hundred *Italian* Soldiers, to be employ'd in the *Iriſh* War. With theſe Forces *Stukely* ſet ſail from *Civita Vecchia*, and at length arriv'd at *Portugal*; where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another Way. For *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, the chief Commander in the deſign'd Expedition againſt *England*, being firſt to diſpatch a War in *Africa*, in favour of *Mahomet* the Son of *Abdalla* King of *Fez*, perſuaded *Stukely* to accompany him firſt with his *Italian* Forces, into *Africa*, after which they would both join againſt *Ireland*. To this Motion *Stukely* ſoon conſented, and therein met with his Deſtiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were ſlain, both he and *Sebaſtian* loſt their Lives. Had not *Sebaſtian*'s Fate diverted the *Spaniard*'s Mind from the Invaſion of *England*, to the Hopes of gaining the Kingdom of *Portugal*, a violent Storm of War had fallen upon *England*. But upon Notice of this great Change, the *Engliſh* Fleet which waited for *Stukely* upon the Coaſts of *Ireland* was call'd home; and Sir *Henry Sidney*, who had been Lord Deputy about eleven Years, reſign'd his Place to Sir *William Drury*, Preſident of *Munſter*; leaving a Reputation behind him anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Wiſdom and Valour.

The Deſign defeated.

A. D. 1579. Reg. 21/22.

In the following Year *John Caſimire*, Son to *Frederick* the Elector Palatine, came into *England* to excuſe himſelf about ſome Miſcarriages in the *Netherlands*, for which the *French* were chiefly blamable. He was moſt honourably receiv'd, and conducted with great Pomp into *London*, with lighted Torches by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and to the Court by the chief of the Nobility; where he was entertain'd with Tiltings, Tournaments and magnificent Banquets, and honour'd with the Order of St. *George*, the Queen her ſelf putting on the *Garter* about his Leg: And after the ſetling of an annual Penſion on him, and many Preſents made to him, he return'd into the *Netherlands*, where *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, was now made Governor. Not long after Queen *Elizabeth* ſupply'd the States with large Sums of Mony; for which *William Daviſon*, the Queen's Agent, brought into *England* the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, mortgag'd by *Matthias* of *Auſtria*, and the Confederate States.

The Prince of Parma *Governor of the* Netherlands.

In the midſt of theſe Times of Action, ſtill the Duke of *Alenſon*, lately made Duke of *Anjou*, purſu'd his Amours with Queen *Elizabeth*. For the

Alenſon *revives his Suit with Queen* Elizabeth.

Proſecution of which, the laſt Year two ſeveral Ambaſſadors were ſent into *England*, and after that a third call'd *Simier*, a compleat Courtier, and exquiſitely vers'd in all the Arts of Love, who came accompany'd with a great Number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen entertain'd in ſuch an obliging Manner, that *Leiceſter* began to rage, as if his Hopes were now quite blaſted. And about this Time, when *Aſhley* a Lady of the Bed-Chamber, covertly commended that Earl to her for a Husband, ſhe with Reſentment reply'd, *Do you think me ſo unlike my ſelf, and ſo regardleſs of my Royal Dignity, as to prefer the Servant I made my ſelf, before the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom?* *Simier* never ceas'd by all inſinuating and amorous Inventions to perſuade the Queen to marry the Duke of *Anjou*; in which he gain'd ſo much Ground, That *Leiceſter* reported he wrought by the Power of Love-Potions, and other Infernal Arts. And *Simier* on the other Side us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to remove *Leiceſter* from the Queen's Favour, and firſt diſcover'd to her his Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Widow: Which ſo provok'd the Queen, that ſhe confin'd *Leiceſter* to the Caſtle at *Greenwich*, and deſign'd to have ſent him to the Tower, had not the generous Earl of *Suſſex*, tho' his greateſt Adverſary, diſſuaded her, declaring, *That none ought to be moleſted for contracting a lawful Marriage.* Nevertheleſs *Leiceſter* was ſo incens'd at his Confinement, that he turn'd all his Thoughts upon Revenge; and ſome ſay he hir'd one *Teuder* of the Queen's Guards to aſſaſſinate the *French* Ambaſſador. It is certain that the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no Perſon ſhould offer any Affront to the Ambaſſador, or any of his Attendants. About which Time it happen'd,

The Queen in Danger.

That while the Queen for her Pleaſure was rowing in her Barge upon the *Thames*, in the Company of *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and her Vice-Chamberlain *Hatton*, a young Man out of a Boat diſcharg'd a Gun, and ſhot one of the Queen's Bargemen through both his Arms. At which the Queen, who ſat near him, generouſly threw him her Scarfe for his Wounds, without any fear of her own Perſon; and when the offending Party was brought to his Trial, and ſo to the Gallows, upon his Proteſtation that he had no malicious Intent, ſhe freely pardon'd him. Some would have perſuaded her, that it was deſign'd againſt her Majeſty or the *French* Ambaſſador; but ſhe was ſo far from ſuſpecting her Subjects, that ſhe often ſaid, *She would not believe any Thing againſt them, which a Mother would not believe againſt her Children.* A few Days after, the Duke

Alenſon *comes* Incognito.

of *Anjou* himſelf came into *England Incognito*, and unexpectedly addreſs'd himſelf to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where they had ſome ſecret Diſcourſes together; and then without being known but to a very few, he return'd into *France*. After a Month or two the Queen commanded all her great Men, *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, *Hatton*, and *Walſingham* to conſider and draw up all the ſeveral Miſchiefs and Advantages that would accrue from this Marriage; which being nicely enumerated and examin'd, the Balance was ſo even, that nothing was determin'd by them.

As in *England* there began to be ſeveral Fears from this *French* Man, ſo there were in *Scotland* at the ſame Time from another call'd *Eſme Stuart*, Lord *D'Aubigny*, who now came into *Scotland* to viſit the young King his Couſin. He was the Son of *John Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* the King's Grand-father, and had Denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* had anciently conferr'd upon *John Stuart* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being General of the *Scotch* Army in *France*, vanquiſh'd the *Engliſh* in one Battel, and was ſlain by them in another; and from that Time the Title belong'd to the younger Brothers of that Houſe. This *Eſme Stuart* was imbrac'd by King *James* with great Affection, made Lord Chamberlain of *Scotland*, Governor of *Dunbriton* Caſtle, and created firſt Earl and then Duke of *Lenox*. The Fears from this conſiderable Man aroſe from his being devoted to the *Guiſes*, and the Popiſh Religion; and what ſtill increas'd them was his applying himſelf to the Earl of *Morton*'s Enemies,

and his contriving to call home *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernihuſt*, who of all Men was moſt in the Intereſt of the *Scotch* Queen. In the ſame Year a Grant was procur'd from the *Turkiſh* Emperor, That the *Engliſh* Merchants might exerciſe a free Trade in all Places of his Dominions, as well as other neighbouring Nations: Upon which was erected the remarkable Company of *Turkey* Merchants; managing a moſt gainful Trade to *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other Parts, for Spices, Cottons, Raw-Silks, Tapeſtries, Indico, Currants, and other Commodities. About the ſame Time dy'd the Lord-Keeper, the famous Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; a Man of ſingular Wiſdom, admirable Eloquence and Memory, and a great Support in the Queen's Privy-Council: In whoſe Place ſucceeded Sir *Thomas Bromley*, the Queen's Sollicitor, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of *England*. *Bacon*'s Death was follow'd by that of Sir *Thomas Greſham*, Citizen of *London* and the Queen's Merchant; who for an Ornament to his Country, and for the Benefit of Merchants, built a noble Walking-Place in *London*, which the Queen nam'd *The Royal Exchange*; and gave a large Houſe he had in the City to the Profeſſors of ſeveral Sorts of Learning, ſince call'd *Greſham-College*.

The Beginning of the Turkey *Company.*

Sir Nicholas Bacon *dies*: Bromley *ſucceeds him.*

Camden. Spotſwood Melvil. Stow. Baker. &c.

VIII. There was now a general Calm throughout the Queen's Dominions, only ſome Diſturbances were rais'd in *Ireland* by *Fitz-Morris*, and by the Landing of ſome *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Soldiers, all which were ſoon ſuppreſs'd. But about this Time there aroſe other Kinds of Diſquiets in the Nation from the reſtleſs Endeavours of many of the *Romiſh* Party, and from the Management and Contrivances of Foreign Seminaries, which had been formerly erected to propagate their Religion in *England*. In theſe Seminaries, among other Diſputations, it was concluded, 'That the Pope had ſuch a Plenitude of Power, by *Divine Right*, over the whole Chriſtian World, both 'in Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Matters, that by Vertue thereof it was lawful for 'him to Excommunicate Kings, abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From theſe Seminaries this Year there came two Emiſſaries into *England*, *Robert Parſons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both *Engliſhmen* and Jeſuits. *Parſons* was a *Somerſetſhire* Man, of a furious and violent Temper, and of an ungenteel Behaviour; *Campian* was a *Londoner*, well bred, and of a ſweet and elegant Tongue; and both of them had been bred up in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and had profeſs'd the Proteſtant Religion. Theſe Men, upon their coming over into *England*, appear'd ſometimes in a Military Habit, ſometimes in the Dreſs of Gentlemen, at other Times in the Habits of the Clergy, and ſometimes like Apparators, and frequented the Country Houſes, and Seats of the Popiſh Nobility and Gentry. *Parſons* was ſo warm with ſeveral of them for the direct depoſing the Queen, that ſome of them were ſtrongly inclin'd to deliver him into the Hands of the Magiſtrates. But *Campian*, more moderate, made it his chief Buſineſs to convert the People by his Writings, which were ſolidly anſwer'd by Doctor *Whitaker*. However theſe two Emiſſaries caus'd no ſmall Diſturbances; nor were there others wanting of the ſame Party, who publiſh'd in Print, That the Pope and King of *Spain* had reſolv'd to conquer the Kingdom of *England*; and this to inſpire their own Faction with Courage, and to terrifie others from their Allegiance to their Prince and Country. The Queen being thus attack'd both by the Arms and Artifices of the Pope and *Spaniard*, publiſh'd a ſharp Proclamation in which ſhe caution'd theſe Kind of Men *To behave themſelves prudently and modeſtly, and not to irritate her Juſtice any farther againſt them; for ſhe was now reſolv'd not to be cruel to her ſelf and good Subjects any longer, by ſparing ſuch Miſcreants, as they had ſhown themſelves.*

A. D. 1580. Reg. 22/23.

Dangers from Seminaries,

and from Popiſh Emiſſaries.

D'Ewes, &c.

Towards the ſuppreſſing of theſe Emiſſaries, a new Seſſion of Parliament met on the ſixteenth Day of *January*; which was the ſame Parliament that firſt met in the Year 1572, and a ſecond Time in the Year 1575, and is not mention'd

The third Seſſion of the fourth Parliament in this Reign.

tion'd in the right Year by *Camden* and the Common Hiſtorians. In this Parliament an Act was made for the retaining the Queen's Subjects to their Obedience, chiefly againſt thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion; in which it was again made Treaſon for any to reconcile themſelves or others to the Church of *Rome*, and all Abſenters from the Church of *England* were condemn'd to pay twenty Pounds a Month. It was likewiſe unanimouſly reſolv'd to grant the Queen one Subſidy, two Fifteenths, and one Tenth of all the Revenues of the Kingdom. After which, the Parliament was prorogu'd on the eighteenth Day of *March*, from Time to Time, 'till it was finally diſſolv'd in the Year 1583, after it had continu'd in Being, by fourſcore ſeveral Prorogations, near twelve Years.

Captain Drake's Voyages.

In this Year 1580, was the Return of the famous Captain *Francis Drake*, who after a three Years celebrated Voyage round the Tereſtrial Globe, and many wonderful Adventures and Diſcoveries, arriv'd at *Plymouth*, where he firſt took Shipping, with vaſt Quantities of Gold and Silver, taken from the *Spaniards*, in ſeveral Parts of *America*. The Queen receiv'd him very graciouſly, and ſecur'd the Treaſure he brought by Way of Sequeſtration, that it might be ready, if the *Spaniard* ſhould demand it. His Ship was drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford* upon the *Thames*, as a Monument of his fortunate ſailing round the World; where with great Ceremony he entertain'd the Queen, who conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood. But *Mendoza*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador in *England*, ſoon ſhew'd his Reſentments, and vehemently demanded Reſtitution of the Goods, and further complain'd, That the *Engliſh* had ſail'd upon the *Indian* Ocean. To whom it was anſwer'd, 'That the Goods were already ſequeſter'd, and ready to make the 'King of *Spain* Satisfaction, notwithſtanding the Queen had expended more 'Mony againſt the Rebels incourag'd by him in *England* and *Ireland*, than 'what Captain *Drake* had brought home: And as for his Sailing on the *In*'*dian* Ocean, That was as lawful for the Queen's Subjects as his own, ſince 'the Sea and Air were common to all Men. Notwithſtanding all which, a great Sum of Mony was repaid to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain*'s Agent in this Buſineſs, which was not reſtor'd to the legal Owners, but employ'd againſt the Queen's Intereſt in the *Netherland* Wars, as was diſcover'd afterwards, when it was too late to remedy the Miſchief.

A. D. 1581. Reg. 23/24.

About theſe Times new Commotions aroſe in *Ireland* from the Family of the *O-Conors*; but this Conſpiracy was timely ſuppreſs'd by the great Care of *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Deputy of the Kingdom, who by terrifying others, brought *Turlogh Lenigh* to Terms of Peace, who had rais'd Diſturbances in *Ulſter*, and reduc'd the *O-Brians*, and the *O-Moors* to Submiſſion. About the ſame Time, great Feuds alſo aroſe among the *Scotch* Nobility; one Party having terrible Jealouſies of *Lenox* Lord *D'Aubigny*, leſt he ſhould abuſe the extraordinary Favours of the young King, by inducing him to marry into *France*, and bring back the Popiſh Religion into *Scotland*. *Lenox* by his Letters purg'd himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*, and openly profeſs'd himſelf of the Proteſtant Religion; yet ſtill many Endeavours were us'd to remove him from the King's Perſon; but they were ſo far from taking Effect, that on the contrary the Earl of *Morton*, the laſt Regent and Head of the contrary Party, was ſhortly after accus'd by the Earl of *Arran* of being acceſſary to the Murder of the Lord *Darnly* the King's Father, and thrown into Priſon. Notwithſtanding all the Means the Queen could uſe to ſave him, not long after he was publickly beheaded at *Edinburgh*; becoming a memorable Inſtance of the Mutability of Fortune, who from the Height of Grandeur, came to this fatal End: A Man who tho' he had many noble Qualities, yet by his ambitious Practices, had occaſion'd many violent Convulſions, and the Loſs of much Blood in his own Country.

The Earl of Morton beheaded in Scotland.

In the *Netherlands*, about this Time, the Count *Rhineberg* proceeded victoriouſly for the King of *Spain*, and inveſted *Steenwick* in *Freezland*; againſt

whom the *States* ſent the *Engliſh* General *Norris*, who worſted *Rhineberg*'s Party, and rais'd the Siege: But afterwards ingaging with *Verdago* the *Spaniard* at *Northone*, even when the Victory was almoſt gain'd, the Fortune of the Battel turn'd, *Norris* was defeated and wounded, and a great Number of his Men ſlain; among whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Biſhop*, all valiant Commanders. Here *Camden* aſſures us, That in theſe *Dutch* Wars, the *Engliſh*, who were the ſobereſt of all the Northern Nations, firſt learnt to be Drunkards, and brought the ſcandalous Vice ſo far to over-ſpread the Kingdom, that in the next Reign Laws were firſt made to reſtrain the Miſchief. But while the King of *Spain* and the *States* contended about a few Towns in the *Netherlands*, the former ſeiz'd upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*, upon the Death of King *Henry*, as being Son to his eldeſt Siſter. In ſeventy Days the Duke of *Alva* gain'd Poſſeſſion of that rich Kingdom, and put *Don Antonio* to Flight, whom the People had elected for their King. The Queen of *France*, who pretended a Title to that Kingdom, now enviouſly beholding the King of *Spain*'s Dominions thus enlarg'd, by a new Acceſſion of *Portugal*, and ſeveral Parts of the Eaſt *Indies*, adviſ'd Queen *Elizabeth*, among other Princes, to conſider of a timely Reſtraint of that King's exceſſive Greatneſs and Power. Whereupon the Queen receiv'd *Don Antonio*, and generouſly reliev'd him, as a Kinſman deſcended of the Royal Blood of *England*, and of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Drunkenneſs propagated in England.

Portugal *ſeiz'd by* Spain.

And withal the Queen of *France*, and the King her Son, for a Foundation of a ſtricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, urg'd more earneſtly than ever for the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. In order to which a glorious Embaſſie was diſpatch'd of ſeveral of the greateſt Men in *France*; who were receiv'd after an extraordinary Manner, and magnificently treated in a ſpacious Edifice purpoſely erected in *Weſtminſter*, richly and royally furniſh'd; and then entertain'd with Tilts and Tournaments perform'd at a vaſt Expence by the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Windſor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who challeng'd all Comers; not to mention many other Courtly Sports, and ſplendid Diverſions. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners for this Affair were the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suſſex*, *Bedford* and *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Secretary *Walſingham*: By whom Articles of Marriage were at length concluded; 'Firſt that the Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen of *England*, 'within ſix Weeks after the Ratification of the Articles, ſhould contract a Marriage; 'and the reſt were moſt of them ſuch as were formerly agreed in the Marriage 'between King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, conſiſting chiefly in conferring Ho'nour upon the the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was alſo agreed, 'That all Particulars ſhould be ratify'd within two Months, by the faithful Pro'miſe and Oath of the *French* King, for him and his Heirs; and a Reſervation 'was alſo added apart, That Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound to perfect the 'Marriage 'till ſhe and the Duke have given each other Satisfaction in ſome 'Particulars, and have certify'd the *French* King of the ſame within ſix Weeks. Before the ſix Weeks were expir'd, *John Somers*, Clark of the Council, was ſent into *France*, to require the *French* King's Confirmation: The King would not hear him, but preſs'd to have the Marriage accompliſh'd, as it was contracted. *Somers* on the other ſide, ſhew'd by the Articles, That a League Offenſive and Defenſive muſt firſt be concluded; which being diſclaim'd by the *French* King, *Walſingham* was immediately ſent to compoſe this Difference, who jointly with the Lord *Cobham*, Ambaſſador in ordinary, and *Somers*, alledg'd theſe Particulars to the *French* King: 'That Queen *Elizabeth* conſented to marry for 'no other Reaſon, but for the Satisfaction of her People; and ſince many Im'pediments were come in the Way ſince the firſt Treaty, as the Civil Wars in '*France*, and the Duke's Ingagement in a War with *Spain*, which now made 'the wiſeſt of her Subjects averſe to the Marriage; it had caus'd her to deferr the 'Accompliſhment of it, tho' her Affection was ſtill conſtant towards the Duke.

Alenſon *again proſecutes his Suit.*

The Articles of the Marriage.

Allegations to the French *King.*

'For

'For this Cauſe the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, 'till the 'Duke of *Anjou* be freed from the *Spaniſh* War, and a League of mutual 'Offence and Defence be concluded. The *French* King promis'd willingly to enter into a League of Defence; but would conſent to no Offenſive League, 'till the Marriage was ſolemniz'd.

Alenſon comes a ſecond Time into England.

Not long after the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf came into *England*, having ſucceſsfully rais'd the Siege of *Cambray*; and was receiv'd with as much Honour and Affection as he could expect, and nothing omitted, by which he might judge himſelf truly welcome. Inſomuch that in *November*, as ſoon as with great Pomp ſhe had celebrated her Coronation-Day, ſhe was ſo far carry'd by the Force of modeſt Love, that in the midſt of Amorous Converſation, ſhe drew her Ring from her Finger, and put it upon his, upon certain Conditions between themſelves. All that were near unanimouſly concluded the Marriage in effect compleated, which variouſly affected the Minds of the Courtiers; ſome were tranſported with Joy, ſome ſeiz'd with Admiration, and others were dejected with Grief. *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham* violently exclaim'd, as if the Queen, the Kingdom and Religion were all at once ruin'd. The Ladies and Maids of Honour, moſt intimate with her Majeſty, were fill'd with Sighs, and cover'd with Tears; and they ſo terrify'd and diſcourag'd her that ſhe could enjoy no Reſt that Night. The next Day ſhe ſent for the Duke of *Anjou*, and cauſing all Company to depart, ſhe held a long Diſcourſe with him in private. At length he withdrew himſelf to his Chamber, where in a Rage throwing the Ring from him, and taking it again, he with ſome ſevere Scoffs exclaim'd againſt the Levity of Women, and the Inconſtancy of Iſlanders. The Queen was perplex'd with a thouſand Thoughts and Difficulties, ariſing from the Conſequences both of the Marriage, and the *French* King's Alliance; and was much incens'd at a ſevere Book publiſh'd, Entituled, *The Gulph wherein* England *will be ſwallow'd by the* French *Marriage*. Upon which *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns-Inn*, the Author, *William Page* the Diſperſer, and *Singleton* the Printer of this Book, were apprehended; and Sentence paſs'd againſt them, That their Right Hands ſhould be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, againſt the Authors and Diſperſers of ſeditious Writings. Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* were brought to a Scaffold, erected in the Market-Place at *Weſtminſter*; where with a terrible Formality they loſt their Right Hands, but the Printer was pardon'd. When *Stubbs* Right Hand was cut off, he immediately uncover'd his Head with the other, and cry'd out *God ſave the Queen!* to the great Amazement of all the Spectators.

The Match believ'd to be concluded.

Severities againſt Stubbs *and* Page.

Next, the Queen, to remove the Fears of many, That Religion would be alter'd, and Popery tolerated, by the importunate Suit of her Council, permitted that *Edmund Campian* formerly mention'd, with two or three more Prieſts, ſhould be arraign'd at the Bar; where being Indicted upon the Statute of the twenty fifth of King *Edward* the Third, for plotting the Ruin of the Queen and Kingdom, for adhering to the Pope the Queen's Enemy, and coming into *England* to raiſe Forces againſt the State, they were condemn'd of High-Treaſon; and obſtinately perſiſting to defend the Pope's Authority againſt the Queen, were Executed. For *Campian*, being demanded after Condemnation, Firſt, whether Queen *Elizabeth* was a lawful Queen, refus'd to anſwer; but when ask'd, Whether he would join with the Queen or the Pope, if he ſhould ſend Forces againſt her, he openly profeſs'd, and teſtify'd under his Hand, That he would join with the Pope. Such were the preſent Times, that the merciful Queen, who always declar'd, *That Mens Conſciences ought not to be forc'd*, often complain'd ſhe was driven by Neceſſity to purſue ſuch Methods, *unleſs ſhe would ſee the Ruin of her ſelf and Subjects, upon ſome Mens Pretence of Conſcience and the Catholick Religion.* Suſpicions were alſo daily increas'd by the great Numbers of Prieſts, who were induſtriouſly inſinuating and ſuggeſting, 'That Prin-'ces Excommunicated by the Pope were to be depos'd, and ſuch as profeſs'd not

The Execution of Campian *and others.*

'the

'the *Romiſh* Religion had forfeited their Regal Authority; That the Biſhop of 'Rome had ſupream Authority, and abſolute Power over the World, even in 'Temporal Matters; with other like Principles, inconſiſtent with the very Being of any independent Kingdom.

A. D. 1582. Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$.

The Duke of *Anjou*, after three Months continuance in *England*, began his Journey towards the *Netherlands* in *February*, accompany'd by the Queen her ſelf as far as *Canterbury*; who commanded the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lords *Howard*, *Hunſden*, *Willoughby*, *Windſor* and *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Ruſſel*, and ſome other eminent Knights, to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*. And here ended the famous Courtſhip between this Foreign Prince and the *Engliſh* Queen, after it had continu'd with ſeveral Intermiſſions about ten Years. Being arriv'd at *Antwerp* he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lorrain*, &c. for the States had long before thrown off the King of *Spain*'s Government, and quitted the People from the Oaths of Allegiance, that it might be in their own Power to chuſe any other Prince. Here the Duke gave free leave to exerciſe the *Romiſh* Religion, to as many as would ſwear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spain*'s Authority; but after all his Endeavours, having expended a mighty Maſs of Mony, which he receiv'd from *England*, and obſerving that only bare and empty Titles were conferr'd upon him, while the States retain'd all the Authority in their own Hands, he raſhly enterpriz'd an Aſſault upon *Antwerp* and ſome other Places, and ſhortly after departed, with almoſt as little Succeſs in War, as he had in Courtſhip.

Alenſon *leaves* England.

He is unſucceſsful.

And now the Queen, to ſtrengthen her ſelf abroad againſt the *Spaniard*, receiv'd into the Order of the Garter *Frederick* King of *Denmark*; and to inveſt him with it ſhe ſent over the famous *Peregrine Bertie*, whom ſhe had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* in *Lincolnſhire*. In *Scotland*, to prevent the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns in that Kingdom, who was thought to uſe the Favourite Duke of *Lenox*'s Aſſiſtance to turn the King of *Scotland*'s Affections from the *Engliſh*; *William Reuthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, with others, endeavour'd by all Methods to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King. Accordingly, while *Lenox* was perſuaded to go to *Edinburgh* from *Perth*, where at that Time the King reſided, and *Arran* was abſent upon a Journey, the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindſey*, and others, taking this Opportunity, invited the King to the Caſtle of *Reuthen*, and there detain'd him againſt his Will, and ſo terrify'd him that he durſt not ſtir abroad. They remov'd all his faithful Servants from him, threw *Arran* into Priſon, enforc'd the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to ſend away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a Man of a ſoft and gentle Diſpoſition, readily conſented to this Hardſhip for the King's Safety. But not ſatisfy'd with all this, they further compell'd the timorous King to approve of this Confinement in his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to declare an Aſſembly of the Eſtates ſummon'd by them to be juſt and legal. Yet they could by no Method induce *Buchanan* to approve of this Fact, who now with great Sorrow repented of many of his former Actions, and ſhortly after dy'd; having been one of the chief Maſters to the young King, of great Abilities, a polite Pen, and an admirable Latiniſt and Poet.

The King of Scotland *confin'd.*

In the mean Time the moſt unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* daily bewail'd her own hard Fate, and the Diſtreſs of her Son King *James*; and now languiſhing with the Calamities of a long and hopeleſs Impriſonment, ſhe writ a ſolemn pathetick Letter to the Queen of *England*, in which ſhe largely enumerated the various Miſeries of her Life, and among other things declar'd, *That ſhe had harder Treatment than the vileſt Malefactors and Priſoners, who were allow'd their Defence, and had their Accuſers Face to Face. Therefore ſhe conjur'd her by the Croſs and Paſſion of Chriſt our Redeemer, that after ſo long languiſhing in Priſon, her Liberty might be reſtor'd upon reaſonable Conditions, that ſhe might refreſh her decay'd Body, now ſuffering under much Weakneſs, and ſeveral Diſtempers, and wanting common Neceſſaries and Attendants.* At

The Queen of the Scots *Complaints.*

length ſhe concludes in this manner, *Recall your ſelf to your innate Tenderneſs and Lenity, oblige your ſelf to your ſelf, and as you are a Princeſs, ſoften your Spirit, and lay aſide all Diſpleaſure towards me a Princeſs ſo nearly related to you in Blood, and ſo affectionate to you; that theſe Matters being compos'd between us, I may quietly depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of my afflicted Soul may not aſcend up to God.* Queen *Elizabeth* was ſtrangely affected with this Letter, and ſent to her *Robert Beal* Clark of the Council, to expoſtulate with her concerning her querulous Letters, and jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to treat of the ſetting her at Liberty, and to aſſociate her with her Son in the Government of *Scotland*. And indeed ſerious Conſultations were held at the Council-Table about this Matter, where moſt were of Opinion, That upon certain Conditions ſhe ſhould have her Liberty; but the *Scotch* of the *Engliſh* Party ſo violently oppos'd it, that nothing was effected.

A. D. 1583. Reg. 25/26.

Shortly after, King *James* ſent Colonel *William Stuart* and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, offering all manner of Reſpect and Obſervance, and begging her Advice for appeaſing the Commotions in *Scotland*, and alſo for his contracting of Marriage. At which time News was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* dy'd at *Paris*, and to the laſt Moment of his Life, had made ſolemn Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion; by which he confuted thoſe who had maliciouſly traduc'd him for a Papiſt. After whoſe Death, when thoſe who ſurpriz'd the King were elevated with their own Projects, and concluded him ſecure; he, tho' ſcarce eighteen Years of Age, found Means to convey himſelf ſuddenly with a few Followers to the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, to whom the Nobility immediately repair'd, with an armed Force, apprehending ſome Danger to his Perſon. Afterwards in civil Terms he adviſ'd ſome of his Surprizers to retire from the Court, for avoiding of Tumults, and promiſ'd them their Pardons, upon a full Submiſſion. But only *Gowry* ask'd Pardon, and ſubmitted, but with this Diſtinction, *That he had not offended in Matter, but only in Form*; and then the King ſent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and reſpected him as his beſt Friend, and imploy'd him to compoſe the Differences among the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from all Civil Diſſenſions.

The King of Scotland *gains his Liberty.*

During this laudable Care of the State, Sir *Francis Walſingham* came from the Queen of *England*, to adviſe him not to be miſs-led by evil Counſellors to the great Danger of both Kingdoms; and he found the King attended with the Flower of his Nobility, and a more promiſing Appearance of things in *Scotland* than he expected. At his Audience, he reminded the young King of what Queen *Elizabeth*, out of *Iſocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admoniſh'd him; *That a Prince ought to be ſuch a Lover of Truth, that more Credit may be given to his Word, than to another's Oath*; and in many Words adviſ'd him now in his Youth to be cautious of evil Counſellors, and to continue always like himſelf. The King readily anſwer'd, *That he was an abſolute Prince, and would not have others to appoint him Counſellors, of whom he did not approve; but however he had long ſince devoted the Firſt-Fruits of his Amity to the Queen of* England *his dear Siſter, and did willingly now make Offer of the ſame. Walſingham* next deſir'd him, 'Not to impute the late Com-'motions in *Scotland* to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Actions; ſhowing how beneficial 'to him, and to both Kingdoms, Amity had formerly been, and would ſtill 'remain, if not neglected; and that the ſame might be more effectually con-'firm'd, if the Feuds between the Nobility were laid aſleep by an Act of Obli-'vion in Parliament, and the Peers now remov'd from Court again recall'd, 'Religion inſpected, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made Anſwer, *That he gladly would embrace Amity with* England, *and that he would conſtantly defend the Religion already eſtabliſh'd.* Afterwards the King lovingly diſmiſs'd this great Man, tho' he accounted him no true Friend to him, or his unfortunate Mother; and carefully viewing his Affairs,

Walſingham *ſent from Queen* Elizabeth *to give him Advice.*

with an Underſtanding above his Years, propos'd and proferr'd Reconciliation to thoſe who had ſurpriz'd and detain'd him, if within a limited Time they ask'd Pardon; in which they were ſo far from complying, that they enter'd into new Conſultations how to intercept him again. Upon which they were commanded within a ſet Time to leave the Kingdom; whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paſlet*, and ſome others, betook themſelves to *Ireland*; *Boyde*, *Zeſter*, *Weems* and *Lochlevin*, into the *Netherlands*, and *Dunfermelin* into *France*: The Earl of *Angus* was confin'd to his own Country; and only *Gowry*, forming new Contrivances, after the limited Time, ſtaid behind to his own Ruin.

Several of the Nobility leave Scotland.

About this time there happen'd a Conteſt, and thereupon a War, between the Emperor of *Muſcovy* and the King of *Sweden*, who apprehending himſelf unable to encounter the powerful Emperor, ſent a Royal Embaſſie to Queen *Elizabeth*, begging her to intercede for him to the Emperor. The Queen immediately undertook the Work, and by her Ambaſſador brought the *Muſcovite* to a Peace upon honourable Conditions. But this Emperor dying ſhortly after, and his Succeſſor *Theodorus* granting a free Trade to Merchants of all Nations into his Country, the Queen importun'd him to admit of none but *Engliſh*, and requir'd him to confirm the Privileges which his Father had granted them. To which by way of Anſwer, he order'd a Free Trade for all the *Engliſh* Subjects, ſaying, *It was not fit that a ſmall Company ſhould hold a Monopoly, and all others be excluded*: But as for the Cuſtoms, he promis'd to take leſs by one Moity of that Company than of any other, becauſe they firſt open'd the Way for Trading into his Country.

The Queen treats with the Muſcovite.

This Year prov'd mortal to ſeveral great Men; for firſt dy'd *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suſſex*, a Man of a noble Spirit, and great Fidelity to his Country: Next dy'd *Henry Wriotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*, one extreamly devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scotland*, which caus'd both Queen *Elizabeth*'s Diſpleaſure, and his own Impriſonment. There dy'd alſo Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, who was caſt away at Sea, in his Return from the North Parts of *America*, whither he lately ſail'd with five Ships, in hopes of planting a Colony in that Part of the World. Laſtly there dy'd *Edmund Grindall*, who had been near eight Years Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a grave and pious Prelate, who ſtood highly in the Queen's Favour, 'till he was wrought out by the Artifices of *Leiceſter*, who hated him for diſallowing a Marriage between *Julio* an *Italian* Phyſician and another Man's Wife, which he had vehemently promoted. He was ſucceeded by Doctor *John Whitgift* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a very pious and learned Man, who finding that the *Puritans* had made a great Diviſion in the Church, and that the Papiſts highly inſulted upon that Occaſion, and by that means drew many to their Party, this good Prelate to remove theſe Differences, and reſtore the Unity of the Church, propos'd three Articles to be ſubſcrib'd by the Miniſters. 'Firſt, That the 'Queen had Supream Power over all Perſons born in her Dominions, and that 'no Foreign Prince or Prelate hath, or ought to have, any Power Civil or 'Eccleſiaſtical within her Dominions. Secondly, That the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and that of *Ordination*, contain'd nothing contrary to the Word of 'God; and that all ſhould uſe that, and no other Form, either of Prayer or 'Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Thirdly, That they approv'd the Articles 'of the Synod at *London*, publiſh'd in the Year 1562, and believ'd the ſame to be 'conſonant to God's Word. It is almoſt incredible to believe what Controverſies and Diſputes, what Hatred and opprobrious Speeches he ſuſtain'd from ſome Factious Miniſters, and what Troubles and Injuries he ſuffer'd from ſome Noblemen, who by promoting undeſerving Perſons caus'd Diſtractions in the Church, or by thirſting after its Revenues, ſought to divide and deſtroy it. Nevertheleſs by his Conſtancy, Courage and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties,

The Deaths of ſeveral great Men.

Diſturbances in the Church.

Whitgift's *Management.*

culties, and at length reſtor'd the Church to Peace and Uniformity. At the ſame time, certain Popiſh Books written againſt the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and ſo intoxicated one *Somervill* a Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but Deſtruction to the Proteſtants, ſet upon one or two with his drawn Sword, intending, as he confeſs'd, to have murther'd the Queen. Hereupon, he with *Edward Arden* his Father-in-Law, *Arden*'s Wife, their Daughter, *Somervill*'s Wife, and *Hall* a Prieſt, were brought to the Bar, and all condemn'd; *Somervill* as Principal, the reſt as Acceſſary. Three Days after *Somervill* was found ſtrangled in the Priſon; *Arden* was executed and quarter'd, and the Women and Prieſt ſpar'd. The miſerable End of this Gentleman, who was drawn in by the Artifice of the Prieſt, and caſt by his Evidence, was generally imputed to the Malice of *Leiceſter*; becauſe he had often taken the Liberty to call him *Adulterer*, and other ill Names he had too much deſerv'd.

Troubles from the Papiſts.

In *Ireland*, the famous Rebel *Girald Fitz-Girald*, the eleventh Earl of *Deſmond* of this Family, having by long abſconding eſcap'd the *Engliſh*, was now by a common Soldier found in a poor Cottage and ſlain; and his Head was ſent into *England*, and fixt upon *London* Bridge. He poſſeſs'd large Territories, and had of his own Name and Race above five hundred Gentlemen at his Command; who almoſt all loſt their Lives within three Years Space, after they had been excited to Rebellion by certain *Romiſh* Prieſts, Of whom the chief was *Nicholas Sanders* an *Engliſhman*, one of the greateſt Defamers of the Reformation and the preſent Queen, who at the ſame time dy'd of Famine, after a miſerable and unheard of Manner; being found with a Scrip fill'd with certain Orations and Letters written to encourage the Rebels with Promiſes of large Rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill Succeſs, the Viſcount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he miſerably pin'd away with Grief. He out of Zeal to the *Romiſh* Religion had lately taken up Arms with the Rebels; and writing a ſhort Letter to his Neighbour the loyal Earl of *Ormond*, who deriv'd his Deſcent from a Siſter of the famous *Thomas Becket*, he us'd theſe Words to perſuade him, *Had not bleſſed* Thomas *of* Canterbury *dy'd for the Church of* Rome, *thou hadſt never been Earl of* Ormond: For King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the Murther of *Thomas Becket*, had given large Poſſeſſions to his Anceſtors in *Ormond*.

Sander's *Death.*

Affairs in Scotland.

In the Beginning of the following Spring, ſeveral of the *Scots*, together with Earl *Gowry*, again plotted to ſeize the King, pretending only a Care for Religion, and to remove evil Counſellors from his Perſon; but the King having Intelligence of their Deſigns, us'd Means by Colonel *Stuart*, to have *Gowry* apprehended and impriſon'd. Whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates, late return'd into *Scotland*, fled into *England*, and begg'd of the Queen to commiſerate their Condition, who had incurr'd the King's Diſpleaſure, only for ſerving her and the Kingdom of *England*. On the other ſide King *James* accus'd them to the Queen of hainous Crimes, and requir'd to have them deliver'd into his Hands as Rebels; while ſome about him adviſ'd him to deal favourably with ſuch great Men, alledging, *That Terror and Violence were weak and unſucceſsful Supports of Power.* But Secretary *Walſingham*, who really favour'd theſe Men, ſent Letters with a Command, That they ſhould be ſafely admitted into *Lindisferne*, or the *Holy Iſland*; where *Hunſdon* being Governor, and intirely in the Intereſt of the King of *Scotland*, reſiſted *Walſingham*'s Command, alledging that he could not ſatisfie the Secretary in this Point, unleſs he had the expreſs Commands of the Queen her ſelf. Hereupon there aroſe a Diſpute, whether a Secretary of State might not tranſact Buſineſs of State, without ſpecial Commiſſion from his Prince. It is uncertain how the Caſe was determin'd, but we certainly find that theſe Men never came there, tho' they had ſome Favour ſhown them in *England*. In the mean time Earl *Gowry* was try'd by his Peers at *Sterling*, where being accus'd of many

Earl Gowry *beheaded.*

Acts of Treaſon, tho' he gave plauſible Anſwers to every Particular, yet he was found guilty, condemn'd, and beheaded. He was heard to make the common Regret which many great Men have done on the like Misfortunes, *That if he had ſerv'd God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that End.*

Camden. Spotſwood. Melvil. Speed. Baker. Strada. Bohun. &c.

IX. The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* had now languiſh'd under a tedious Impriſonment of about ſixteen Years, without ſo much as once ſeeing that Queen from whom ſhe had implor'd Protection; all which Miſeries were but the Fore-runners of a more diſmal Tragedy, which at this time began terribly to threaten her. For new Projects were now form'd againſt Queen *Elizabeth* in favour of this diſtreſs'd Princeſs, which only ſerv'd to fix and haſten her Ruin; in which *Francis Throgmorton*, eldeſt Son to a Juſtice of Peace in *Cheſhire*, became firſt ſuſpected, by reaſon of ſome intercepted Letters directed to her from him. Upon his Apprehenſion, the Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* a Courtier, privately fled into *France*, grievouſly complaining againſt *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and uſing ſuch profound Artifices, as ſcarce any Man was able to live in Safety. The Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Arundel* were confin'd to their Houſes, and the Counteſs of *Arundel* committed to Sir *Thomas Shirby*'s Cuſtody; *William Howard* the Earl's Brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, were examin'd about Letters from the Queen of *Scotland*, and many Stratagems were carry'd on, dangerous to ſome particular Perſons, but thought neceſſary for the Security of the Queen. And certainly now the Malice of the Papiſts broke out more violently againſt her Majeſty than ever before; for in printed Books they excited the Queen's own Servants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did upon *Holofernes*. The Author of theſe Books could not be found; but the Suſpicion lay chiefly upon one *Gregory Martin*, formerly of *Oxford*; and *Carter* a Bookſeller, who printed them, was executed. And whereas the Papiſts maliciouſly traduc'd the Queen for Cruelty, ſhe, deſirous always to leave a glorious Name behind her, highly blam'd the Commiſſioners againſt the Papiſts, as uſing Severities injurious to her Honour. Inſomuch that they were forc'd to purge themſelves in a printed Declaration, proteſting, 'That they queſtion'd no Man barely for his Religion, but only for dangerous Attempts againſt the Queen and State; and 'that *Campian* himſelf was never ſo rack'd, but that he was immediately able 'to walk, and ſubſcribe his Confeſſion. But all this did not give the Queen Satisfaction, but ſhe commanded the Commiſſioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Puniſhments; and not long after, when no leſs than ſeventy Prieſts were taken, and ſome of them condemn'd, and the reſt in the ſame Danger, ſhe caus'd them all to be ſhipp'd off, and ſent out of *England*.

A. D. 1584. Reg. 26/27.

New Projects for freeing the Queen of the Scots.

The Queen's Clemency.

At this time *Mendoza*, the turbulent *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, was commanded to leave the Nation, for joining with *Throgmorton* in his Treaſon againſt the Queen: Whereupon Sir *William Wade* was ſent to the King of *Spain* to ſatisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharg'd the Office of an Ambaſſador in *England*. The King being diſguſted, refus'd him his Preſence, but in a ſlighting manner turn'd him over to his Council; upon which *Wade* with a juſt Indignation boldly affirm'd, *That it was a declar'd Cuſtom among Princes, tho' in the Height of War, to give Audience to all Ambaſſadors*, and return'd into *England* without being heard. The principal Matters charg'd upon *Mendoza* were learnt from *Throgmorton's* Confeſſion; for when he was in Danger of being apprehended, he ſent to *Mendoza* a Box of Writings; and when his Cheſts were ſearch'd, there were found two Catalogues; in one the Names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other the Names of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* that favour'd the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe being produc'd in the Preſence of *Throgmorton*, he declar'd they were Counterfeit, and ſtood firmly upon the very Rack; but being brought a ſecond Time to the Rack, he then

Throgmorton's *Confeſſion.*

then confeſs'd all: 'That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, had given him 'Information that the Catholick Princes had determin'd to invade *England*, 'and with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to free the Queen of *Scotland*; 'and that nothing was now wanting but Mony and Aids in *England*: For the 'procuring of which, *Charles Paget*, under the feign'd Name of *Mope*, was 'ſent into *Suſſex*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* deſign'd to land; and that he had 'imparted all this Matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the Names of the Ports, 'and the Noblemen that ſhould aſſiſt. But being arraign'd at the *Guild-Hall*, he deny'd all this again, declaring, *He only made that Confeſſion to prevent being rack'd a ſecond Time.* Yet being condemn'd to die, he flying to the Queen's Mercy, made almoſt the ſame Confeſſion a ſecond Time; and then being brought to the Gallows, he again went about to deny all that he had ſaid. So falſe is a Man's Mind to it ſelf, while it is divided between Hopes and Terrors, and lyes under the Burden of ſome hainous Guilt.

His Execution.

The Matter did not end here; for Sir *William Wade* being return'd from *Spain*, was now imploy'd to the Queen of *Scotland* concerning the Treaty begun two Years before: To whom the diſtreſs'd Queen ſincerely profeſs'd, 'That ſhe had devoted her Service and her ſelf to the Queen of *England*; and 'made ſolemn Promiſe, that if the former Treaty might proceed, ſhe would 'mediate with the King her Son to receive the Earl of *Angus*, and the other '*Scotch* Lords into Favour, and would command the Biſhop of *Roſs* and '*Glaſco*, her Agents in *France*, to have no further Concern with the *Engliſh* 'Fugitives. Theſe Things were gladly heard by Queen *Elizabeth*, who thereupon ſent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scotland*, who jointly with the Earl of *Shrewſbury* ſhould ſignifie to her, 'That if ſhe continu'd in the ſame Thoughts ſhe 'had deliver'd to *Wade*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* ſhould come immediately to her, 'and treat concerning her Liberty: But withal, ſhe commanded *Mildmay* and *Beal* carefully to ſound her, to diſcover all the Practices that were carrying on by the Duke of *Guiſe*. To what ſhe had ſpoken to Sir *William Wade*, the *Scotch* Queen gave a very cautious Anſwer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſhe plainly confeſs'd; 'That being ſickly her ſelf, and weak of Bo-'dy, ſhe had committed her ſelf, and her Son to the Protection of the Duke 'of *Guiſe*, her dear Couſin, of whoſe Deſigns ſhe knew nothing; nor if ſhe 'did, would ſhe diſcloſe them, unleſs ſhe might be ſure of her own Liberty. 'Laſtly ſhe requeſted, That being a free and abſolute Prince, ſhe might not be 'worſe treated, than Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf was when ſhe was a Subject, 'and detain'd in Priſon by her Siſter. Theſe Particulars had a Hearing, but not the expected Effect, and the rather becauſe of a ſtrange Accident: For *Creighton* a *Scotch* Jeſuit, being, as he was ſailing from the *Netherlands*, taken by *Dutch* Pirats, had certain Papers which he tore and threw Over-Board, which by the Wind were blown back into the Veſſel, and brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much Labour and Art, diſcover'd by them ſome new Deſigns of the Pope, the King of *Spain* and the *Guiſes*, concerning the Invaſion of *England*. Whereupon, and upon divers other Rumors, the better to provide for the Security of the Queen, a great Number of her Subjects, of all Ranks and Conditions, having the Earl of *Leiceſter* at the Head of them, mutually bound themſelves to each other by their Oaths and Subſcriptions, to perſecute all ſuch to Death, who ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Queen: Which League of theirs they call'd *The Aſſociation*.

New Propoſals by the Queen of the Scots.

They are ineffectual.

An Aſſociation.

This was a new Blow to the Queen of *Scotland*, who immediately apprehended that this Aſſociation aim'd at her Deſtruction; therefore by her Secretary *Narve*, ſhe propos'd to the Queen and Council; 'That if ſhe might have her 'Liberty granted, and be aſſur'd of the Queen's Love, ſhe would comply in 'all Things, and enter into a ſtrict League and Amity with her; and paſſing 'by all Matters of Diſpleaſure, eſteem and honour her above all the Princes 'of the Chriſtian World: And, ſaving the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*,

The Queen of the Scots *ſubmits.*

'*Scotland*, ſhe her ſelf would be comprehended in the *Aſſociation*, and a League 'Defenſive, againſt all who ſhould endeavour to injure the Queen. Queen *Elizabeth* was highly pleas'd with this Submiſſion, and in all Probability did fully deſign to give her her Liberty; but was prevented by the Clamors of ſome in *England*, and a far greater Number in *Scotland*, who exclaim'd, *That Queen* Elizabeth *could be no longer in Safety, if Queen* Mary *was at Liberty: That both Kingdoms were intirely ruin'd, if ſhe was allow'd any Share in the Government of* Scotland; *and that the Reform'd Religion lay a bleeding, if Papiſts were admitted within the Court Walls.* Nor was this all; for the *Scotch* Miniſters in their Pulpits, loaded their Queen with all manner of Calumnies, and moſt rudely ſlander'd the King himſelf, and his Council. And being cited to appear before him, they refus'd, declaring, *That the Pulpits were exempt from all Regal Authority, and that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were not to be cenſur'd by the Prince, but by their own Conſiſtory.* Which was directly contrary to the Laws made this Year in the *Scotch* Parliament, 'By which the 'King's Authority over all Perſons, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, was 'confirm'd; That the King and Council were Supream Judges in all Cauſes, 'and whoever refus'd to be try'd by them, ſhould be guilty of High-Treaſon: 'All Presbyterian and Lay Conventicles were forbidden, Parity of Clergy re-'mov'd, and the Authority of Biſhops reſtor'd, whoſe Function the Presbyte-'ries had condemn'd as *Wicked* and *Antichriſtian:* And laſtly all Scurrilous 'Libels againſt the King or his Mother were prohibited, of which ſome were 'nam'd in the Act.

But all in vain.

At this time, upon the various Suggeſtions of her Adverſaries, the *Scotch* Queen was taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had faithfully kept her for fifteen Years, and committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*; and that purpoſely, as ſome were perſuaded, to drive her into Snares and deſperate Attempts. This gave her new Terrors, and now ſhe became more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to haſten their Deſigns, whatever Miſchiefs befel her; which were like to be great indeed, if what ſome ſay be true, that *Leiceſter* ſent ſome Aſſaſſinates to murther her, but *Drury* deteſting the Villany, would not grant them Acceſs. And now intirely to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* from her, it was ſtrongly infus'd into her, 'That *Allen* for the Catholicks of the Clergy, *Ingleſield* for the Laity, and 'the Biſhop of *Roſs* for the Queen of *Scotland*, with the Approbation of the 'Pope and King of *Spain*, had mutually conſpir'd to depoſe her, and to bar the 'King of *Scotland* from his Hereditary Right to *England*, and to marry the 'Queen of the *Scots* to an *Engliſh* Nobleman of the *Romiſh* Religion, whom 'the *Engliſh* Catholicks ſhould chuſe King of *England*, and the Pope confirm 'the Election. All this was believ'd upon the Credit of *Hart* a Prieſt; but who was the *Engliſh* Nobleman, *Walſingham* inquir'd with all imaginable Diligence, but could never diſcover it. But the Suſpicion fell upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother who was unmarry'd, and in great Eſteem among the *Romaniſts*.

The Queen of the Scots *remov'd.*

New Fears concerning her.

In this Year the Traiterous Earl of *Weſtmorland* ended his Life obſcurely in a miſerable Exile, being the laſt of his Family, which had formerly been fruitful in Nobility. In *England* dy'd *Edmund Plowden*, the famous common Lawyer: In *France*, dy'd the Duke of *Anjou*, of a Sickneſs contracted by Grief and Uneaſineſs; and in *Holland* dy'd *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherouſly ſhot with three Bullets by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*.

D' Ewes, &c. In the midſt of theſe buſie Times a new Parliament was call'd, which firſt met on the twenty third Day of *November* 1584, and continu'd ſitting for about three Months at two ſeveral Meetings, between which was one Adjournment of about forty Days ſpace. In this Parliament, when a Bill was read againſt the Jeſuits in the Houſe of Commons, *William Parry* a *Welſhman*, and Doctor of the Law, ſingly ſtood up, and exclaim'd againſt it as a cruel and bloody

A. D. 1585. Reg. 27/28.

The ſixth Parliament in this Reign.

bloody Law; and his Reaſons being demanded, he ſtoutly refus'd, unleſs requir'd by the Lords of the Council. Upon which he was committed to the Gate-Houſe; but upon his Submiſſion he was again receiv'd into the Houſe. Shortly after, he was accus'd by *Edward Nevil*, for holding ſecret Conſultations about deſtroying the Queen; which at firſt he confidently deny'd, but being confronted by *Nevil*, and ſent to the Tower, he voluntarily confeſs'd That the reading of *Allen*'s Book *againſt the Juſtice of* Britain, in which he taught Princes Excommunicate for Hereſie might be depriv'd of Life, had put him upon the Attempt: And tho' he had often Opportuities to effect it, yet the bright Majeſty of the Queen's Preſence quite aw'd and diſarm'd him. He likewiſe in his Letters to the Queen, the Lord *Burleigh* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, acknowledg'd his Crime, and crav'd Mercy. A few Days after he was call'd to the Bar at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he confeſs'd himſelf guilty, and receiv'd Sentence of Condemnation; upon which Sentence he cry'd out, *My Blood be amongſt you*, and in a Fury cited the Queen to the Judgment-Seat of Heaven. Five Days after he was plac'd upon a Hurdle, and drawn through the City to *Weſtminſter*, where at the Gallows he made a vain boaſting of his Fidelity to the Queen, but not ſo much as in one Word commended himſelf to God; and in the great Palace-Yard at *Weſtminſter* was executed as a Traitor.

Parry's *Trial and Execution.*

In this Parliament great Attempts were made by ſome to reſtrain the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and diminiſh Eccleſiaſtical Power; but the Queen utterly rejected ſuch Projects, as tending to the weakning of the eſtabliſh'd Church, and the Supream Authority granted her in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. The *Aſſociation* formerly mention'd was univerſally approv'd, and Enacted in this Form; 'That twenty four, or more of the Queen's Privy-Council, and Peers of the 'Realm, ſhould be ſelected and authoriz'd under the great Seal of *England*, '*To make Enquiry of all ſuch Perſons as ſhall attempt to invade the King-*'*dom, or raiſe Rebellion, or ſhall attempt any Evil againſt the Queen's Perſon,* '*for whomſoever, and by whomſoever that lays Claim to the Crown of* England; '*and that Perſon for whom, or by whom they ſhall attempt any ſuch Thing,* '*ſhall be altogether incapable of the Crown, proſecuted to Death*, &c. For the Security of the Queen's Majeſty, new Laws were alſo made againſt Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, who ſhould ground any Deſigns upon the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*: In which ſome Caſes were made Treaſon, others Felony, and others a *Premunire*. Many other Laws being paſs'd, and Aids granted, the Queen with an obliging Speech, in which ſhe vindicated the Clergy of the Church of *England*, prorogu'd the Parliament upon the twenty ninth of *March*, and diſſolv'd it the following Year.

The Aſſociation *confirm'd.*

The Laws againſt the *Roman* Catholicks prov'd a great Mortification to their Party, and had ſuch Effect upon *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s eldeſt Son, whom the Queen had reſtor'd to Blood, that he reſolv'd to travel into Foreign Countries: For having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confin'd to his Houſe, after ſix Months Liberty, he wrote a Letter to the Queen, 'Recounting the fatal Misfortunes of his 'Great-Grand-Father, Grand-Father, and Father, and declaring, That for the 'Service of God, and his Soul's Health, he deſign'd to leave his Country, but 'not his Loyal Affections towards her Majeſty. But as he was taking ſhipping, by the Treachery of his own Servants he was diſcover'd, apprehended, and committed to the Tower. In which fatal Place lay the Earl of *Northumberland*, Brother to him who ſuffer'd at *York*, a Man of great Vivacity and Bravery, who was made a Priſoner for his ſecret Contrivances with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guiſes*, for invading *England*, and freeing the Queen of *Scotland*. Not long after, in the Month of *June*, he was found dead in his Bed, ſhot into the Body with three Bullets, in his right Breaſt, and the Door ſecur'd on his Side. The Coroner's Inqueſt declar'd, he had murther'd himſelf; and three Days after, the Lords meeting in the Star-Chamber, *Bromley*

Arundel *ſent to the Tower.*

Northumberland *ſhot.*

Bromley, Lord Chancellor, declar'd this Fact of the Earl's, and then commanded the Attorney-General to publiſh the Cauſe of his Impriſonment, and the Manner of his Death. Whereupon, *Popham* firſt, and then *Egerton* the Queen's Sollicitor, in long Orations lay'd open all his Treaſons, and how for fear of his Family, he had laid violent Hands upon himſelf.

And now the Queen knowing that the Seeds of theſe Treaſons proceeded from abroad, ſhe ſought to ſtrengthen her ſelf by Foreign Alliances: And firſt to oblige the *French* King, whom the Year before ſhe had choſen into the Order of the *Garter*, ſhe ſent the Earl of *Derby* into *France* to inveſt him with the Robes and Ornaments, with great Pomp and Solemnity. And then underſtanding that the *Guiſes* had engag'd in a dangerous League againſt the Proteſtant Religion, the *French* King and her ſelf, ſhe reſolv'd to enter into another with the Princes of *Germany*: And to this Purpoſe ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, to the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; and into *Scotland*, ſhe ſent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King underſtand how ſincerely ſhe ſtood affected to him, and withal to perſuade him into a League of mutual Defence and Offence; and to recommend to him the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter in Marriage. The King was very inclinable to the Subſtance of the League, but at preſent the Negotiation was interrupted by the Death of *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, ſlain at a Meeting appointed to compoſe a Difference between the Borderers, by a ſudden Tumult of the *Scots*, but the Author of the Fact was unknown. The *Engliſh* charg'd it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Fernihurſt* Governor of the Middle-Borders. Whereupon at the Queen's Complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confin'd, and *Fernihurſt* committed to Priſon at *Dundee*, where he dy'd; being a Man of great Valour and Reſolution, and one who was always firm to the Intereſt of the Queen of *Scotland*.

The Queen's Alliances.

But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus ſatisfy'd, by way of Contrivance gave leave to the *Scotch* Lords, the *Hamiltons*, *Angus*, *Marre*, *Glames*, and other Exiles in *England*, to return ſecretly into *Scotland*, ſupplying them with Mony to ſuppreſs the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, and others in *Scotland*, had already promis'd them their Aſſiſtance, even in the very Court; where by *Wotton*'s Policy, Sir *Patrick Gray*, *Belenden* the Juſtice-Clerk, and *Maitland* the Secretary, were perſuaded to join againſt *Arran*. The Exile Lords, upon their firſt Entry into *Scotland*, commanded all Perſons in the King's Name, to aid them for Conſervation of the Truth of the Goſpel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counſellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the *Engliſh*; ſo that they were ſoon join'd with about eight thouſand Men. The Earl of *Arran* hearing of this, haſten'd to the King, and accus'd *Patrick Gray* as Author of this Commotion; but while *Arran* was making Proviſion for the Defence of the Town, his Enemies were ready to ſcale the Walls: Upon which *Arran* being inform'd, that they only aim'd at his Head, he ſecretly fled with one Servant, and the reſt retir'd to the King in the Caſtle; from whence the King ſent *Gray* to demand the Reaſon of their Coming; they anſwer'd, *To ſubmit themſelves, and moſt humbly to kiſs the King's Hand.* The King offer'd Reſtitution of all their Poſſeſſions, if they return'd in Peace; but they deſir'd to be admitted into his Preſence, which was 'granted upon theſe Conditions: 'That they ſhould not attempt any Thing 'againſt the King's Perſon, or thoſe he ſhould nominate, nor make any Inno-'vations in the Government. They proteſted themſelves *ready to ſacrifice their Lives for the King's Safety*; *and of any Innovations, they had not ſo much as a Thought*; *only they requeſted to have their Adverſaries, and the Forts of the Kingdom, put into their Hands.* After a Days Conſultation, they were admitted into the King's Preſence; and immediately the Earl's of *Montroſs*, *Crawford* and *Rothes*, Colonel *Stuart*, *Downs*, *Arran*'s Brother, and others, were

The Affairs in Scotland.

A great Change in that Kingdom.

were deliver'd into their Hands: The Earl of *Arran*, who had fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, was call'd home; and themſelves were pardon'd, and pronounc'd good Subjects. *Hamilton* was made Governor of *Dunbritton*, *Humes* of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, *Angus* of the Caſtle of *Tontallon*, *Marre* of *Sterlin*, and *Glames* Captain of the King's Guard. Upon this all Proſcriptions and Outlawries againſt all Perſons ſince the King's Inauguration, except ſome few by Name, were call'd in; and with an unanimous Conſent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* was determin'd, and Commiſſioners nominated for that Purpoſe.

A great Commotion in Ireland.

In *Ireland* likewiſe was a great Commotion this Year; firſt the *Burks*, provok'd by the ſevere Government of *Richard Bingham* Governor of *Connaught*, rais'd a Rebellion; but this was ſoon ſuppreſs'd, for *Thomas Burk* dy'd fighting, and his two Brothers were taken and executed. After this the *Clan-Gibbons*, the *Clan-Donels*, and the *Joyes*, combin'd in great Numbers, and openly declar'd, That they would have one of the *Burks* to rule over them, or ſome other Lord out of *Spain*, and thereupon harraſs'd all the Country with Fire and Sword: And neither by the Perſuaſions of the Arch-Biſhop of *Tuam*, nor by the Intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, would they be appeas'd, 'till *John Bingham*, the Governor's Brother, follow'd them into the Woods, drove away five thouſand Head of their Cattle, ſo that after forty Days, half ſtarv'd, they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves. But the Diſturbances did not end here; for now the Governor underſtood, That two thouſand *Scotch* Iſlanders were landed, and ready to break into *Connaught*; upon which he gather'd his Men to give them Battel: But they flying into Bogs and Woods, he retreated with all the Signs of Fear, 'till drawing them out into firm Ground, he with his whole Force ſet upon their increas'd Body, and kill'd to the Number of three thouſand Men; among whom were the two Sons of *James Mac-Conel*, who had long diſturb'd theſe Parts, and the reſt of the *Burks* who

Happily ended.

were the Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the Good of the preſent and future Times; for by this the Name of the *Mac-Williams*, or principal Lord in *Connaught* was utterly extinct, and the inſolent Attempts of the *Scotch* Iſlanders abſolutely ſuppreſs'd.

In the *Netherlands* at this Time the Confederate States were under great Difficulties; ſo that they held a ſolemn Conſultation, whether to fly for Protection, to the *French* King, or the Queen of *England*. The *French* Ambaſſador ſhew'd many Advantages, and gave many Reaſons, why they ſhould rather fly to the *French* King; the *Engliſh* on the other Side urg'd as many Ar-

The States of Holland *fly for Succour to the Queen.*

guments why they ſhould addreſs themſelves to the Queen of *England*: But in Concluſion, they had firſt Recourſe to the King of *France*, and afterwards being neglected by him, to the Queen of *England*. Therefore in *England* it was nicely conſulted and debated, Whether it was convenient to protect them; in which the Council was divided: Some were of Opinion, 'That it was neceſſary to relieve them, 'for that the *Spaniard* by conquering them, would greatly indanger the Kingdom 'of *England*: Others again thought, They were to be accounted no better 'than Rebels to their lawful Soveraign, and therefore unworthy of Aſſiſtance. So that after a long debate upon the Matter, the Queen refus'd them her Protection; Yet nevertheleſs to raiſe the Siege of *Antwerp*, then inveſted by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe was willing to ſupply them with four thouſand Soldiers, provided the Town of *Sluce*, with all the Ordnance, were given into her Hands: But while this was diſcuſſing, the City of *Antwerp* was forc'd to ſurrender to the *Spaniard*. This gave new Concern to the generous Queen, who more ſeriouſly conſidering the Conſequences, partly as fearing the Growth of the King of *Spain*'s Power, and partly in Commiſeration of the diſtreſſed Condition of the Proteſtants, ſhe at laſt reſolv'd to undertake their Protection, 'and

She takes them into her Protection.

'to ſupply them with five thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under a ſuffi-'cient General, and to pay them during the War: Upon Condition on their

ſide,

'Side, that by way of Pledge and Security for Repayment of all Charges, they 'ſhould deliver into her Poſſeſſion the Town of *Fluſhing*, and the Caſtle of '*Ramekins*, and the Iſle of *Brill*, with the City and two Forts. All which was concluded; and the Queen ſet forth a large Declaration to juſtifie her Actions. Thus the Heroick Queen openly undertook the Protection of the *Netherlands*, while all the Princes of Chriſtendom admir'd at ſuch Female Fortitude, which durſt provoke ſo puiſſant a Monarch: Inſomuch the King of *Sweden* ſaid, *That Queen* Elizabeth *had now taken the Crown from her Head, and adventur'd it upon the doubtful Chance of War.*

The wiſe Queen knowing how much ſhe had incens'd the King of *Spain*, judg'd it beſt to turn his Anger to diſtant Regions; and thereupon ſent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carliſle*, with a Fleet of twenty one Sail towards the *Weſt-Indies*, in which were two thouſand Volunteers and Mariners. Theſe firſt ſurpriz'd the Town of St. *Jago*, afterwards St. *Domingo*, where twenty five thouſand Crowns were given them to ſpare the Town from burning, and after that *Cartagena*, which they held ſeven Weeks, 'till the *Spaniards* redeem'd it for a hundred and ten thouſand Crowns. After this the *Calenture* growing hot, and diminiſhing their Forces, they return'd towards *England*, paſſing by *Virginia*, a Colony that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had there planted, from whence *Drake* brought home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the firſt that brought *Tobacco* into *England*, which the *Indians* took againſt Crudities in the Stomach. In this Expedition were loſt about ſeven hundred Men, who chiefly dy'd of *Calentures*; and their Booty amounted to threeſcore thouſand Pounds Sterling, beſides two hundred and forty great Braſs and Iron Pieces of Cannon. Theſe Things were tranſacted under the *Torrid Zone* in *America*; when at the ſame time Captain *Davis* with two Ships, at the Expence of *William Sanderſon* and other Citizens of *London*, found out a Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the Northern Parts of *America*, under the *Frigid Zone*.

Expedition againſt the Spaniſh-Indies.

During theſe Maritime Adventures, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, fired with Ambition of Command and Glory, and fearing his many Enemies at home, obtain'd Liberty of the Queen to go over into *Holland* with the Title of *General of the Queen of* England's *Auxiliary Forces*. He was accompany'd with the young Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, and Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, beſides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Fluſhing*, he was firſt entertain'd by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governor, and after that by the Towns of *Zealand* and *Holland*, after a moſt magnificent Manner: And coming to the *Hague* in *January*, the States by Patent committed to him the Command and abſolute Authority over the United Provinces, with the pompous Titles of *Governor and Captain General of* Holland, Zealand, *and the Confederate Provinces*. So that now being attended with a noble Guard, call'd by all Men *Your Excellency*, ſooth'd with Flatteries, and ſeated in the higheſt Degree of Honour, he begun ambitiouſly to aſſume the Port and Behaviour of a real King. But Queen *Elizabeth*, who knew how to check the Exorbitancies of her greateſt Favourites, to allay his Aſpirings, poſitively wrote to him, *That ſhe admir'd how a Man, whom ſhe had rais'd out of the Duſt, ſhould ſo contemptuouſly violate her Commands*; and therefore charg'd him upon his Allegiance, *ſtrictly to obſerve the Injunctions ſhe ſent him by* Heneage *her Vice-Chamberlain*. In the other Letters ſhe expoſtulated with the States, *That to her great Diſhonour, they had thrown upon the Earl of* Leiceſter, *her Subject, the abſolute Command over the United Provinces, without her Privity, when ſhe had refus'd it her ſelf*; and therefore directed them *to diveſt him of that abſolute Authority, to whom ſhe had ſet ſuch Bounds, as he ſhould not paſs*. The States return'd Anſwer, *That they were heartily ſorry they ſhould incur her Diſpleaſure, by conferring ſuch Authority upon the Earl, without her Knowledge, but begg'd her to conſider the Neceſſity of it; ſince to avoid Con-*

The Earl of Leiceſter *made General in the* Netherlands.

A. D. 1586. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

His great Ambition.

fuſion, that Authority muſt be thrown upon ſome Perſon: Nor was there any thing ſhocking in the Word Abſolute, *ſince the Power and Government ſtill reſted upon the People.* By theſe Letters, and *Leiceſter*'s artificial Submiſſion, the Queen was gradually appeas'd.

His Actions in the Netherlands.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* all this time receiv'd Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, and made Martial Laws; and endeavouring likewiſe to raiſe new Cuſtoms upon Merchandize, he incurr'd great Diſlike among the common People. His firſt Service was to relieve *Grave*, a Town in *Brabant*, which Count *Mansfield* had beſieg'd; to which Place he ſent Count *Hohenlo* a *German*, and *Norris* General of the *Engliſh* Foot, but notwithſtanding all their good Service, the Town at length was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly Submiſſion, loſt his Head. After this, the Prince of *Parma* march'd into *Gelderland*, and ſate down before *Venlo*; where *Skenk* a *Freeſlander*, and *Roger Williams* a *Welſhman* perform'd a great Exploit; yet that Town was alſo taken ſhortly after. But in the mean time, the Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of *Bergen-op-Zome*, cut off the Enemies Convoys, and ſeiz'd their Proviſions; and Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Maurice* Son to the Prince of *Orange*, upon a ſudden Attack bravely took *Axel*, a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlo*, the valiant Prince of *Parma* march'd to *Berke*, garriſon'd by twelve hundred *Engliſh*, under the Command of Colonel *Morgan*, and laid Siege to the Place; which the Earl of *Leiceſter* came to raiſe, but finding his Numbers too ſmall for the Attempt, by way of Diverſion he inveſted *Duiſburgh*, which he took before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve it. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing leſt *Zutphen* ſhould be in Danger, commanded Proviſions to be ſent thither, which the *Spaniards* carrying in a Fog, the *Engliſh* by chance met them, defeated a Troop of their Horſe, ſlew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and ſeveral others. But in this Skirmiſh they loſt the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horſe ſlain under him, and mounting another, was ſhot into the Thigh, and after twenty five Days Torture he dy'd in the Flower of his Age, uſing theſe laſt Words to his Attendants, *Govern your Will and Affection by the Will and Word of your Creator; in me behold the End of this World and all its Vanities.* He had all the admirable Qualifications and Accompliſhments, that could belong to a Man, a Soldier, a Schollar, a Gentleman and a Chriſtian: His Obſequies were magnificently ſolemniz'd at St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, *James* King of *Scotland* made his *Epitaph*, and both the Univerſities diſplay'd the utmoſt of their Wit and Parts in celebrating his Memory.

The Death and Character of Sir Philip Sidney.

After this the Earl of *Leiceſter*, full of Sorrow for his Nephew's Loſs, attack'd the Sconces near *Zutphen*, where ſetting upon a Fort he took it after a peculiar manner: For one *Edward Stanley*, catching hold of a *Spaniard*'s Launce with which he had charg'd him, held it ſo faſt, that he was drawn up by that into the Fort; which ſo terrify'd the *Spaniards*, that immediately they quitted it. The Earl Knighted *Stanley* for this Act, gave him forty Pounds in preſent Mony, and an annual Penſion of a hundred Marks during Life. And now the Seaſon being far advanc'd, *Leiceſter* would not lay a formal Siege to the Place, but thought it ſufficiently block'd up by the Garriſons in the Towns ſurrounding it. Therefore he return'd to the *Hague*, where the States receiv'd him with great Complaints, 'That their Mony was not care-
'fully manag'd, that the Numbers of the *Engliſh* Supplies were not compleat,
'that Foreign Soldiers were levy'd without their Conſent, that the Privi-
'leges of the United Provinces were diſregarded, and new Projects for Contri-
'butions invented; for all which Miſchiefs, they requeſted him to provide
'ſome preſent Remedy. And now deſigning for *England*, he gave a friendly Anſwer to theſe Complaints; but upon the very Day of his Departure, he firſt intruſted the Government of the Provinces to the Council of State, and at the very ſame Inſtant privately made another Act of Reſtriction, reſerving to himſelf

Complaints againſt Leiceſter.

ſelf the whole Authority over the Governors of Provinces, Cities and Forts; and beſides, took away the uſual Juriſdiction from the Council of the States, and Preſidents of the Provinces; and then ſail'd over into *England* upon the third Day of *December*.

He returns into England.

At home the active Queen was very careful for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion; and ſhe caus'd the Earl of *Arundel*, who had been in a Priſon a whole Year, to be brought to the Star-Chamber, where being charg'd with harbouring of Prieſts, correſponding with *Allen* and *Parſons* the Jeſuit, and offering to leave the Kingdom without Licence, he was fin'd ten thouſand Pounds, and condemn'd to Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure. At the ſame Time the Queen ſupply'd the King of *Navarre* with a large Sum of Mony; through whoſe Side the *Guiſes* endeavour'd to wound the Reform'd Religion in *Scotland*. But her moſt intentive Care was how to unite *England* and *Scotland* in one intire Friendſhip: To which End ſhe ſent *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, who making Propoſals to the King, concerning a League Offenſive and Defenſive, tho' the King at firſt requir'd ſome Additions, and the *French* Ambaſſador violently oppos'd the whole, yet at laſt he conſented to it. And in *July* following, there met at *Berwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Ewer*, and *Thomas Randolph* for the Queen of *England*; and *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scotland*. Here the *Scotch* miſs-liking the Word *Offenſive*, the League was concluded under the Name of *The League of ſtrict Amity*, containing ſeveral Articles; Firſt for the maintaining of the Reform'd Religion, and then other ſuch Articles, as were uſual in the moſt friendly Alliances.

Arundel *fin'd in the Star-Chamber.*

A League between England *and* Scotland.

Camden. Spotſwood Melvil. Baker. Bohun. &c.

X. We have hitherto ſeen the Queen of *Scotland* languiſhing under the Miſeries of eighteen Years myſterious Confinement; but now, when all Things ſeem'd in a peaceable Condition, a new Accident occurr'd, which brought this unfortunate Queen to the laſt Act of her fatal Tragedy; and this was the Diſcovery of a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt the Queen and Nation. The Beginning was from one *John Savage*, who by the Perſuaſion of *Gifford*, a Doctor of Divinity, and others, was induc'd to believe, That it was a meritorious Work to take away the Lives of Princes Excommunicate, and thereupon vow'd to kill Queen *Elizabeth*. But to throw the Queen and Council into a State of Security, at the ſame Time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papiſts in *England* to attempt nothing againſt their Prince, and to uſe only the Chriſtian Weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching and Faſting. About *Whitſontide*, one *Ballard* a Seminary Prieſt of *Rheims*, being acquainted with *Savage*'s Vow, having treated in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading *England*, came over in the Habit of a Soldier, and was by a feign'd Name call'd Captain *Foſcu*. Here he diſcover'd the whole Deſign to one *Anthony Babington*, a hopeful young Gentleman of *Derbyſhire*, who by the Biſhop of *Glaſco*, the *Scotch* Queen's Ambaſſador in *France*, had been recommended to her, as one worthy of her Affection; ſo that between that Queen and him, there often paſs'd Letters in unknown Characters. In a ſhort Time, *Babington* by his Management had drawn into the Plot ſeveral other Gentlemen, zealous for the *Romiſh* Religion; as *Edward Windſor*, Brother to the Lord *Windſor*, *Thomas Salisbury*, of a good Family in *Devonſhire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queen's Penſioners, *Chydiock Tichburn* of *Hampſhire*, *Edward Abington* Son to the Queen's Cofferer, *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Travers* and *John Charnock* of *Lancaſhire*, *John Jones*, *Barnwel* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, *Henry Dunne*, Clerk in the Firſt-Fruit Office, and *Savage* formerly mention'd. One *Pollie* alſo inſinuated himſelf into their Company, a Man throughly acquainted with the Affairs of the *Scotch* Queen, who was thought daily to reveal all their Conſultations to *Walſingham*. To theſe Gentlemen *Babington* communicated his Affairs, but not all the Particulars to every

A. D. 1586. Reg. 29.

Babington's *Conſpiracy.*

His Aſſociates.

every one; to *Ballard*, *Tichburn* and *Dunne*, he ſhew'd the Letters that paſs'd between him and the Queen of *Scotland*; *Tilney* and the reſt were to be his Aſſiſtants. The Conſpirators often met at Taverns, where they every Day conſulted Expedients, and drunk and feaſted highly, pleaſing themſelves with the Expectations of great Honours, and were arriv'd to ſuch an extream Vanity, that the Men appointed to be the Aſſaſſins, were pictur'd to the Life, and *Babington* in the midſt of them, with theſe Words, *Quorſum hæc alio properantibus.* This Picture was ſaid to be privately ſhown to the Queen, who knew none of their Faces but *Barnwell's*, who had been often in Court. It happen'd when the Queen was once walking abroad, ſhe eſpy'd this *Barnwell*, and turning to *Hatton*, Captain of the Guard, ſaid, *Am not I well guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword?* Thus much *Barnwell* himſelf told the reſt of the Company, and ſhew'd how eaſie it had been to have diſpatch'd her if the reſt had been preſent.

Their Proceedings.

This Plot did not continue long undiſcover'd, which was firſt done by the fore-mention'd Doctor *Gifford*. This Perſon was a Gentleman of a good Family at *Chellington* in *Staffordſhire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the *Scotch* Queen was now kept Priſoner; and was lately ſent by the *Engliſh* Fugitives into *France*, under the feign'd Name of *Luſon*, to remind *Savage* of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of *Scotland*. But being now troubled in Conſcience, corrupted with Mony, or terrify'd with Fear, he went privately to *Walſingham*, diſcover'd who he was, for what End, and by whom he was ſent into *England*. The ſubtle *Walſingham* entertain'd him very courteouſly, and ſent him into *Staffordſhire*, to perform the Work he had undertaken: Here *Gifford* with a few Pieces of Gold bribing the Brewer of the Houſe, where the *Scotch* Queen was lodg'd, ſo projected the Matter with him, that by a Hole in the Wall, uſually fill'd up with a looſe Stone, he ſhould give in and receive out Letters; all which by Meſſengers purpoſely laid in the Way came directly to *Walſingham*'s Hands, who broke them open, and copy'd them out; and by the ſingular Skill of one *Thomas Philips* diſcover'd the Meaning of the private Characters, and by the nice Art of *Arthur Gregory* ſo curiouſly ſeal'd them, that no Man could imagine them to have been open'd, and always ſent them to the Parties to whom they were ſuperſcrib'd. In the like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of the *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted; as alſo other Letters written at the ſame Time to *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Charles Paget*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, *Francis Englefield*, and others.

The Plot diſcover'd.

Walſingham's rare Management.

As ſoon as the Queen by theſe Letters underſtood what a dreadful Storm hung over her Head, both at home and abroad, ſhe commanded *Ballard* firſt to be apprehended, who was ſuddenly taken in *Babington*'s Houſe, when he was ready for *France*. Hereupon *Babington* became toſs'd with a thouſand Uncertainties of an unreſolv'd Mind, and at laſt repair'd to *Walſingham*, with whom he had long been a Suitor, for a Licence to go into *France*, promiſing to perform great Services in diſcovering the Practices of the Fugitives. *Walſingham* with ſubtle Promiſes drove the young Gentleman off from Day to Day; and at length perſuaded him to lodge at his own Houſe at *London* for a ſmall Space 'till he could get his Licence ſeal'd, where they might have ſecret Intercourſe without Suſpicion. Thus far had *Walſingham* ſpun the Thread alone, without acquainting the reſt of the Queen's Council; and would have drawn it longer, but the Queen would not permit it, *Leſt*, as ſhe ſaid, *by not avoiding Danger when ſhe might, ſhe ſhould rather ſeem to tempt, than to truſt Providence.* Whereupon *Walſingham* ſent a Note to his Man *Scudamore*, that he ſhould more ſtrictly obſerve *Babington*; which Note was deliver'd in ſuch a Manner, that *Babington* ſitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlook'd him, and read the ſame. Hereupon ſuſpecting all was diſcover'd, the following Night, when he and *Scudamore* with two more of *Walſingham*'s Servants

had ſupp'd plentifully in a Tavern, he aroſe ſuddenly from the Board, and leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him, haſten'd in the Dark to *Weſtminſter*, where *Gage* chang'd Cloaths with him, and immediately put on thoſe of *Charnocks*; and then they withdrew themſelves into Sir *John*'s Wood near the City, whither alſo *Barnwell* and *Dunne* made their Retreat. In the mean Time they were proclaim'd Traitors all over *England*; which drove them into Woods and private Receſſes: They ſhav'd *Babington*'s Head, and diſfigur'd his natural Beauty with the Rind of green Wallnuts; and when they were half ſtarv'd, they repair'd to the Houſes of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow on the Hill*; where they were hid in Barns, and put in Country Habits. But notwithſtanding all their Shiftings, they were diſcover'd within ten Days, and brought to *London*, to the great Joy of the Citizens, who publickly expreſs'd their Satisfaction for the Safety of their beloved Queen. The other Accomplices were ſoon after apprehended, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the City; *Salisbury* and *Travers* in *Cheſhire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, and *Bellamy*, who had harbour'd them in his Houſe, after he knew they were proclaim'd Traitors, was likewiſe taken; only *Windſor* was never found. Many Days were ſpent in their Examinations, whilſt they ruin'd each other by their Confeſſions, and diſcover'd the whole Truth of the Conſpiracy.

Babington and the reſt are taken.

All this buſie Time, the Queen of *Scotland* and her Servants were ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd by *Powlet*, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe Tranſactions. As ſoon as the Conſpirators were apprehended, and in ſafe Cuſtody, *Thomas George* was ſent to acquaint her with the whole Affair; which he did not perform, 'till ſhe was mounted on Horſeback to ride a Hunting, and was not then permitted to return, but under a ſhew of Honour, was led about to ſee the Houſes of the neighbouring Gentry. At the ſame Inſtant, Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aſton*, Sir *Richard Bagot*, and *William Wade*, ſeiz'd upon *Narve* and *Curle*, the *Scotch* Queen's Secretaries, and the reſt of her Servants, and deliver'd them to ſeparate Keepers and Places, that they might have no Diſcourſe between themſelves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scotland*. Next they broke open all Doors and Locks, and upon ſuch Desks and Boxes as had Papers in them, they ſet their Seals, and ſent them to the Queen: In which, before her Majeſty's Preſence, were found a great Number of Letters from Foreign Parts, likewiſe the Copies of Letters ſent to ſeveral Perſons, and at leaſt ſixty Alphabets of private Characters; as alſo, Letters to her from ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, containing great Proffers of Love and Service: All which Queen *Elizabeth* diſſembled in Silence, according to her uſual Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I ſee, and ſay nothing. *Gifford*, who had all this Time ſerv'd their purpoſe, was now ſent into *France*, as if he had been baniſh'd out of *England*: But before his Departure, he left an indented Paper with the *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, with Inſtructions, that he ſhould deliver no Letters from the Queen of the *Scots* or the *Engliſh* Fugitives, but to that Perſon who ſhould ſhow the Counter-part thereof; which Counter-part was privately ſent by him to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

The Scotch *Queen's Servants and Papers ſeiz'd.*

On the thirteenth of *September* ſeven of the Conſpirators were arraign'd, and confeſs'd their Crime, *viz. Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney* and *Abington*; and the other ſeven, two Days after, pleaded not guilty, but were condemn'd upon Trial: Only *Pollie*, tho' he was privy to all Paſſages, yet, becauſe he had diſcover'd many Things to *Walſingham*, was not call'd in Queſtion. *Babington* was executed with great Severity, and while he was cutting up, cry'd out, *Parce mihi, Domine Jeſu! Savage* broke the Rope, and was cut up alive without any Hanging; which two, with *Ballard*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney* and *Abington*, were executed with great Rigour, on the twentieth of *September*, in St. *Gile*'s Fields. The next Day the other ſeven at the ſame Place were executed with more Mercy, the Queen deteſting the cutting them up alive, as had been done the Day before: Theſe were *Salisbury*, *Dunne*,

The Trial and Execution of the Conſpirators.

Dunne, *Jones*, *Charnock*, *Travers*, and *Gage*, and with them *Bellamy*, who had conceal'd *Babington* after he was proclaim'd Traitor, whoſe Brother had ſtrangled himſelf in Priſon. When theſe Men were executed, the *Scotch* Queen's two Secretaries, *Narve* a *Frenchman* and *Curle* a *Scotchman*, were examin'd concerning the Letters, the Copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of the *Scots* Cloſet; and they under their own voluntary Subſcriptions acknowledg'd, that they were their own Hand-writings, dictated in *French* by the Queen her ſelf, taken by *Narve*, turn'd into *Engliſh* by *Curle*, and copy'd out in ſecret Characters. Hereupon Sir *Edward Wotton* was ſent immediately into *France*, to lay before the King the whole Order of the Conſpiracy, and ſhew him the Copies of the Queen of the *Scots* Letters, confirm'd by the Teſtimony of ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility; ſo that the *French* King might be ſenſible to what Dangers the Queen of *England* had been reduc'd by the Practices of *Morgan*, *Paget*, and others in *France*.

The Queen of the Scots *accus'd by her Servants.*

After the Puniſhment of inferior Perſons and Subjects, a grand Debate aroſe how they ſhould proceed againſt a crown'd Head, the Soveraign Queen of *Scotland*, as ſhe was accounted by all her Friends; in which thoſe of the Council had various Sentiments. Some conceiv'd it was hard and improper to uſe any rigorous Courſe againſt her, but only to detain her in ſafe Cuſtody; both becauſe ſhe was not the Author of the Conſpiracy, but only an Acceſſary, and becauſe ſhe was infirm, and not like to live long. Others, out of a peculiar Care of Religion, were of Opinion, that ſhe ſhould be arraign'd and executed according to Law; and *Leiceſter*, according to his Methods, adviſ'd to have her poiſon'd, and ſent a Divine to *Walſingham* to prove it lawful, but he honourably proteſted againſt all ſuch Actions. Next there aroſe a Difference in Council, concerning what Law they were to uſe againſt her; whether the Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third, 'That pronounc'd all guilty 'of Treaſon who plotted the Deſtruction of the King, rais'd Wars in his Do-'minions, or adher'd to his Enemies; or elſe by the twenty ſeventh of the preſent Queen, enacted a Year before. At length it was carry'd by thoſe who thought ſhe was rather to be try'd by this laſt Act, as being made for this very Purpoſe and Occaſion, and therefore to be put in Execution. Whereupon, above forty of the Nobility and chief Men of the Nation were authoriz'd by the Queen's ſpecial Commiſſion, 'To inquire by virtue of that Law, and paſs 'Sentence againſt all ſuch as rais'd Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or at-'tempted any Violence againſt the Queen: All which ſolemn Commiſſion was deſign'd for to hear and determine the famous Cauſe of the Queen of *Scotland*.

Great Debates concerning her.

A grand Commiſſion to try her.

Accordingly theſe great Commiſſioners, with many Lawyers and Attendants, upon the eleventh Day of *October*, repair'd to *Fotheringay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*, where the *Scotch* Queen was then detain'd Priſoner. The next Day they ſent to her Sir *Walter Mildmay*, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* a publick Notary, who deliver'd her the Queen's Letters; which ſhe receiv'd with a compos'd and majeſtick Countenance, and anſwer'd to this Effect, *That it was very ſurpriſing, that the Queen ſhould lay her Commands upon her, to ſubmit to a Trial, as tho' ſhe were a Subject, when ſhe was a Queen, no leſs abſolute than her ſelf; therefore ſhe would never act any thing prejudicial to Perſons of her Dignity, nor to her Son the King of* Scotland. The next Day ſome Deputies from the Commiſſioners came to her, with Perſons learned in the Civil and Canon Law, to demonſtrate to her, 'That neither her Impri-'ſonment, nor her Royal Prerogative, could exempt her from anſwering in the 'Kingdom of *England*, and therefore adviſ'd her to hear what would be ob-'jected againſt her: Otherwiſe they threaten'd, *That by the Authority of the 'Law, they could and muſt proceed againſt her, tho' ſhe was abſent.* To which ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe was no Subject, and would die a thouſand Deaths before ſhe would acknowledge her ſelf to be one; by which ſhe ſhould both*

The Commiſſioners meet at Fotheringay.

She denies their Authority over her.

both injure the Majeſty of Princes, and ſubject her ſelf to the Laws, and even to the Religion of England. *Nevertheleſs, ſhe was ready to anſwer in a full and free Parliament; but as for this Aſſembly, it was, as ſhe perceiv'd, contriv'd againſt her, to give ſome Colour to a legal Proceeding; but ſhe deſir'd them to examine their Conſciences, and remember, That the Theatre of the whole World was larger than the Kingdom of* England. After ſeveral Meſſages and perſonal Conferences, *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlain deliver'd himſelf after this plauſible manner; *Madam, you are accus'd, but not condemn'd: You ſay you are a Queen, be it ſo; the Royal Dignity is not exempted from anſwering, either by the Civil or Canon Laws, nor by the Laws of Nations and Nature: If you are Innocent, you injure your Reputation in declining a Trial: You proteſt your ſelf Innocent, the Queen fears to the contrary with the deepeſt Sorrow and Affliction. To examine your Innocency are theſe honourable, prudent and upright Commiſſioners appointed, who will all rejoice to find you guiltleſs. The Queen her ſelf will be tranſported with Joy, who affirm'd to me at my Departure,* That ſhe never met with a greater Affliction, than to find you charg'd with ſuch a Crime. *Wherefore, laying aſide the bootleſs Claims of Royal Dignity, which now can be of no uſe to you, appear in Judgment, and diſplay your Innocence; leſt by avoiding Trial, you draw upon your ſelf a Suſpicion, and ſtain your Reputation with an indelable Aſperſion.* This Speech, with ſome others, had ſuch Influence upon her, that at laſt with great Reluctancy ſhe ſubmitted to a Trial. *Yet at laſt ſubmits to a Trial.*

Upon this the Commiſſioners aſſembled themſelves in the Preſence-Chamber, where at the upper End was plac'd a Chair and Canopy of State for the Queen of *England*; and over-againſt that, below and at ſome diſtance, ſtood a Chair for the Queen of *Scotland*. By the Walls on both ſides were plac'd Benches, upon which, on the one ſide ſate the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of *Oxford, Kent, Darby, Worceſter, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke* and *Lincoln*, and Viſcount *Montague*; on the other ſide the Lords *Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Gray, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John, Compton* and *Cheiney*. Nigh theſe ſate the Knights of the Privy-Council, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Powlet*. Right before the Earls ſate the two Chief Juſtices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other ſide the two Barons, and the other Judges, with *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Civil Law; and at a Table in the midſt, *Popham* the Queen's Attorney-General, *Egerton* her Sollicitor, *Gawdy* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Publick Notaries. With this Formality, and to this remarkable Aſſembly, the Queen of *Scotland* preſented her ſelf with all Majeſty and Decency; and being plac'd in her Seat, and Silence proclaim'd, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor declar'd to her, *That the Queen of* England *had appointed theſe Commiſſioners, to hear what ſhe could anſwer to the Crimes laid to her Charge; aſſuring her, That nothing could cauſe more real Joy to the Queen, than to hear that ſhe had prov'd her ſelf Innocent.* Upon this, ſhe riſing up ſaid, *That tho', as an abſolute Princeſs, ſhe could not be compell'd to appear before theſe Commiſſioners, yet to manifeſt her Innocency, ſhe did condeſcend to appear.* Then Serjeant *Gawdy* open'd every Specialty of the Law lately made, againſt which ſhe had taken Exceptions; and ſhew'd at large by *Babington*'s Confeſſion, by Letters paſs'd between them, by the Confeſſions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confeſſions of her Secretaries *Narve* and *Curle*, That ſhe was privy to their Conſpiracies, and conſented to the Invaſion of *England*, and the Deſtruction of the Queen. She readily and acutely anſwer'd to all Particulars, tho' very numerous, and alledg'd, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, and her condemn'd Accuſers, in hopes of Life, might be induc'd to confeſs more than the Truth; and in this ſhe peremptorily inſiſted, 'That ſhe never conſented to any At-

The Formality of the Proceeding.

The Queen appears and anſwers.

'tempts againſt the Queen's Perſon, and whatever ſhe had done was to free 'her ſelf from the Miſeries of a long and unjuſt Impriſonment. After many other Charges by the Commiſſioners, and as many Replies, which ſhe made with no leſs modeſt Behaviour than Preſence of Mind, ſhe in Concluſion requeſted, 'That ſhe might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen 'her ſelf, and her Council.

After this the Court was adjourn'd 'till the twenty fifth of *October* to the Star-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, where the Commiſſioners met; and after *Narve* and *Curle* had upon Oath *Vivâ Voce*, voluntarily avow'd, affirm'd and juſtify'd, all the ſeveral Letters, and Copies of Letters before produc'd, to be true and real, Sentence was pronounc'd againſt the Queen of *Scotland*, confirm'd under the Seals and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners, and the Reaſon for it recorded to this Effect, 'That ſince the firſt Day of *June*, in the twenty ſeventh 'of this Reign, divers Matters had been compos'd and imagin'd within the 'Realm of *England*, by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privity 'of the ſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to 'the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the ſaid Lady the Queen of *England*. 'And alſo the aforeſaid *Mary* had alſo her ſelf compos'd and imagin'd divers 'Matters tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the Queen of *En-'gland*, contrary to a Statute ſpecify'd in the foreſaid Commiſſion. This Sentence, which depended chiefly upon the Credit of the *Scotch* Queen's two Secretaries, occaſion'd variety of Diſcourſe and Cenſure; while ſome thought them Perſons worthy of Belief, and others of no Credit in this Matter. However the ſame Day a Declaration was publiſh'd by the Commiſſioners and the Judges of the Land, 'That the ſaid Sentence did not prejudice *James* King of *Scotland*, in 'his Title or Honour; but that he was in the ſame Place, Degree and Right, 'as if the ſaid Sentence had never been pronounc'd.

Sentence paſs'd againſt her.

The ſixth Parliament in this Reign.

A few Days after, upon the twenty ninth of *October*, a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which was begun by Authority from the Queen, deriv'd to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Darby*; and that not without former Precedents. At this Parliament the Proſcriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, and the reſt of the late Conſpirators, were confirm'd, and their Goods and Poſſeſſions adjudg'd Confiſcate. The Eſtates of the Realm, having by their Votes approv'd and confirm'd the Sentence given againſt the Queen of *Scotland*, unanimouſly preſented a Petition to the Queen by the Hand of the Lord Chancellor; in which they earneſtly beſought her, 'That for the 'Preſervation of Chriſt's true Religion, the Quiet and Security of the Realm, 'the Preſervation of her Majeſty's Perſon, and the Safety of themſelves and 'their Poſterity, the Sentence given againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* according 'to Law might be publiſh'd. The more to induce her, they call'd to her Remembrance the terrible Examples of God's Vengeance upon King *Saul* for ſparing of *Agag*, and upon *Ahab* for ſparing the Life of *Benhadad*. The Queen with great Majeſty both of Elocution and Countenance, anſwer'd to this Effect, 'That ſhe acknowledg'd God's miraculous Preſervation of her, and ſhe rejoic'd 'that after twenty eight Years Poſſeſſion of the Throne, ſhe found the Love 'of her People the ſame, if not greater than ever, *which if ſhe once loſt, ſhe 'might be ſaid to breath, but not to live.* And tho' her Life had been dan-'geroufly ſtruck at, yet ſhe proteſted that nothing ſo ſenſibly griev'd her as 'that one of the ſame Sex and Quality, and of the ſame Race and Blood, ſhould 'fall into ſuch a Miſdemeanor. Therefore if her own Life alone depended 'upon it, and not the Safety and Welfare of her dear People, ſhe would wil-'lingly pardon her, and if *England* might by her Death obtain a more flou-'riſhing Condition, and a better Prince, ſhe would gladly lay down her own 'Life; but for her People's ſakes ſhe only deſir'd to live. After this ſhe pro-'ceeded to tell them a Secret, *That lately with her own Eyes ſhe had ſeen an*

They petition the Queen for Execution.

Her Anſwer.

Oath

'*Oath wherein ſome bound themſelves to kill her within a Month.* Yet after 'all, ſhe deſir'd ſome Space to conſider and weigh a Matter of ſo great Nicety 'and Importance, concluding, *That whatever the beſt of Subjects might ex-* '*pect from the beſt of Princes, that they might always expect to receive from her.*

She is under great Conflicts about it.

Twelve Days after, having often revolv'd the Matter in her Mind, diſtracted with doubtful Thoughts and Cares, and in great Conflicts how to proceed in ſo difficult an Affair, ſhe ſent Meſſengers to both Houſes of Parliament, 'Deſiring them again to conſider of this important Cauſe, and find out a 'more grateful Expedient, by which both the Queen of *Scotland*'s Life might 'be ſpar'd, and her own Security preſerv'd. After long and ſerious Debates, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of their Queen concern'd all the Subjects, they unanimouſly concurr'd in their former Opinion, declaring, 'That the Queen's Life could not be in Safety, while the other Queen liv'd; 'unleſs the other repented and acknowledg'd her Crimes, or were kept in ſtrict 'Cuſtody, or bound by Oaths and Obligations, or gave Hoſtages, or laſtly de-'parted the Kingdom: And ſince none of theſe would probably be Remedies, it 'remain'd that only her Death could be the Nation's Security: Repentance in 'her was little to be expected, who would not own her ſelf guilty; cloſe Im-'priſonment, Obligations, Oaths and Hoſtages, would all vaniſh, if the Queen 'of *England* once loſt her Life; and if ſhe departed the Kingdom, ſhe would 'ſoon find Means to Invade it. Theſe Reaſons were urg'd to the gentle Queen by the Lord Chancellor and *Puckering* Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and ſhe being harraſs'd with various Thoughts and melancholy Apprehenſions, proteſted, 'That her moſt earneſt Deſire had been, That for her People's Security, 'and her own Safety, ſome other Expedient might have been invented, than 'what they had propos'd; but ſince it was now evident, that her own Safety, 'without the other's Deſtruction, was altogether precarious, ſhe was violently 'affected with inward Sorrow; That ſhe, who had pardon'd ſo many Rebels, 'and by Connivance or Silence had neglected ſo many Treaſons, ſhould be 'compell'd at length to exerciſe Cruelty againſt a near Kinſwoman and a Queen. 'Therefore conſidering the great Conflicts in her Breaſt, ſhe deſir'd them *to* '*accept of an Anſwer without an Anſwer*; concluding her Speech in theſe 'Words: *If I ſhould ſay I will not anſwer your Deſires, I might perhaps ſay* '*more than I intend; and if I ſhould ſay I will do it, I might plunge my ſelf* '*into as great Inconveniences as you endeavour to prevent; which I am con-*'*fident your Wiſdoms will not deſire, when you conſider the Circumſtances of* '*Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Mankind.* After this the Parliament broke up for a few Days.

The Parliament urge her again.

Her uncertain Anſwer.

About the ſame Time the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beal* were ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* to inform her, 'That Sentence was pronounc'd againſt her, and 'confirm'd by Authority of Parliament as juſt and lawful, and that the Execu-'tion of it was inſtantly deſir'd by the States of the Realm, out of due Regard 'to Juſtice, Security, and Neceſſity; and therefore they perſuaded her, That 'before her Death ſhe would acknowledge her Offences againſt God and the 'Queen, *For if ſhe liv'd, the eſtabliſh'd Religion in* England *could not ſubſiſt.* At this ſhe ſeem'd to triumph with more than uſual Joy, thanking God, and congratulating her own Felicity, *That ſhe ſhould be accounted an Inſtrument for the Re-eſtabliſhing Religion in this Iſland*; and earneſtly requeſted, That ſhe might have a Catholick Prieſt allow'd her to direct her Conſcience, and adminiſter the Sacraments to her. A Biſhop and a Dean being recommended to her for that purpoſe, ſhe utterly rejected both, and ſeverely retorted upon the *Engliſh* Nation, *That they were accuſtomed to put their Kings to Death, no Wonder therefore if they exercis'd their Cruelty upon her who was of the ſame Blood.* At the earneſt Deſire of ſome Courtiers, in *December* the Sentence againſt her was firſt proclaim'd in *London*, and then throughout all the Kingdom; in which Proclamation the Queen ſolemnly proteſted, 'That this Pro-

Notice of Death given to the Queen of the Scots.

Sentence againſt her publiſh'd.

'mulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her againſt her own Inclina-
'tions, by the Importunity of the whole Body of the Kingdom. The *Scotch* Queen being inform'd of this, ſeem'd no ways dejected; but writing to Queen *Elizabeth*, without any Interceſſion for her Life, in the moſt pathetick Terms begg'd of her, 'That ſhe might be oblig'd to her, and none elſe, for three par-
'ticular Favours: Firſt, That when her Adverſaries had ſatiated themſelves
'with her innocent Blood, her Body might be convey'd into ſome Catholick
'Land for its Burial, particularly into *France*, where her Mother ſlept un-
'diſturb'd; for in *Scotland* the Tombs of her Anceſtors were violated, and the
'Churches prophan'd; and in *England*, where lay both their common Progeni-
'tors, all Catholick Rites would be deny'd her: *So might her Body at laſt reſt*
'*in Peace, which while it was join'd with the Soul, could never find Reſt or*
'*Quiet*. Secondly, That ſhe might be put to Death in private, without her
'Knowledge, but in the Sight of her Servants and others, who might give Teſti-
'mony of her Behaviour, and prevent all Aſperſions of her Memory. And
'Thirdly, That her Servants might freely and peaceably depart whether they
'pleas'd, and enjoy thoſe Legacies which ſhe had bequeath'd them by her Will
'and Teſtament. But whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands, is uncertain.

She writes to Queen Elizabeth.

The Condemnation of the Queen of *Scotland* became the Subject of every Mouth and Tongue in the Nation, which caus'd vaſt Variety of Opinions and Cenſures; and as the Thing was ſtrange and ſurpriſing, it ſoon ſpread to diſtant Nations, and Interceſſions arriv'd from many Countries; and firſt from *Scotland*, where King *James* labour'd daily to ſave her Life, and omitted nothing that became a pious Son, and a prudent King. But the *Scots* were at this Time torn by inteſtine Factions, and more at that Time favour'd the Reigning than the Captive Queen; inſomuch that ſome of them ſecretly ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* by Letters to haſten her Execution, which had been deferr'd above two Months, ſince Sentence was firſt paſs'd. The King of *Scotland*'s Agents were daily interceeding, and all Arguments were us'd that might perſuade her Reaſon, or move her Pity: To which he anſwer'd, *That ſhe was unmeaſurably ſorry that no Means could be found to ſave the Life of their Queen, and to ſecure her own.* But afterwards when they began to mix Threatnings with their Intreaties, ſhe with ſome Warmth ſaid, *Tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head ſince he was born, and that for my Part, I deſign to keep the League between us; which if he break, it ſhall be a double Fault.* Sir *Robert Melvil*, finding her in a Paſſion, requeſted for eight Days Reſpite of Execution; to whom ſhe reply'd, *Not an Hour*. The *French* King alſo became an Interceſſor for the unfortunate Queen, and by his extraordinary Ambaſſador propos'd ſome Expedients, but to no Effect.

Great Interceſſions made for her from abroad.

A. D. 1587. Reg. 29/30.

And now when the Neceſſities of the State, and the grand Stream of the Nation, ſeem'd to obſtruct and over-bear all Means for Clemency and Pity, the *French* Ambaſſador *L'Aubeſpin* fell from Arguments to Actions, and thought no way ſo effectual for ſaving the Life of one Queen, as taking away that of the other; and thereupon he firſt dealt ſecretly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, prone to ambitious Expectations, whoſe Mother was of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen, and his Brother at this Time Lieger Ambaſſador in *France*; and afterwards proceeded more openly with *Trappe* his Secretary, to murther Queen *Elizabeth*. This *Stafford*, tho' not daring enough to act ſuch a Villany himſelf, yet recommended one *Moody* to him, a reſolute and deſperate Man, who for Mony would certainly effect it. Upon this *Stafford* brought *Trappe* to *Moody*, who was then in the Common Jail, and upon *Trappe*'s Offers undertook the Attempt: But then the Conſultation was, by what Means it ſhould be effected. *Moody* propos'd Poiſon, or elſe to lay a Bag of Gunpowder under the Queen's Bed, and ſuddenly fire it; but *Trappe* approv'd

A new Plot againſt Queen Elizabeth.

of neither of theſe Methods, but choſe rather to have it done, as the bold Perſon did who ſhot the Prince of *Orange*. But while they were thus conſulting about the Means of performing the Infernal Exploit, *Stafford* diſcover'd all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe*, who was ready for *France*, was ſuddenly apprehended, and upon Examination confeſs'd the whole Plot. This alſo caus'd the Ambaſſador to be ſent for to *Cecil-Houſe*, on the twelfth Day of *January*; where by the Queen's Appointment he was met by the Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and *Daviſon*, one of the Secretaries; who acquainted the Ambaſſador with every Particular that *Stafford*, *Moody* and *Trappe* his Secretary had confeſs'd. As ſoon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to ſpeak, the Ambaſſador interrupted him, and with Reproaches and Aſſeverations declar'd, that *Stafford* had firſt propos'd it to him; when *Stafford* falling upon his Knees, made fearful Imprecations, that the Ambaſſador firſt propos'd it himſelf. After *Stafford* had withdrawn, *Burleigh* gently reprov'd the Ambaſſador for being conſcious or acceſſary to ſo vile a Fact; to which he immediately reply'd, *That if he had known of any ſuch thing, yet being an Ambaſſador, he ought to give no Notice of it but to his own King.* After much Reaſoning, *Burleigh* admoniſh'd him *to beware how he offended hereafter in this Kind, and provoke the Clemency of a Queen, who knew how to puniſh an ill Ambaſſador; and that he was not acquitted from the Guilt, tho' the Queen might at this Time ſpare his Puniſhment.*

It is diſcover'd.

Upon this new Conſpiracy, the *Scotch* Queen's Enemies rais'd many Terrors in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind, forming Reports, 'That the *Spaniſh* Fleet was 'arriv'd at *Milford* Haven; that the *Scots* had made an Irruption into *En*'*gland*; that the Duke of *Guiſe* with a numerous Army was landed in *Suſſex*; 'that the Queen of the *Scots* was eſcap'd out of Priſon, and had rais'd an Ar'my; that the Northern Parts were up in Rebellion, with other ſuch formidable Relations. With ſuch terrifying Arguments as theſe, they ſo gain'd upon the Queen's wavering and perplexed Mind, that ſhe ſign'd a Warrant for putting the Sentence of Death in Execution; and one of the Perſons that puſh'd her upon this Extremity, was ſaid to be *Patrick Gray*, a Perſon ſent by the King of *Scotland* to diſſuade her from it, yet he was frequently uſing this Expreſſion, *Mortua non mordet, The Dead never bite.* The Queen notwithſtanding, began to weigh with her ſelf, Whether it was really better to free her ſelf from her, or elſe to ſpare her Life; and many remarkable Reaſons offer'd themſelves on both Sides; but thoſe for ſparing of her were generally Speculative, while thoſe for deſtroying her were Practical, and enforc'd by great Numbers. The Courtiers were continually urging the ſame Point; ſome Preachers, more ſeverely than became their Functions, aggravated the Matter; and the vulgar Sort, out of Hope or Fear, inſolently exercis'd their Wits and Pleaſure upon the ſame deplorable Subject.

Queen Elizabeth ſigns a Warrant for the Execution of the Queen of the Scots.

In the midſt of theſe fluctuating and perplex'd Imaginations the Queen abandon'd her ſelf to a ſolitary and melancholy Life, ſitting in a ſilent and thoughtful Poſture, and often Sighing out, *Aut fer, aut feri, Either bear, or ſtrike:* At length from this Sentence, *Ne feriare, feri, Strike, leſt you be ſtricken*, ſhe deliver'd a Writing ſign'd with her own Hand to *Daviſon*, one of her Secretaries, commanding a Warrant under the Great Seal of *England* to be drawn up for the Execution; but only to lye in Readineſs, if any Commotion ſhould ariſe, and commanded him to diſcover it to no Man. But the next Day, while Fear made her apprehenſive of her own Thoughts, her Mind chang'd, and ſhe commanded *Daviſon* by *William Killigrew* that the Warrant ſhould not be drawn; but *Daviſon* came to the Queen, and told her Majeſty, *It was already drawn, and under the Seal.* The Queen ſeem'd extreamly concern'd, and blam'd him for his haſty Officiouſneſs: Notwithſtanding, he acquainted the Council with the Warrant and the whole Matter, and eaſily perſuaded them

She changes her Mind.

them, who were ready to believe what they desir'd, that the Queen had commanded it should be executed. Hereupon *Beal*, who in Respect of Religion, of all others was the *Scotch* Queen's greatest Enemy, was without Delay sent down with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others to see her executed: And all this without the Queen's Knowledge, nay expressly against her Order; for she had told *Davison*, *That she would take another Course with the Queen of the* Scots, yet he would not command *Beal* to desist and return: And this carries us to the last Act of this fatal Tragedy.

The Warrant sent without her Knowledge.

As soon as the Earls were arriv'd at *Fotheringay*, they together with Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, her chief Keepers, came to her, read over the Warrant, and in few Words admonish'd her to prepare her self to die the next Day. She with an undaunted and compos'd Spirit, made this Answer: *I did not think the Queen my Sister would have consented to my Death, who am not subject to her Laws; but since it is her Pleasure, Death is most welcome to me; for I account that Soul unworthy of everlasting Joys, whose Body cannot bear one Stroke of the Executioner.* She desir'd to have Conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and *Melvil* the Master of her Household; but her Confessor was positively deny'd her, and the Bishop and Dean of *Peterborough* recommended to comfort her. Upon her Refusal of these, the Earl of *Kent* in a vehement Zeal, broke out into these Words, *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, and your Death will be the Life of it.* When the Earls were departed from her, she commanded Supper to be hasten'd, and sitting down eat after her usual temperate Manner. Then observing her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and deploring her hard Fate, she comforted them with a brave Courage and Magnanimity, commanding them, *Rather to rejoice that she was soon to be freed from a World of Miseries.* Towards the End of her Supper, she drunk to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in Order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with their Wine, begging Pardon for their Neglect of their Duty, as she also in like manner did of them. After Supper she perus'd her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of those to whom she gave any Legacies. She put the Gold she had in as many little Purses as she had Servants, more or less in every Purse, according to their Qualities and Merits. She wrote a Letter to her Confessor, that he would make Intercession for her to God in his Prayers; and also wrote Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the *French* King and the Duke of *Guise*. At the ordinary Hour she went to her Repose, and slept quietly some Hours; and then Waking, she spent the rest of the Night in Prayer.

The Queen of the Scots *Behaviour.*

The fatal Morning being come, which was on the eighteenth of *February*, she dress'd her self in State, as she us'd upon the highest Festivals; and calling her Servants, order'd her Will to be read, praying their Acceptance of the small Legacies she had given them, having no Ability to extend her Kindness in greater Matters. Then retiring to her Oratory, she continu'd in Sighs, Groans and Prayers, 'till *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, about eight a Clock, acquainted her, *That all was ready:* She answer'd, *I am so likewise*, and came forth in State, with a majestick and compos'd Countenance, a chearful Look, and in a modest Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linnen Veil hanging down to the Crown, her *Beads* at her Girdle, and an Ivory *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch she was met by the Noblemen, where *Melvil* her chief Servant, falling on his Knees, and melting into a Flood of Tears, bitterly deplor'd his miserable Fate, that he must be the unhappy Messenger to *Scotland*, of the most unfortunate End of his Queen and Mistress. She comforted him, and bad him *Rejoice for he should presently see* Mary Stuart *freed from all her Miseries*. Then she order'd him to tell them, *That she dy'd constant in her Religion, and firm in her Affection towards* Scotland *and* France: *And she*

She comes out to Execution.

ſhe appeal'd to the omniſcient God, how greatly ſhe deſir'd that the Kingdom of England *and* Scotland *might be united in one.* Next ſhe deſir'd him to pray her Son *to ſerve God, defend the Catholick Religion govern his Kingdom in Peace, and never put himſelf into the Power of another, as ſhe had done; to certifie him that ſhe had done nothing prejudicial to the Crown of* Scotland, *and to deſire him to keep Friendſhip with the Queen of* England. With theſe Words, and ſome Tears falling from her Eyes, ſhe urg'd him *To be a faithful Servant to her Son,* and bad him ſeveral Times Farewel.

Then turning to the Lords, ſhe deſir'd that her Servants might be civilly us'd, and quietly enjoy the Legacies ſhe had given them; that they might ſtand by her at her Death, and afterwards be ſafely convey'd into their own Country. When the Earl of *Kent* ſcrupled their being preſent at her Death, for fear of ſome ſuperſtitious Ceremony, the Queen ſaid, *Fear it not, theſe harmleſs Souls only deſire to take their laſt leave of their Miſtreſs; and I know my Siſter* Elizabeth *would not deny the Preſence of my Women, for the Honour of our Sex. I am her near Kinſwoman, deſcended from her Grandfather, Queen Dowager of* France, *and the anointed Queen of* Scotland. Then it was granted that ſuch of her Servants ſhould be preſent, as ſhe ſhould pleaſe to name, which were *Melvil, Burgoign* her Phyſician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two of her Women and others; among whom *Melvil* bore up her Train. Thus, the Gentlemen, two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County going before her, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was two Foot high, and twelve broad, erected in the Middle of the Hall; on which was plac'd a Chair, a Cuſhion and a Block, all cover'd with black Cloath. Here *Beal* read the Warrant, and *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech, concerning the Condition of her Life paſt, preſent and future. But the Queen interrupted him once or twice, deſiring him not to trouble himſelf, and proteſting *ſhe was immovably fix'd in the Roman Catholick Religion, and now came to ſhed her Blood for it.* When the Dean perſuaded her to a ſincere Repentance, and by Faith to rely upon the Merits of Chriſt, ſhe anſwer'd, *That in that Religion ſhe was born and educated, and now would die in it.* The Lords then ſaid they would pray for her, to whom ſhe reply'd, *I ſhall thank you heartily if you will pray with me; but for me to join in Prayer with you, who are of another Perſuaſion, would be a hainous Sin.* Then the Lords order'd the Dean to pray, with whom, while the Multitude in the Hall were praying, ſhe fell upon her Knees, and holding the *Crucifix* before her, pray'd in *Latin* with her Servants, out of a Book call'd *The Office of the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary. When the Dean had finiſh'd his Prayers, ſhe in *Engliſh* recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth* to God's Protection and Benediction; forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the *Crucifix*, and ſigning her ſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms, O* Chriſt, *were extended upon the Croſs, ſo, Lord, receive me with the extended Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* Then beginning to diſrobe her ſelf, the Executioners offer'd their help; but ſhe put them back, ſaying, *She was not accuſtom'd to be ſerv'd by ſuch Grooms.* While her Women with melting Eyes were performing that Office, ſhe affectionately kiſs'd them, ſign'd them with the Croſs, and with a pleaſant Countenance bid them *forbear their Womaniſh Lamentations, for now ſhe ſhould reſt from all her Sorrows.* Having cover'd her Face, and laying her ſelf down to the Block, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my truſt, let me never be confounded;* then ſtretching forth her Body, ſhe many Times ſaid, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit!* And at two Strokes her Head was ſever'd from her Body, which appear'd to be ſomewhat gray, tho' ſhe was but forty five Years of Age. At the ſame Moment the Dean cry'd out, *So let the Enemies of Queen* Elizabeth *periſh!* The Earl of *Kent* anſwer'd *Amen*; but the Multitude reply'd with nothing but Sighs and Lamentations. Her Body was Embalm'd, and with Regal Obſequies interr'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*; but her Cloaths, the

She aſcends the Scaffold.

She is beheaded.

the Block, and every thing elſe that had receiv'd a Drop of her Blood, were burnt, to prevent ſuperſtitious Conſequences.

Her Character. This deplorable End had *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, a Lady firm and conſtant to her Religion, of ſingular Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wiſdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; yet toſs'd and croſs'd with the Frowns and Varieties of Fortune beyond all the former Examples of crown'd Heads; which ſome believ'd to have proceeded from the Vengeance of Heaven, for ſuch ſecret Crimes of hers, as perhaps can never be either excus'd or prov'd 'till the great Day of Judgment; and others, for her violent Adherence to Superſtition, and Severity to thoſe of a contrary Perſuaſion. But tho' we cannot nicely determine this myſterious Affair; yet we may here preſume, with a great Man, to obſerve and admire at the wiſe Diſpoſition and Ordering of the Divine Providence. For thoſe very Things which both the Queens moſt of all deſir'd, and propos'd to themſelves in all their Councils, were by this Means effected and accompliſh'd. Queen *Mary*, as ſhe declar'd at her Death, deſir'd nothing more ardently than that the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the Perſon of her dear Son: And there was nothing which Queen *Elizabeth* more induſtriouſly endeavour'd, than the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Safety and Security of her People: And that the great God granted both their Prayers, *England* ſaw with unexpected Satisfaction.

Queen Elizabeth afflicted. The Death of this Princeſs however reflected upon the Fame and Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, who little imagin'd ſuch Severity had been acted; and ſhe receiv'd the News with ſuch a Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew pale, her Speech faulter'd, her Spirits fail'd, and ſhe was under ſuch an Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion that ſhe had no Enjoyment of her Life, Company ſeem'd a Burden to her, inſomuch that ſhe abandon'd her ſelf to Grief and Melancholy, put on deep Mourning, ſhed abundance of Tears, ſeverely rebuk'd her Council, commanded them out of her Preſence, and order'd *Daviſon* to be try'd in the Star-Chamber. Thus ſhe continu'd for ſome Space; but as ſoon as Grief would give her leave, ſhe wrote a Letter in haſte with her own Hand to the King of *Scotland*, and ſent it by Sir *Robert Cary*,

She writes to the King of Scotland. beginning in theſe Words: *My deareſt Brother, Would to Heav'n you knew, but not felt, the inexpreſſible Grief that overwhelms my Mind, upon this deplorable Accident, which has happen'd contrary to my Meaning and Intention; which ſince my Pen trembles to mention, you will fully underſtand by this my Kinſman. I requeſt you, that as God and many others can witneſs my Innocency in this Matter, ſo you will alſo believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it.——That as I know this has happen'd deſervedly on her Part; ſo if I had intended it, I would not have charg'd it upon others.——There is not any that loveth you more dearly, and taketh more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs.——God preſerve you long in Health and Safety.*

Daviſon *cited in the Star-Chamber.* While *Cary* was on his Journey to *Scotland*, *Daviſon* was cited to the Star-Chamber, before the two Arch-Biſhops and ſeveral Lords and Judges of the Land, appointed Commiſſioners for that purpoſe; where he was charg'd with Contempt of the Queen's Majeſty, and a Violation of his Truſt, in cauſing the Execution of the Queen of *Scotland*, without the Knowledge and Conſent of his own Soveraign; which Charge was much aggravated by the Pleadings of *Popham*, *Egerton*, *Gawdy* and *Puckering*. *Daviſon* anſwer'd, *That if he ſhould confeſs himſelf guilty of the Crimes objected againſt him, he ſhould injure his own Reputation, which was dearer to him than his Life; and if he ſhould conteſt with the Queen in his own Defence, he ſhould do what was misbecoming the Obedience of a Subject, the Behaviour of a Servant, and the Truſt and Office of a Secretary. He proteſted before God and the Commiſſioners, That he had acted nothing in this Matter, but what he had perſuaded*

ſuaded himſelf was the Queen's Will and Pleaſure; in which, if he had wrong'd himſelf either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly afflicted, and patiently ſubmitted himſelf to the Cenſures of the Commiſſioners. After many Debates, the Commiſſioners generally agreed That *Daviſon* was an honeſt Man, and that in this Act he had done the Nation great Service; but for the Manner and Management of it without the Queen's Knowledge, they fin'd him ten thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure; and he never could recover her Favour, but only ſometimes to have his Wants reliev'd. Thus was *Daviſon*, an ingenious Man, but a Stranger to the Artifices of Courts and Courtiers, brought upon the Stage, as ſome thought, purpoſely to ſerve a Turn; but miſcarrying in the laſt Act, was thruſt off again, and not without the Pity of many thinking Men, detain'd a long Time in Priſon.

He is fin'd and impriſon'd.

By this Time Sir *Robert Cary*, who was ſent with the Queen's Letter, arriv'd at the Borders of *Scotland*, but was not permitted to ſet Foot in that Kingdom: King *James* would ſcarce hear him by a third Perſon, and with much Difficulty receiv'd his Letters: He likewiſe recall'd his Ambaſſador from *England*, and breath'd out nothing but Reſentments and Revenge. Upon which the Queen labour'd by her able Miniſters and Agents, which ſhe never wanted, to appeaſe his Mind, and divert him from the War he intended. Theſe working with Art and Privacy upon the King's chiefeſt Counſellors, and thoſe of his Chamber which he moſt affected, they kept him off from breaking out into open Hoſtility, which was every Day expected. Firſt Secretary *Walſingham* by a long Letter to the Lord *Thirlſtane*, who was then moſt in Credit, and had the chief Adminiſtration of Affairs, propos'd divers weighty and important Conſiderations to divert the King from violent Reſolutions. Soon after the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, admoniſh'd the King, 'How 'dangerous it would be for him now to begin a War againſt *England*, and 'what little Aids he could juſtly expect from either *Spain* or *France*: But if 'he continu'd his Amity with *England*, he might be ſure that Queen *Eliza-'beth* would moſt lovingly account him as her own Son. Then that he might be aſſur'd that the Queen his Mother ſuffer'd without her Privity, ſhe ſent him the Sentence againſt *Daviſon*, under the Hands of all the Commiſſioners, and atteſted under the Great Seal of *England*; and likewiſe another Inſtrument ſign'd by the Judges of *England*, in which they averr'd, *That the Sentence againſt the Queen of* Scotland *could no ways prejudice his Right to the Succeſſion.* All theſe gradually gain'd upon his Reaſon and Judgment; and he ſoon began to be ſatisfy'd with Arguments of *Walſingham* and *Hunſdon*, the fair Promiſes of the Queen, and the Hopes of being a Succeſſor in *England*; which laſt, conſidering his preſent Circumſtances among a divided Nobility, a factious Clergy, a diſcontented People, and a barren Country, was alone an anſwerable Argument to induce that King to conſult his own Intereſt, and compound the Matter without the Hazards of an unequal War.

The King of Scotland's *Reſentments.*

He is reconcil'd to Queen Elizabeth.

Camden. Speed. Stow. Spotſwood. Strada. Bohun. &c.

XI. The mighty Queen *Elizabeth* was now freed from her Rival in Government, and the Head of a contrary Religion, who at different Times had given her great Diſquiets for near thirty Years: But theſe Domeſtick Storms were ſcarce allay'd, when others more formidable threaten'd the Nation from abroad, ariſing from the ſwelling Ambition and ſuperſtitious Reſentments of the moſt powerful Monarch in *Europe*, the King of *Spain*. This Prince, upon ſeveral Pretences, had many Times form'd Deſigns of invading the Kingdom of *England*; but at this Time he began to exert his utmoſt Power, and made ſuch vaſt Preparations, as both ſurpriz'd and kept all *Europe* in Suſpence, not knowing over what Nation the Storm would break, tho' it was moſt generally thought to be deſign'd againſt the *Netherlands*. For the Diſcovery of this great Secret, *Walſingham* employ'd his niceſt Faculties and Endeavours, and with

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The great Preparation of Spain *againſt* England.

anſwerable Succeſs. This great Stateſman was famous for his Spies, his ſecret Intelligence, and wondrous Management; and is believ'd to have laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars both in *France* and the *Netherlands*, ſo advantageous to *England* in this Reign: Upon which he told the Queen, *That tho' the* Spaniard *had a ſtrong Appetite and a good Digeſtion, he had given him ſuch a Bone, as would take him twenty Years to manage, and break his Teeth at laſt.* But now his Buſineſs was to diſcover the preſent Aims of the King of *Spain*, which were unknown to any but himſelf; 'till this Year he had Intelligence from *Madrid*, that King *Philip* had told his Council, That he had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Rome*, with a Letter writ with his own Hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true Deſign of his Preparations, and begging his Bleſſing upon it; which for ſome Reaſons he could not yet diſcloſe to them, 'till the Return of the Courier. The Secret being thus lodg'd with the Pope, *Walſingham*, by the Means of a *Venetian* Prieſt retain'd at *Rome* as a Spy, got a Copy of the Original Letter, which was ſtolen out of the Pope's Cabinet by a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who took the Keys out of the Pope's Pocket while he ſlept. After this, by his dextrous Management, he caus'd the *Spaniſh* Bills to be proteſted at *Genoa*, which ſhould have ſupply'd them with Mony for theſe extraordinary Preparations; by which Means he happily retarded this threatning Invaſion for a whole Year.

Walſingham's *Policy.*

Drake's *Expedition.* In the mean Time to divert and moleſt the *Spaniard*, the Queen ſent out the famous Captain *Drake*, with four of her Royal Ships and ſome others, to the Coaſt of *Spain*, to ſurprize and deſtroy his Ships in his Havens, and intercept his Proviſions. *Drake* faithfully perform'd his Office, and entering into the Port of *Cales*, ſunk, took and fir'd about a hundred Sail of Ships, in which were great Quantities of Ammunition and Proviſions: Then returning to Cape St. *Vincent*, he ſet upon three Forts, and compell'd them to ſurrender: Thence ſetting Sail to the Weſtern Iſlands, call'd the *Azores*, by good Fortune he met with a vaſt and rich Carack, call'd St. *Philip*, returning from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and eaſily took it; whereupon the Seamen on both Sides, from the Name of *Philip*, judg'd it portentous to the King of *Spain*. At the ſame Time *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Suffolk*, in the other Part of the World, who two Years before had ſet Sail from *England* with three Ships, paſſing through the Straits of *Magellan*, along the Coaſts of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New-Spain*, fir'd a great Number of *Spaniſh* Towns, and took and plunder'd nineteen great Ships, and among them a rich Ship of the *Spaniſh* King's nigh *California*, in North *America*; and ſo by the *Philippine* Iſlands, the *Moluccos*, the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Iſland of St. *Helen*, return'd home this Year, being the ſecond after *Magellan* that had ſail'd round the Globe.

And Cavendiſh

As *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* at this Time gain'd great Fame and Renown, ſo two other *Engliſhmen* in the *Netherlands* purchas'd as much Infamy and Diſgrace; theſe were *William Stanley* and *Rowland York*. This laſt was a *Londoner*, an audacious Man, and of looſe Behaviour; noted for firſt bringing in the Uſe of the Rapier into *England*, whereas before Sword and Buckler were the only Weapons in Duels, and it was thought cowardly either to turn the Point, or ſtrike below the Girdle. He ſuffering ſome Affront from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, fled, and for a Time ſerv'd under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, 'till being reconcil'd to *Leiceſter*, he was made Governor of the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being brib'd, he not only ſurrender'd the Place to the Enemy, but alſo by the like Treachery drew in *William Stanley* to betray *Daventer* to the *Spaniards*, a rich and ſtrong Town. As a Reward of their Treaſons, the *Spaniards* ſet *York* and *Stanley* at Variance, and poiſon'd the former and ſeiz'd his Effects, whoſe Carcaſs was three Years after digg'd up by the States, and hang'd upon a Gibbet 'till it rotted: *Stanley* went into *Spain* in Hopes of Advancement, but no Man would truſt him, according to a Saying in that Country, *It is ſometimes lawful to give Honour, but never Credit to*

The Treachery of Stanley *and* York.

to a Traitor. Theſe treacherous Proceedings brought the Earl of *Leiceſter* into much Envy with the Confederate States, becauſe the Traitors were intimate with him; and in long Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, they accus'd her Favourite for his publick Miſmanagement of Mony and Merchandize, as well as Military Affairs, and imputing the Miſchiefs ariſing from *York* and *Stanley* all to his Credulity. The Queen, for the examining and compoſing the Matter, ſent over, *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, *Norris* and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious Diligence of *Buckhurſt* ſeem'd to bear hard upon *Leiceſter*'s Reputation, his Favour with the Queen prov'd of that Force, that *Buckhurſt* at his Return was confin'd to his Houſe for ſeveral Months.

Afterwards *Sluce* being inveſted by the Prince of *Parma*, the States ſent to the Earl of *Leiceſter* into *England* to come and relieve it. The Town being furiouſly batter'd with ſeventeen-thouſand great Shot, and a large Breach made, was defended for a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Captain *Nicholas Baskerville*, with great Valour and Reputation; but when *Leiceſter*, who came to its Succour, thought fit to retire, it ſurrender'd to the Prince of *Parma*. And indeed the States durſt not commit any great Army to *Leiceſter*'s Command, who they knew had a Deſign to ſeize *Leyden*, and ſome other Towns into his own Hands, and to make himſelf abſolute Governor of thoſe Parts. Whereupon the States us'd ſuch Means with Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Leiceſter* was call'd home with Diſgrace; being ſucceeded by *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, now but twenty Years of Age. *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, a worthy Commander, was by the Queen made General of the *Engliſh* Forces in the *Netherlands*, to whom ſhe gave Command to reduce the *Engliſh* Factions to the States Obedience; which by the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Maurice* he eaſily effected. And now the haughty *Leiceſter* being come home, derided and exploded for his Title of *Excellency*, and perceiving that Accuſations were preparing againſt him by *Buckhurſt*, and others; he privately with Servile Tears caſt himſelf at the Queen's Feet, and begg'd, *That as ſhe had ſent him out with Honour, ſhe would not receive him back with Diſgrace; and that ſhe would not bury him alive, whom ſhe had rais'd from the Duſt.* This ſo far prevail'd upon her, that the next Day being call'd to Examination before the Lords, he took his Place amongſt them; and when the Secretary began to read the Heads of his Accuſation, he interrupted him, ſaying, *That the publick Inſtructions he had receiv'd were limited with private Reſtrictions*; and making his Appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole Complaint, to the great Diſappointment of his Adverſaries. Thus was the mighty Favourite reſtor'd, and gain'd ſo much Ground, that ſhortly after he procur'd a Patent to be Vice-Gerent in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; but *Burleigh* and *Hatton* prevented this aſpiring Attempt, by ſhewing the Queen the Danger of it. And being diſappointed of his ambitious Deſigns, he retir'd into the Country, and dy'd the next Year; having his Goods ſeiz'd on by the Queen's Order, and publickly ſold for the Payment of Debts due to the Crown. And this was the End of this prodigious Man; who is deſcrib'd as the moſt ſubtle and impious Courtier, and the moſt aſpiring and prevailing Favourite that *England* ever ſaw. Tho' as to the latter Part, this great and wiſe Queen knew how to humble and reduce him; and once told him with a ſevere Frown and Oath, *That he muſt not expect to Monopolize her Favours, but ſhe would give and take back as ſhe pleas'd; and as ſhe had no Maſter her ſelf, ſhe would make him know that he had a Miſtreſs.*

Leiceſter *goes into the* Netherlands.

He is call'd home with Diſgrace.

His Death and Character.

This Year 1587 was noted for the Death of ſeveral other great Perſons, as *Henry Nevil* Lord *Abergaveny*, Great Grand-Child to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, gain'd that Title in the Right of his Wife; *Anne Stanhope*, Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, ninety Years of Age, who was the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerſet* and Protector of *England*; Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, and the laſt Banneret of *England*, in *Camden*'s and

Baker's Time; and laſtly *Thomas Bromley* Chancellor of *England*, who was ſucceeded in his Place by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who for his Honeſty and Senſe of Equity was preferr'd before more able Lawyers.

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The great Year Eighty Eight.

We are arriv'd at the thirtieth Year of this renown'd Reign, *Eighty Eight*, which a *Koningsberg* Aſtronomer above a hundred Years before, foretold ſhould be a *Year of Wonders*, and the *German* Chronologers preſag'd would be the *Climacter.cal Year of the World.* The Rumours of Wars, which had been feeble and remote, now daily encreas'd, and reſounded through the World, That a moſt prodigious Navy was rigg'd and prepar'd in *Spain* againſt *England*; and that the moſt famous Captains, renowned Commanders and expert Soldiers were ſent for from *Italy*, from *Sicily*, and from as far as *America*, to manage this vaſt Enterprize. Yet at the ſame Time a Treaty of Peace was depending between *England* and *Spain* in the *Netherlands*: The Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Croſs*, *Dale* and *Rogers*, Doctors of Law, were Commiſſioners for Queen *Elizabeth*; the Count *Aremberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais* and *Garvyer*, were for the Prince of *Parma* and the *Spaniard*; and all had their continu'd Meetings near *Oſtend*. But it appear'd that the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners deſign'd more to lull the *Engliſh* into a Security, that they might make no Proviſions for War, than that they had any Intentions of real Proceedings; ſince they rejected all reaſonable Conditions that were offer'd, and trifled and protracted Time, 'till the *Spaniſh* Fleet was come upon the Coaſt, and the Sound of the great Guns from Sea broke up the Aſſembly, and diſmiſs'd the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

The great Spaniſh Armada.

The Preparations of the King of *Spain* were extraordinary, his Fleet conſiſting of a hundred and thirty four Sail; whereof ſeventy two Galeaſſes and Galleons, vaſt bulky Ships like floating Caſtles; in which were about twenty thouſand Soldiers, eight thouſand Mariners, two thouſand Gally-Slaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty Great Guns; beſides prodigious Quantities of Bullets, Powder, Field-Pieces, Muskets, Pikes, Halberts, Carriages, Horſes, Mules, Torches, Lanthorns, Canvas, Hides, Lead, Chains, Whips, Butchering-Knives, and whatever elſe could ſerve for Oſtentation or Terror. In this Fleet were alſo about a hundred Monks and Jeſuits, under the Superintendency of Cardinal *Allen* an *Engliſhman*, who took care to tranſlate the Pope's Bull into the *Engliſh* Tongue: And there were above a hundred and twenty Noble Men Volunteers of great Account; nor was there a Noble Family in *Spain*, but had a Son, Brother, or Nephew in this Expedition, in Hopes of Riches and Revenues in *England*. For the greater Holineſs of the Action, twelve of their Ships were call'd by the Name of the *Twelve Apoſtles*; and their Cauſe and their whole Force were recommended to the Pope, and the Prayers of all good Catholicks, and ſet forth in a Book in Print, in which all their Preparations were recited; which were ſo extraordinary throughout all *Spain*, *Italy* and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves were amaz'd at the Fleet, and with the utmoſt Confidence ſtil'd it, *The Invincible Armada.* As this Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolv'd all her Subjects, and conſecrated the Expedition, as a *Croiſado* againſt *Turks* and Infidels; it occaſion'd the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſome other Catholick Princes, to liſt themſelves Volunteers in ſo meritorious an Enterprize. Nor was this all, for the Prince of *Parma* in the *Netherlands* had made his utmoſt Preparations for the ſame Attempt, and was appointed to be ready with fifty thouſand old Soldiers, with all other Accoutrements to join the *Armada* on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and by his Shipping to tranſport the whole Army, and land them at the Mouth of the *Thames*.

The Queen's Preparations.

On the other ſide, the undaunted Queen, with indefatigable Induſtry, made all ſuitable Preparations againſt ſuch a formidable Invader, which ſhe manag'd with a Maſculine Skill and Bravery. The Command of the Fleet was given to the Admiral the Lord *Charles Howard* of *Effingham*, a Man

Man nobly qualify'd for ſuch a Work, who with the valiant Sir *Francis Drake* the Vice-Admiral, was appointed to be ready at *Plimouth*: And the Lord *Henry Seymour*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, was order'd to lye upon the Coaſts of *Flanders*, with forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from coming out with his Forces. Twenty thouſand Soldiers were diſpos'd along the Coaſts for the Land-Service: Beſides which, two Armies were rais'd of well-experienc'd Men; the one conſiſting of twenty two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, which incamp'd at *Tilbury*; and the other under the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of thirty four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, to guard the Queen's Perſon. *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Francis Knolls*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other excellent Soldiers, were choſen to make a Council of War, and conſult about the ordering of the Land-Service. Theſe declar'd, among other Particulars, That the Places moſt convenient for the Enemies Landing, as *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimouh*, *Portland*, the Iſle of *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* Mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and ſuch others, ſhould be well mann'd and fortify'd: That the Train'd Soldiers of thoſe Shires, which lay near the Sea-Coaſt, ſhould defend thoſe Places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; and if they did Land to lay the Country waſte, that they might find no Subſiſtance, and by continually crying *Arm, Arm*, give the Enemy no reſt; but yet they were not to give Battel, 'till more Commanders and their Soldiers were come up. At the ſame Time, many fearing the Papiſts at home, no leſs than the *Spaniards* abroad, perſuaded the Queen to take off the Heads of ſome of the chief of them; but ſhe generouſly deteſting ſuch Cruelty, only took Order, that ſome of them ſhould be confin'd to *Wiſbich* Caſtle. And having her piercing Eyes and capacious Mind every way, ſhe quicken'd the Confederate States, ſecur'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, and procur'd the King of *Scotland* to ſtand againſt the Power of the *Spaniard*.

The Armada *ſet Sail.*

All things being in Readineſs on the *Spaniard*'s Side, the wondrous *Armada* ſet Sail from the Mouth of the *Tago*, on the twenty ninth Day of *May*, under the Command of Don *Alphonſo* Duke of *Medina*, and under him *John de Recalde*, an experienc'd Sea Captain. Never did the Weſtern Ocean behold ſuch a pompous and magnificent Spectacle before it appear'd with all the Ornaments of Delight, and Horrors of Deſtruction. But this vaſt moving City, as it was call'd, was ſuddenly diſpers'd by a great Storm; ſo that with great Difficulty they met ſome few Days after near the *Groyne* in *Gallicia*, but could not proceed in their Voyage before the twelfth Day of *July*. Before which Time, the *Engliſh* Fleet ſet forwards out of *Plimouth*, ſtanding towards the Coaſt of *Spain*; but partly by reaſon of contrary Winds, and partly upon Advice that the *Spaniards* were return'd, and upon ſome Doubt alſo, that they might paſs by them towards *England*, while they were ſeeking them at a Diſtance, they return'd back to *Plimouth*. At which Time, a confident tho' falſe Report came to the Admiral, that the *Spaniards* could not poſſibly proceed in their Deſign this Year; upon which the *Engliſh* Officers were in Expectations of being disbanded, and many of the Men went a Shoar; when ſuddenly the famous *Armada* was diſcover'd near the Mouth of the *Britiſh* Channel. Upon which the Lord Admiral, finding the Winds contrary, tow'd out the Fleet into the main Sea, with ſingular Diligence and Induſtry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encourag'd, by performing their meaneſt Offices with his own Hands. The next Day the *Engliſh* diſcover'd the mighty Navy, with prov'd Turrets like Caſtles, in Front like a Half-Moon, with Wings extending ſeven Miles in Length, creeping with ſlow Pace, tho' with full Sails; as tho' the Winds grew faint with moving them, and the Ocean groan'd under the Vaſtneſs of the Burden.

It enters the Britiſh *Channel.*

The

The *Engliſh* Admiral wiſely ſuffer'd them to ſtalk by him, that he might chace them in the Rear with a full Wind; and on the twenty firſt of *July*, ſending a Pinnace before call'd the *Defiance*, denounc'd War by diſcharging her Ordnance, and without fearing their Numbers immediately fell in and thunder'd with the utmoſt Fury upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, as he thought, tho' it prov'd to be *de Leva*'s Ship. He was bravely ſeconded by the gallant Commanders, *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher*, who pour'd in ſuch Vollies and Broad-ſides upon the hindmoſt Squadron, commanded by *Recalde*, that he was ſoon forc'd to fly to the main Fleet for Succour; finding that the *Engliſh* had a great Advantage, not only in the Wind, but in the Lowneſs of their Ships, and their extraordinary Celerity in tacking and moving as they had Occaſion. The Night following a vaſt Ship of *Biſcay*, where the King of *Spain*'s Treaſure was kept, took Fire by Chance or Treachery, but was timely extinguiſh'd by other Veſſels, and the Treaſure remov'd. This fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh* next Day, and a great Galleon with four hundred and fifty Men, having broken her Fore-maſt, was taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, and fifty five thouſand Ducats in Gold which he found in her were diſtributed among his own Men. On the twenty third Day of the Month, there was a ſecond Engagement, with terrible Thunders on both Sides, in which moſt of the *Spaniſh* Shot flew over the *Engliſh* Ships without Damage; only *Cock* an *Engliſh* Captain dy'd valiantly, who with his little Veſſel bravely charg'd into the midſt of his Enemies. The next Day they reſted on both Sides; in which Time the *Engliſh* Admiral rang'd his whole Fleet into four diſtinct Squadrons; the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by *Drake*, the third by *Hawkins*, and the fourth by *Forbiſher*. Thus on the twenty fifth Day they came to a third Engagement, in which the *Engliſh* by their extraordinary Management and Bravery, had again the Advantage: So that from this Time the *Spaniards* held on their Courſe, and diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to the Prince of *Parma*, requiring him immediately to join with the *Armada*, and withal to ſend them Bullets. The Day following, the Lord Admiral Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*, for their brave Services; and holding a Council of War, they reſolv'd not to attack the Enemy, 'till they came to the Strait of *Calais*, where the Lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, with a new Squadron waited for their Arrival. And now the *Engliſh* were ſo far from being terrify'd with this Invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and Gentry hir'd Ships at their own Charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge*, and others of conſiderable Note.

The firſt Fight.

The ſecond.

The third.

The Armada *anchors before* Calais.

On the twenty ſeventh of this Month, the grand *Armada* came to Anchor before *Calais*, and was follow'd within Cannon-ſhot by the *Engliſh* Admiral, to whom *Seimour* and *Winter* join'd their Ships; ſo that the *Engliſh* now conſiſted of a hundred and forty Sail, all nimble and ſerviceable Veſſels, and furniſh'd with active and courageous Seamen; yet only fifteen of them did chiefly ſuſtain the Brunt of the Engagement. And now again the *Spaniards* ſent repeated Meſſengers to the Prince of *Parma*, to ſend them forty Fly-Boats, without which they were not able to fight with the *Engliſh*, by Reaſon of the Bulk and Unweildineſs of their Ships; and they urg'd him immediately to put to Sea with his great Army. But he was unprepar'd in many Reſpects, and his Flat-bottom'd Boats were leaky, and his Men not gather'd together; and beſides, the *Hollanders* lay cruiſing before the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in ſuch a Manner and Condition, that he durſt not venture out. And yet, being an expert and induſtrious Commander, he ſeem'd to omit nothing that lay in his Power, through the vehement Deſire he had to conquer *England*.

But

But Queen *Elizabeth*'s wiſe Foreſight prevented both his Diligence, and the credulous Hopes of the *Spaniards:* For by her Command, the Day after the *Spaniards* had caſt Anchor, the Admiral made ready eight of his worſt Ships, cover'd with Wild-Fire, Pitch and Roſin, and fill'd with Sulphur, and other combuſtible Matter, and ſent them flaming down the Wind among the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the darkeſt Time of the Night, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowſe*. This unuſual Sight, which repreſented the Ocean and Skies in one Conflagration, rais'd a prodigious Fear in the *Spaniards*, as tho' theſe Ships were fill'd with unheard of Engines of Deſtruction; and with a diſmal Outcry, they cut all their Cables, and put to Sea with the greateſt Precipitation and Confuſion. One of the largeſt Ships broke her Rudder, and floating without Command, was the next Day taken by *Preſton*, *Gerrard* and *Harvy*, who ſlew the Commander *Moncada*, and four hundred Soldiers, deliver'd three hundred Gally-Slaves, and took fifty thouſand Ducats in Gold; but the Veſſel and Ordnance became Wreck to the Governor of *Calais*. *Drake* and *Fenner* in the mean Time perceiving the *Spaniſh* Fleet gradually to gather together before *Graveling*, attack'd them with great Bravery, and began a fourth Engagement; and being join'd by the Admiral, and ſeveral other Commanders, they did vaſt Damage to the Enemies tall Ships, without receiving any conſiderable Hurt themſelves. The Galleon call'd St. *Matthew* was ſeverely batter'd by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven towards *Oſtend*, attack'd by the *Zelanders*, and at laſt taken by the *Fluſhingers*. And now the inſulting *Armada*, wanting ſeveral Neceſſaries, and loſing all Hopes of the Prince of *Parma*'s Aſſiſtance, reſolv'd to return by the North to *Spain*; in which Paſſage they loſt many Ships and Men; the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill following their Rear, 'till they were forc'd to deſiſt for want of Powder.

The Armada *diſpers'd by Fireſhips.*

The fourth Fight.

The Armada *retires.*

While theſe things paſs'd at Sea, the Heroick Queen came to *Tilbury*, and with a maſculine Spirit view'd her Camp and Army; and riding about through the ſeveral Ranks, with a Commander's Truncheon in her Hand, it was incredible what Fires were blown up in her Soldiers Breaſts by her obliging Behaviour, and her invigorating Speeches. But in a ſhort time there was no further Occaſion for her Preſence; for the *Spaniards* having met with the moſt mortifying Diſappointments and Encounters, put their whole Safety in their Flight. And this terrible *Armada*, which made all *Europe* tremble, and was four Years in preparing with infinite Expence, was in the Space of one Month many Times attack'd by the undaunted *Engliſh*, and at laſt overthrown, with great Slaughter and Damage on their Side, and with the Loſs of only a hundred Men, and one ſmall Veſſel on the *Engliſh:* And after It had been driven round about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, thrown out all the Mules and Horſes, grievouſly toſs'd, and extreamly diſtreſs'd, impair'd and mangled by Storms and Wrecks, and endur'd all manner of Miſeries, at length return'd home with the greateſt Shame and Diſhonour. Of the hundred and thirty four Ships that ſet out from *Spain*, fifty three only return'd; about one half of the Men were loſt, and there was not a Family of Note in *Spain* but ſuffer'd in this Expedition, having loſt a Son, or a Brother, or ſome near Kinſman. But King *Philip* himſelf receiv'd the News with an aſtoniſhing Calmneſs: He was writing a Letter in his Cloſet, when he receiv'd Intelligence of the Ruin of his *Armada*, upon which he cooly ſaid, *He ſent his Fleet to fight againſt the* Engliſh, *and not againſt the Winds;* and without Change or Emotion, continu'd to finiſh'd his Letter.

The Loſſes of the Spaniards.

For the glorious Succeſs and Deliverance this Year, the pious Queen commanded publick Prayers and Thankſgivings to be us'd throughout all the Churches in *England*, and ſhe her ſelf was carry'd in a triumphant Manner, in an open Chariot, through the Streets of *London* to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, being attended by a gallant Train of Noblemen and others, and receiv'd with all the Pomp, Splendor and Exultation, that the whole City could demonſtrate.

Reg. 31.

A general Thankſgiving in England.

Being

Being arriv'd at the Weſt Door of the Cathedral, where all the Enemies Banners were hung up and diſplay'd, ſhe proſtrated her ſelf to the Ground, and audibly return'd her Thanks to Heaven; afterwards ſhe heard a Sermon, wherein all the Glory of the Deliverance was given to God alone. On the Lord Admiral ſhe ſetled a conſtant Revenue for his happy Services, and frequently commended him and the Captains of her Ships, as Men born for the Preſervation of their Country. The reſt ſhe courteouſly ſaluted by Name as oft as ſhe ſaw them, which extreamly endear'd her to the People; and thoſe who were indigent or wounded, ſhe reliev'd with noble Penſions. In Memory of this Victory ſeveral Coins were ſtruck, with a Fleet flying with full Sails, and the Motto, *Venit, vidit, fugit*; and others to the Honour of the Queen, with Fire-ſhips and a Fleet all in Confuſion, inſcrib'd *Dux Fœmina facti*. The learned Men, both at home and abroad, congratulating the Victory with tranſported Hearts, wrote Triumphal Poems in all Languages upon this glorious Subject.

The King of Scotland *true to the* Engliſh *Intereſt.*

The publick Joy was augmented by the Arrival of Sir *Robert Sidney* out of *Scotland*, who brought Intelligence from thence, that the King had over-paſs'd all Injuries, was lovingly affected to the *Engliſh* and the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and deſir'd to imbrace a ſincere and perfect Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*. For as for the King of *Spain*, he pleaſantly told the Ambaſſador, *That he expected no other Favour from him, than what* Polyphemus *promis'd* Uliſſes, *That after all the reſt were devour'd, he ſhould be ſwallow'd laſt*. So that the mighty Queen was in the Height of all her Glory both at Home and Abroad; belov'd by her Friends, and fear'd by her Enemies, who were never after in a Condition to attack her Kingdom the ſecond Time; but found it difficult to defend their own againſt her, and her brave Martial Commanders. Thus, with the Death of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, formerly mention'd, and ſome inferior Tranſactions, ended the famous Year *Eighty Eight*; a Name doubly to be remember'd by the *Engliſh* Nation to all ſucceeding Generations.

A. D. 1589. Reg. 31/32.

XII. The mighty Queen having over-paſs'd two threatning Storms, the one from the Queen of the *Scots* at home, and the other from the *Spaniard* abroad, began now to think of Repriſals, and to act more offenſively againſt her moſt formidable Enemies. Towards which Deſign a new Parliament was call'd, which is not mention'd by *Camden* and the common Hiſtorians. It met upon the fourth Day of *February*, and continuing no longer than the twenty ninth Day of *March*, it was then diſſolv'd. Here for the publick Safety of her Majeſty and her Realms, the Houſe of Commons with the utmoſt Alacrity aided her with the unuſual and extraordinary Gift of four Fifteenths and Tenths, and two entire Subſidies, to which the Clergy added two Subſidies of their own. In the Concluſion, the Parliament deſir'd her to proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*, who had ſo lately invaded her Dominions, whom they concluded to have been the Root and Fountain of all the Conſpiracies practis'd, and of all the Rebellions rais'd againſt her Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Religion. This appear'd about the ſame Time; for the *Spaniards* had another Plot againſt *England*, deſigning to invade it by way of *Scotland*. In which Affair they employ'd *Bruce* a Prieſt, and *Chreiton* and *Hays* Jeſuits, who eaſily drew into their Party the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol*, and *Crawford*, Zealots for the *Romiſh* Religion, and *Bothwell*, a Man of an unſteady and diſloyal Temper. Their chief Deſign was to ſeize upon the King's Perſon, to let in Foreign Troops, to reſtore Popery, to invade *England*, and to revenge the Death of the Queen of *Scotland*: But King *James* by a ſpeedy March againſt them, overthrew that Deſign in *Scotland*; and Queen *Elizabeth* by apprehending, trying, and condemning *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who eſpous'd the *Spaniſh* Party, tho' ſhe mercifully gave him his Life, put an End to the whole Enterprize.

Camden. Baker. Davila. Mezeray. Rabutin. &c.

The ſeventh Parliament in this Reign.

The Papiſts Deſigns in Scotland.

This

This being ſetled at home, the Queen gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition into *Spain* at their own private Charges; who being allow'd ſome Ships of War, they took along with them *Anthony* the Baſtard, who laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, with eleven thouſand Soldiers, and fourteen hundred Seamen. On the fifth Day of *April* they ſet Sail from *Plimouth*, and arriv'd at the *Groyne* in *Galicia*; where with ſingular Valour they firſt took the lower Town, and afterwards the higher: And from thence ſailing towards *Portugal*, they met the brave Earl of *Eſſex*, who thirſting after Glory, had put to Sea without the Queen's Knowledge. After two Days they arriv'd at *Penycha* a Town of *Portugal*, which they took, and left the Caſtle to Don *Antonio*; and from thence they march'd by Land towards *Lisbon*, ſixty Miles diſtant. The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promis'd to follow with the Fleet, being arriv'd at the Weſt Suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no People but a few poor diſarm'd *Portugueze*, who cry'd out *God ſave King* Antonio! The Day following the *Spaniards* made a Sally, in which Encounter, *Brett*, *Carſey* and *Carre*, ſtout Commanders, and ſome common Soldiers were ſlain; yet the Earl of *Eſſex* bravely drove the *Spaniards* to the very Gates of the City. And now having tarry'd two Days, without being aſſiſted by any Revolt in the *Portugueze*, according to *Antonio*'s Aſſurance, and finding freſh Supplies come into the Town, their own Army ſickly, Proviſions and Powder failing, and what was moſt material, *Drake* not bringing up the great Ordnance; they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Caſcaes*, a little Town at the Mouth of the River *Tago*, which Town was in the mean Time taken by *Drake*, who excus'd his not coming to *Lisbon*, by Reaſon of the Flats he had to paſs, and the Caſtle of St. *Julian*, fortify'd with fifty Pieces of great Cannon. Near this Place they found ſixty Veſſels belonging to the Hanſe Towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Ammunition, which they took as lawful Prize towards their Charges; in regard the Queen had forbidden thoſe Towns to carry Proviſions or Ammunition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they ſet ſail to *Vigo*, a Place famous for a glorious Expedition in this Age, which they fir'd; and having waſted all the Country, they return'd into *England* with a hundred and fifty Pieces of great Cannon, and a very rich Booty, of which ſome Part was divided among the Seamen. This private Expedition prov'd a great Mortification to the *Spaniards*, and rais'd the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Valour; but it coſt the Lives of about ſix thouſand Soldiers and Seamen, not from the Hands of the Enemy, but by their eating of ſtrange Fruits, and from the Diſtempers of the Climate.

An Expedition into Spain.

The Succeſs of it.

It now nearly concern'd the Good of *England* to look into the Affairs and State of *France*; for while theſe Things were tranſacted between *Spain* and *England*, the Popiſh Princes of *France*, under Pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, enter'd into a famous Combination, which they call'd *The Holy League*: The Deſign of which was, To root out all Proteſtants, and to divert the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*; for which they bound themſelves by Oath, to ſuffer none but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, if the preſent King dy'd without Iſſue. The Head of this remarkable League was the Duke of *Guiſe*, who having given ſome Defeats to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in Relief of the Proteſtants, was unmeaſurably extoll'd by the Clergy and others; and arriv'd to ſuch a Height of Reputation, that entering into *Paris*, he forc'd the King to leave the City, and oblig'd him in an Aſſembly at *Blois* to make him great Maſter of the *French* Cavalry, and to conſent by Edict to exterminate the Proteſtants. So that the King dreading his Greatneſs, at length us'd ſuch Means as he procur'd him to be aſſaſſinated in the very Court; and ſhortly after his Brother the Cardinal to be ſtrangled. Upon which ſo vaſt a Confuſion follow'd, that the People broke through all Obedi-

The Holy League *in* France.

ence to Magiſtrates, and pillag'd the Palace Royal in *Paris*. The Confederates immediately made a new Seal, uſurp'd the Regal Authority, ſeiz'd the ſtrongeſt Places, intercepted the King's Revenues, call'd in *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and denounc'd War againſt their King. Inſomuch that the King was compell'd to fly to the Proteſtants, whom he had alſo diſoblig'd; upon which the Leaguers, by a deteſtable Villany, procur'd him to be murther'd by the Hands of *James Clement* a Monk. The King at his Death declar'd the King of *Navarre* his lawful Succeſſor; but the Confederates were for excluding him as a Heretick, yet could not well agree upon another Perſon: Some would have the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſome the Duke of *Savoy*, others the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Brother, and others the King of *Spain*; but the greateſt Part gave their Votes for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one Degree nearer ally'd to the ſlain King, than his Nephew the King of *Navarre*. He therefore was proclaim'd King of *France*, by the Name of *Charles* the Tenth: But he being a Prieſt, the King of *Navarre* was proclaim'd King of *France*, by the Name of *Henry* the Fourth, and continu'd at *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, in no ſmall Danger of his Adverſaries.

The French King murther'd.

The King of *Navarre* being thus rais'd in Dignity, but weak in Supports, implor'd Aſſiſtance of the generous Queen of *England*, and offer'd to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive. Upon which, out of Reſpect to a Proteſtant King, renown'd for his Martial Acts, the Queen immediately ſent him twenty two thouſand Pounds of *Engliſh* Mony in Gold, ſuch a Sum of Gold Coin as he declar'd he had never ſeen at once; and withal ſupply'd him with four thouſand Soldiers, under the Command of the Valiant *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; appointing for Colonels, Sir *Thomas Wilford* Marſhal of the Field, Sir *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskeville*, with a Month's Pay advanc'd. Hereupon the Confederates, whom the King beyond Expectation had juſt defeated at *Argues*, began to ſink and give Way, and upon the Arrival of the *Engliſh* to vaniſh out of Sight. With this Addition of Forces, the new rais'd King march'd to *Paris*; and being ready to enter the City, he caus'd a Retreat to be ſounded, being unwilling to have that Capital City plunder'd, which he hop'd would ſhortly be his own. After that by the good Service of the *Engliſh*, he recover'd *Mans*, *Alenſon*, *Falaiſe*, *Luxon*, and *Honfleur*; and being fatigu'd with all the Inconveniences of a Winter Expedition, and five hundred Miles March, the *Engliſh* were diſmiſs'd, and ſent home with grateful Acknowledgments.

His Succeſſor Henry IV. *implores Aid of* Queen Elizabeth.

The Succeſs of it.

As Queen *Elizabeth* deſir'd to eſtabliſh *Navarre* in the Kingdom of *France*, ſo ſhe alſo deſir'd to marry his Siſter the Lady *Catharine* to the King of *Scotland*; but finding that that King had before plac'd his Affections upon *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, ſhe deſiſted and approv'd of his Choice. Accordingly they were marry'd by Proxy in the Month of *Auguſt*; but the Lady ſailing for *Scotland*, by prodigious Storms was driven back to *Norway*, and ſo long detain'd, that the King, firſt adviſing with Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſent him noble Preſents towards the Celebration of the Marriage, he ſail'd over into *Norway* in an extream cold Seaſon, and there conſummating the Marriage at twenty three Years of Age, he continu'd in thoſe Parts 'till the following Year and Month of *May*. Many were of Opinion that theſe extraordinary Storms were rais'd by Magick and Witchcraft; which Belief was confirm'd by the Confeſſion of ſome impious Perſons, reputed Magicians, who declar'd they did it to hinder the Queen from Landing in *Scotland*, and that *Bothwell* had conſulted with them about the King's Death. For which he was thrown into Priſon, and eſcaping in a ſhort Time, he occaſion'd new Commotions in *Scotland*.

The King of Scotland *marries* Anne *of* Denmark.

In this Year ſeveral Noble Perſonages departed this Life; as *Frances* Counteſs of *Suſſex* Siſter to Sir *Henry Sidney*; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor and Vice-Treaſurer of the Exchequer; *William Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, ſo numerous

The Deaths of ſeveral Perſons.

merous in his Progeny, that he could reckon more Children of both Sexes, than all the Earls in *England*: Alſo *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and the Lord *Paget* and *Bruſſels*. The two firſt of theſe are worthily remember'd as the pious Founders of two Colleges, *Sidney* and *Emanuel*, in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, call'd the two Proteſtant Foundations.

A. D. 1590. Reg. 32/33.

The Queen's Care of her Revenues.

The wiſe Queen now ſpent much of her Time in fortifying of Places, in managing her Treaſure to the beſt Advantage, and ſending Relief to her diſtreſſed Neighbours; for which ſhe expended large Sums both in *France* and the *Netherlands*. Inſomuch that many admir'd how her Revenues could ſerve ſo many great Ends; ſince ſhe was clear of all Debts, and was able to defend her ſelf and her Allies without any Foreign Helps, which none of her neighbouring Kings could do. But in reality ſhe was frugal with true Wiſdom and Underſtanding; and never ſpar'd when there was a juſt Occaſion, either for the Maintenance of her Royal State, the Defence of her Kingdom, or the Relief of her Neighbours. She took particular Care of her ſtanding Revenues, in which *Burleigh* her Treaſurer was an admirable Manager; yet this Year ſhe exceeded him and the reſt of her great Men; and at the Information of a ſubtle ordinary Man, call'd *Caermarden*, ſhe rais'd Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Farmer of ſome Cuſtoms, from fourteen to forty two thouſand Pounds, and then to fifty thouſand Pounds a Year. And when *Burleigh*, *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham* firſt blam'd her Majeſty for hark'ning to *Caermarden*, an inconſiderable *Informer*, ſhe wiſely anſwer'd, *It was the Duty of a Prince to carry an equal Hand between the Higheſt and Loweſt; That ſuch as raſhly accus'd Magiſtrates and Counſellors, without being able to prove their Charge, were to be puniſh'd; but thoſe who accus'd them juſtly, were to be heard and incourag'd.*

Her Glory was now ſpread abroad, and her Reputation extended to remote Countries; having this Year obtain'd of the *Grand-Signior* Reſt and Quiet for the Vaivod of *Moldavia*, who had been miſerably harraſs'd by the *Turks*, and a Peace for the *Polonians*, who were threaten'd by them with a dangerous War; which was afterwards moſt gratefully acknowleg'd by them. In the mean Time to confirm Amity with the King of *Scotland*, ſhe ſent the new Earl of *Worceſter* to congratulate his Marriage and ſafe Return out of *Denmark*, and to ſignifie to him, That he, together with the *French* King, were choſen into the Society of the Order of the *Garter*; and withal to urge him timely to ſuppreſs the Popiſh Faction, which grew ſtrong in *Scotland*. King *James* receiv'd him very graciouſly, and to maintain the Amity with *England*, and declare his great Affection to the publick Peace, he ſent Colonel *Stuart* into *Germany*, that Care might be taken with the King of *Denmark* and the Ambaſſadors of the Princes there met, for renewing the Peace between *England*, *Spain* and *France*. As to *France*, that Country was now violently torn by a Civil War, rais'd by the Leaguers, of which Queen *Elizabeth* could not be an unconcern'd Spectator, but perform'd all the Parts of a wiſe Prince and a pious Chriſtian; tho' ſhe was adviſ'd by many not to aſſiſt the new King of *France*. When ſome ſuggeſted to her, That while the Leaguers and the *Spaniards* were endeavouring to ſhare *France* between them, and cantonize it into ſeveral Principalities, ſhe might alſo ſeize upon the Maritime Countries of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, alledging what *Charles* of *Burgundy* was wont to ſay, *That the Neighbouring Nations would be happy when* France *ſhould be ſubject to twenty petty Kings*; She heard it with Diſlike, and rejected it with Indignation, ſaying, *The laſt Day of the Kingdom of* France, *when ever it comes will certainly be the Eve of the Deſtruction of* England.

The Queen's Policy.

In this Year dy'd ſeveral great Men, as *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who had been imploy'd in many Embaſſies, Sir *James Crofts* Comptrollor of the Queen's Houſehold, and the Lord *Wentworth*, the laſt *Engliſh* Governor of *Calais*. But the moſt remarkable Man was Sir *Francis Walſingham*, principal Secretary of State,

Walſingham's Death and Character.

State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and of the Order of the Garter; one of the moſt refin'd Politicians, and penetrating Stateſmen, that ever that Age produc'd. He had an admirable Talent both in diſcovering and managing the ſecret Receſſes of Human Nature; and had his Spies in moſt Courts in Chriſtendom, and allow'd them a liberal Maintenance; for his great Maxim was, *Knowledge is never too dear.* Accordingly he ſpent his whole Time and Faculties in the Service of the Queen and Publick; ſo that the Queen was heard to ſay, *That in Diligence and Sagacity he exceeded her Expectation.* This great Man after all his mighty Services to the Publick, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death, how far he preferr'd that to his own Intereſt; for he dy'd ſo poor that his Friends were oblig'd to bury him privately in the Night, leſt his Body ſhould be arreſted for Debt. He left only one Daughter, famous for having three Husbands of the greateſt Note; firſt Sir *Philip Sidney*, ſecondly *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and laſtly the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, who was afterwards made Earl of St. *Albans*.

A. D. 1591. Reg. 33, 34.

In the following Year the City of *London* was much diſturb'd by the prodigious Behaviour of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, a mean Perſon of no Learning, who ſuddenly took upon him a Shew of wonderful Sanctity, hearing Sermons, getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and extraordinary Calls. By which Means he was highly extoll'd by certain zealous Miniſters of the *Geneva* Diſcipline, eſpecially by two call'd *Coppinger* and *Arthington*; and they accounted him as ſent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than *Moſes* or *John Baptiſt*; and finally that he was Chriſt himſelf, come with a Fan in his Hand to judge the World. This they proclaim'd in *Cheapſide*, making report that *Hacket* participated of Chriſt's glorify'd Body, by his ſpecial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Goſpel over *Europe*, and ſettle a true Diſcipline in the Church of *England*; and that they themſelves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of Judgment, with many ſuch incredible Blaſphemies. Whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraign'd, and at laſt hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, continuing at his very Death in his blaſphemous Aſſertions, to the great Horror and Amazement of the Spectators. *Coppinger* a while after ſtarv'd himſelf to Death in Priſon; *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing. Beſides theſe extravagant Managers, others alſo at this Time oppos'd the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church of *England*, exclaiming againſt the Function and Calling of Biſhops; with whom join'd ſome common Lawyers, affirming that the Queen could not depute, nor theſe Men exerciſe ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. But the Queen conceiving that ſhe was ſhot at through the Sides of the Prelates, ſuppreſs'd them as much as poſſible, and ſtrictly maintain'd the former Eſtabliſhment.

Hacket's Blaſphemy and Execution.

And now Enmity daily increaſing between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were ſet forth; one prohibiting upon pain of High-Treaſon, to carry Proviſions or Ammunition into any of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions: Another forbidding all Perſons to entertain any in their Houſes, 'till Enquiry be made what they were; leſt they ſhould entertain Popiſh Prieſts, who became very numerous in *England*, by reaſon the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valadolid* for the *Engliſh*. About this Time, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with ſix of the Queen's Ships, having waited at the *Azores* ſix whole Months, for the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet from *America*, was at laſt attack'd by *Alphonſo Baſſano*, with fifty three Ships, ſent for the Convoy of the ſaid Fleet; where *Richard Greenvile*, Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and ſeparated from his Company, was ſo hemm'd in by the *Spaniſh* Ships, and ſo batter'd with large Shot, that moſt of his Men being ſlain, his Main-Maſt cut off, himſelf much wounded in the Head, he commanded to ſink the Ship, that it might not fall into the *Spaniards* Hands; but this being countermanded by moſt Votes, it was agreed to yield it to the *Spaniards*, upon Condition that the Men

Greenvile's Valour at Sea.

Men ſhould be ſet at Liberty. *Greenvile* himſelf was carry'd to the *Spaniſh* Admiral, where within two Days he dy'd, not without the Commendations of his Enemies. Thus the great Ship call'd the *Revenge* was yielded, but had ſo many Leaks in the Keel, that ſoon after it was caſt away in a Storm: And the Loſs of this one Ship was ſoon made good upon the *Spaniards*, by taking many of theirs.

The Affairs of France.

But the Queen's greateſt Care was now for the State of *France*, and particularly that *Bretaign* ſhould not fall into the *Spaniards* Hands; wherefore by *Edmund York* ſhe promis'd the *French* King to ſend him new Forces to preſerve that Province, if he would name ſome Towns, as Places of Retreat and Safety. Hereupon he nam'd *Cherbourg*, *Granvile* or *Breſt*, as moſt convenient; and it was agreed that three thouſand *Engliſh* ſhould be ſent into *Bretaign* and *Picardy:* But in the mean Time *Henry Palmer* was ſent to Sea with a Squadron, and ſeiz'd on thirteen *Spaniſh* Ships, as they were returning from *New France.* And now Sir *Roger Williams*, with a Company of ſix hundred Soldiers, paſs'd over to *Dieppe* in *Normandy*; and ſhortly after Sir *John Norris*, with the reſt of the Forces, haſten'd into *Bretaign.* Sir *Roger Williams* with his own ſix hundred Men, and the Aſſiſtance of *Charter* Governor of *Dieppe*, bravely defeated the Leaguers, who had block'd up the Paſſages; whoſe Valour was highly applauded by the *French* King in his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth.* Whereupon increaſing in Courage, and neglecting his Charge at *Dieppe*, he accompany'd the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where in Honour of his Nation, he ſent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to ingage two hundred Pike-men and a hundred Musketeers of the *Engliſh*, againſt the ſame Number of *Spaniards*, in the open Field.

The Earl of Eſſex ſent thither.

Shortly after the *French* King acquainted Queen *Elizabeth*, that he deſign'd to take in *Roan* or *Havre-de-Grace*, before the Prince of *Parma* ſhould come into *France*, and thereupon requeſted her to ſend four thouſand *Engliſh* into *Normandy*, which upon certain wiſe Conditions ſhe granted; and ſent them under the Command of the brave Earl of *Eſſex*, accompany'd by *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *William Killegrew*, as Counſellors and Aſſiſtants. When the Earl arriv'd in *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no Preparation made for the War, which much perplex'd him; but ſoon after Sir *Roger Williams* came to him from the King, requeſting him to go to *Noyon*, there to conſult about managing the War. The Earl made a tedious Journey to that Place, and at his Arrival the King inform'd him, That of Neceſſity he muſt go himſelf into *Champaign*; but promis'd to ſend Marſhal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* immediately to him, to lay Siege to *Roan.* Hereupon the Earl return'd to his Camp, expecting their Arrival, but neither of them came, which made the Earl more uneaſie than ever; ſo that being weary of an unactive Life, and inflam'd with Courage, he himſelf made an Approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately ſlain. Indeed the *French* King's Affairs were at this Time upon ſuch uncertain Terms, that before he could act what he had reſolv'd, ſomething ſtill interven'd that diverted him: For which by his Letters he excus'd himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*; and by the Mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay* Lord *du Pleſſie*, who came into *England*, he obtain'd new Supplies, and then inveſted *Roan.* After a tedious Winter's Siege, the Earl of *Eſſex* challeng'd Monſieur *Villars* the Governor to a ſingle Combate; but being refus'd, and finding himſelf ill ſupported, he return'd into *England*, being call'd home by the Queen, whoſe Favour, by his long Abſence, began to be much in Danger. And now the *French* King, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, was once again compell'd to fly to the Queen of *England* for Succour, to whom upon certain Conditions ſhe granted an Army of four thouſand Men, and ſome great Guns, with which Sir *John Norris* was ſent into *France*; which yet was not employ'd by the *French* King according to Agreement, to the great Diſpleaſure

A. D. 1592. Reg. 34/35.

The Prince of Parma's Death.

ſure of the Queen. The Prince of *Parma*'s coming into *France* was prevented by his Death, after he had govern'd the *Spaniſh Netherlands* fourteen Years; a Prince of many excellent Qualifications, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mention'd but with Honour.

Perrot's Trial.

To return to *England*; at this Time Sir *John Perrot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done great Service in that Country, was yet by the Malice of his Adverſaries, of whom *Hatton* was one, call'd in Queſtion before ſome of the Lords and Judges: His Accuſations were, Firſt, That he had ſpoken opprobrious Words againſt the Queen, ſaying, *She was Illegitimate and Cowardly:* Secondly, That he had harbour'd notorious Traitors and Popiſh Prieſts: Thirdly, That he had held Correſpondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queen's Enemies. To the firſt of which he confeſs'd, That in his Paſſion he had ſpoken unadviſedly of the Queen, for which he was infinitely ſorry; but deny'd all the reſt; and all Men knew he was never Popiſhly affected. His Accuſers were *Philip Williams*, ſome time his Secretary, *O-Roghan* an *Iriſh* marry'd Prieſt, whoſe Life he had ſav'd, and one *Walton*, a Man of no Worth or Reputation. Yet his Crimes being urg'd againſt him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, 'till almoſt Midnight, he was at laſt condemn'd of High-Treaſon; and Sentence was after twenty Days pronounc'd at the Inſtance of his Adverſaries. Upon which Day *Burleigh* is ſaid to have wept for the Gentleman's hard Fortune, and ſighing, ſaid, *The more unjuſt is Hatred, it is ſo much the more cruel.*

His Death.

But *Perrot* dy'd a natural Death in the Tower, when he had ſome Hopes given him of his Life, the Queen's Diſpleaſure being appeas'd. For at this Time ſhe was often heard to commend that Reſcript of ſome of the *Roman* Emperors; *When any Man ſpeaks Ill of the Emperor, if it proceeds from fooliſh Levity, it is to be contemn'd; if from Madneſs, to be pity'd; if from Injury and Malice, to be pardon'd.* Thus did a deſerving and noble Gentleman procure his own Ruin by the unbridled Laviſhneſs of his Tongue; which commonly leaves a deep and dangerous Impreſſion in the Minds of Princes.

Raleigh's Expedition.

And now the wiſe Queen, conſidering that the King of *Spain*'s chief Strength was in his Gold of *America*, ſent out the valiant Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships of War to intercept the *Spaniſh* Flota; Sir *Walter* paſſing by a Promontory of *Spain*, receiv'd certain Intelligence, that the *Spaniſh* Flota was not to come out from *America* this Year. Whereupon he divided his Navy into four Parts; one of which he committed to Sir *John Boroughs*, and another to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*. Having diſpos'd themſelves for other Opportunities, a mighty *Spaniſh* Carack came in View, call'd *The Mother of God*, which was a hundred and ſixty five Foot in length from the Stem to the Stern, and ſeven Decks in Height, laden with rich Merchandize, and with ſix hundred Men on Board. This bulky Veſſel they took, and in it to the Value of a hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds Sterling, beſides the great Quantities which the Commanders and Seamen imbezell'd. In that matter, no Orders from the Government nor Oaths could reſtrain them, boldly ſaying, *They had rather truſt their Souls to a merciful God by Perjury, than their Fortunes to the Hands of unmerciful Men.*

The Queen goes to Oxford.

This Year the Queen in her Summer Progreſs, paſs'd through the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and ſtay'd there ſeveral Days; where ſhe was agreeably entertain'd with eloquent Orations, Plays and learned Diſputations, and with a ſplendid Treat by the Lord *Buckhurſt* Chancellor of the Univerſity. At her Departure ſhe courteouſly took her leave of them in a *Latin* Speech, profeſſing, That ſhe preferr'd the Cordial Reſpects of that learned Body to all their Entertainments, tho' they were highly pleaſing to her; for which ſhe return'd them all hearty Thanks, made a ſhort Prayer, and left ſome good Advice with them. The Prayer was, *That as ſhe deſir'd nothing more earneſtly, than the Safety, Honour and Happineſs of the whole Kingdom; ſo ſhe pray'd that the Univerſity, one of the great Lights of it, might flouriſh, and daily riſe to a greater Luſtre.* Her

Advice was, *That they would firſt ſerve God, not after the curious and novel Faſhions of ſome, but according to the Laws of God and the Land; that they would not run before the Laws, but follow them; not diſpute the Goodneſs, but obſerve the Authority of them, and obey their Superiors, and embrace each other in Brotherly Piety and Unanimity.*

D' Ewes, &c. In the following Year, upon the nineteenth Day of *February*, a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and enacted ſeveral Laws, for Reſtraining of Schiſmaticks and Popiſh Recuſants; concerning the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Monaſteries inveſted in King *Henry* the Eighth; for relieving of diſtreſſed Soldiers and Seamen, and concerning divers other Matters. And when they had ſeriouſly conſider'd how obſtinately the Enemies were reſolv'd upon the Deſtruction of *England*, by ſuppreſſing its Allies in *France*, *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*, and ſeizing the moſt convenient Places for the Invading the Kingdom, they thought it neceſſary to grant the Queen ſufficient Supplies. Therefore, 'Acknowledging and extolling the great and Heroick Magnanimity of their Queen; 'a Woman, together with her provident Care, and ſingular Goodneſs towards 'her Subjects, who had in a War carry'd on with ſuch happy Succeſs againſt 'a rich and powerful Nation, expended more Mony out of her own Treaſury, 'than any of her Predeceſſors, not only in defending her own Kingdom, but 'alſo in juſtly relieving her Confederates; they with moſt thankful and ready 'Hearts granted two entire Subſidies from the Clergy, and three from the 'Laity, with ſix Fifteenths and Tenths. On the laſt Day of the Seſſion, her Majeſty after a moſt graceful and charming Manner, made an eloquent Speech to both Houſes, in which ſhe declar'd, *That tho' this Kingdom had been bleſt with many noble and victorious Princes, to whom in Wiſdom and Fortitude ſhe would not compare her ſelf; yet in Love, Care, Sincerity and Juſtice, ſhe would compare her ſelf to any that ever did or ſhall ſit upon the Throne.* Then to ſhow that ſhe wanted not Courage, having been inform'd, that upon the *Spaniſh* Invaſion ſome upon the Sea-Coaſts forſook their Towns, and left the Country naked, ſhe ſwore by the living God, *If ſhe knew thoſe Perſons, or any that would do the ſame again, ſhe would make them know and feel what it was to be fearful in ſo urgent a Cauſe.* Then thanking them for their Bounty and Loyalty, and paſſing fourteen publick Bills, ſhe diſſolv'd the Parliament on the tenth Day of *April*.

A. D. 1593. Reg. 35/36. *The Eighth Parliament in this Reign.*

The Queen's Speech.

The Queen was ever careful of the Happineſs of her own Subjects at home, and her Reputation abroad; and at this Time, by reaſon of her Correſpondence with the *Turk*, to preſerve a free Trade in thoſe Parts, it was maliciouſly reported by ſome, that ſhe had excited the *Turk* to a War againſt the Chriſtians. This caus'd her to write to the Emperor, ſhewing him the Falſeneſs of this Report, in which ſhe gave him full Satisfaction. But her greateſt Concern at this Time was for the King of *France*, of whom ſhe heard a Report, that he had already, or would certainly embrace the *Romiſh* Religion. Upon which diſcouraging News ſhe immediately ſent over *Thomas Wilks* into *France*, with Reaſons to divert him from it, if it were not already too late. But before his Arrival, the King had actually and openly profeſs'd the *Romiſh* Religion in the Church of St. *Denis* in *Paris*; of which Change he declar'd the Cauſes and Reaſons to him at large, and laid before him the Neceſſity of it, unleſs he would ſuffer himſelf to be entirely driven out of his Kingdom. In the mean Time *Morlante* inform'd the Queen of the ſame, and with the moſt ſpecious Expreſſions offer'd her all Kindneſs in Behalf of his Maſter. She being extreamly diſquieted for one ſhe had ſo great an Honour, ſnatch'd up her Pen, and wrote thus to him, *Alas! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have ſeiz'd my Heart, for the News that* Morlante *brought? Was it poſſible that any ſecular Conſideration could move you to lay aſide the Fear of God? Can any Happineſs ſucceed ſuch a Fact? Or could you think that he, who has hitherto with his Right Hand ſupported and preſerv'd you, would now abandon you?*

The French King changes his Religion.

The Queen's Letter to the French King.

you? It is a dangerous Expedient to do Evil that Good may come of it. *In the mean Time I will pray for you, and beg of God, that the Hands of* Esau *may not lose you the Blessing of* Jacob. To allay this Grief she us'd the Holy Scriptures, the Writings of the Fathers, and even the Books of Philosophers; translating about that Time for an Amusement, *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, into elegant *English*. As to the *French* King he acknowledg'd himself oblig'd to her both for the Safety of his Person and Royal Dignity, and promis'd to take the Protestants into his special Care and Protection.

Still the Queen took care of her People against the *Spaniards*, and strengthen'd the Isle of *Silly* with a new Fort, as also the Isles of *Garnsey* and *Jersey*, and other Places with great Charge, and much Willingness, tho' the Times were somewhat sad and discouraging. For all this Year *London* was grievously afflicted with the Pestilence; of which almost eighteen thousand Persons dy'd: *Bartholomew* Fair was not kept, and *Michaelmas*-Term was held at St. *Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*. At which Town one *Richard Hasket* was condemn'd and executed for Treason; who being privately sent by the *English* Fugitives, persuaded *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* to assume the Title to the Crown, deriving his Right and Claim from his Great-Grand-Mother *Mary*, Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh, and made him large Promises of Men and Mony from the *Spaniard*; likewise threatning the Earl with sudden and assur'd Destruction, if he did not join in the Proposal, and conceal it. But the Earl, fearing lest some Snare was laid for him, impeach'd *Hasket*; who by his own voluntary Confession acknowledg'd his Crime at the Bar, detesting and cursing those who had given him the Counsel. However his Threatnings were too prophetically verify'd, for the Earl dy'd about four Months after, in a most deplorable Manner, with all the Infernal Appearances of Magick and Poison.

A Plague.

A. D. 1594. Reg. 36/37. The mutual Love and Amity between the Queen of *England* and King of *Scotland*, the immovable Constancy of the latter in Matters of Religion, which could not be overcome by all the Intreaties, Promises and Arts of the Papists, and the granting of Supream Authority to the King by the Estates of *Scotland*, did all so damp the Hopes of restoring the *Popish* Religion in *Scotland* and *England*, that some in *England*, who had formerly been great Asserters of King *James*'s Title, began to think of substituting some *English* Papist into the Succession. When they could not agree upon a proper Person of their own Religion, they cast their Eyes upon the Earl of *Essex*, who always appear'd a very moderate Man: And him they pretended to have some Right to the Crown, by Descent from *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Son to King *Edward* the Third. But the *English* Fugitives were all for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and desiring to set the King of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Essex* at Variance, they publish'd a Book, dedicated to *Essex*, under the Name of *Doleman*, but was written by *Doleman*'s great Adversary *Parsons* the Jesuit, Cardinal *Allen*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Scope of which Book was, to exclude from the Succession all Persons, tho' never so near ally'd to the Crown, that were not *Roman* Catholicks; contending further for the Right of *Isabella Infanta* of *Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William* the Conqueror; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Second, marry'd to *Alphonso* the Ninth King of *Castile*; and from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third: Titles obsolete, mistaken, and exceeding the Bounds of Heraldry to discuss. But while these Fugitives were finding an Heir in *Spain*, God sent a Son to King *James* in *Scotland* on the nineteenth of *February*; who was christen'd by the Name of *Henry*, and Queen *Elizabeth* her self was his God-Mother, who sent over the Earl of *Sussex* for her Deputy.

A new Design of the Papists.

As some study'd by their Pens to advance the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England*, so others of their Religion were making the same Use of their

Swords, ſending certain Aſſaſſins to murther Queen *Elizabeth*, while ſome *Spaniards* attempted to poiſon her. The *Spaniards* not daring to truſt the *Engliſh* in a Matter of that Conſequence, apply'd themſelves to *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Phyſician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyſie*, and other *Portugueze*, who were numerous in *England*, upon the Account of Don *Antonio* the exil'd King. Theſe being diſcover'd by intercepted Letters of theirs, were arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, and by their own Confeſſions convicted of Conſpiring againſt the Life of the Queen; they were all condemn'd and executed at *Tyburn*; where *Lopez* profeſs'd *he lov'd the Queen as well as he lov'd* Jeſus Chriſt, which coming from the Mouth of a *Jew*, mov'd the Laughter more than the Pity of the Spectators. The next Day after them was condemn'd *Patrick Cullen*, an *Iriſh* Fencing-Maſter, ſent over by the *Engliſh* Fugitives to Aſſaſſinate the Queen, who was immediately executed, tho' he was ready to die of a languiſhing Sickneſs. Thus the *Engliſh* Fugitives, as well Prieſts as other villainous Perſons, out of a pernicious Principle, *That Princes Excommunicate are to be deſtroy'd*, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters out of a virulent Hatred, did by all Means and Inventions ſet themſelves to effect the Ruin of the Queen. But ſhe continu'd undaunted, and with a maſculine Courage, and provident Caution, contemn'd their treacherous Practices; often reflecting upon that Paſſage of the Royal Pſalmiſt, *Thou art my God, my Times are in thy Hands.*

A Plot diſcover'd and puniſh'd.

About this Time, Sir *John Norris* having ſuſtain'd a vigorous Conflict at Sea againſt the *Spaniard*, where the valiant Sir *Martin Forbiſher* receiv'd his Death's Wound, was now call'd home, with a Deſign to ſend him into *Ireland*. Before which Time, *Richard Hawkins* Son to Sir *John Hawkins* the famous Sea-Captain, had been ſent forth with three of the Queen's leſſer Men of War, and two hundred Men in them; of which one of them at the Iſle of St. *Anne* was fir'd by Chance; another of them, ſeparated by Storms, return'd into *England*; himſelf in the third, paſs'd the Straits of *Magellan*, being the ſixth Perſon, according to the *Spaniſh* Account, that had perform'd that Voyage. And having ſail'd into the vaſt Southern Ocean, he took five *Spaniſh* Ships laden with Merchandize, one of which he carry'd away, and the reſt were ſuffer'd to ranſom themſelves for two thouſand Ducats. But at laſt making toward *Arica*, he was attack'd by *Bertrand di Caſtro*, ſent out by the Vice-Roy with eight Ships againſt him; and after three Days ſevere Battery, he yielded upon honourable Terms; yet nevertheleſs, he was ſent into *Spain*, and kept Priſoner for ſeveral Years. But *James Lancaſter* had better Succeſs in another Part of *America*; for being ſent out by ſome *London* Merchants with three Ships and a long Boat, he took thirty nine *Spaniſh* Ships. Then joining with *Venour* an *Engliſhman*, and others, at *Fernambuc* in *Braſil*, where the Riches of an *Eaſt-Indian* Carack were lately unloaden, he deſperately ventur'd on Shoar, held the Place thirty Days, loaded fifteen Ships with the Treaſure of the Carack, and with Sugar, Braſil-Wood, and other Merchandize, and then ſafely and victoriouſly return'd into *England*.

Several leſſer Expeditions.

About this Time a conſtant Rumour was blown abroad from all Parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were again preparing an Expedition againſt *England*, with a far greater Fleet than that in *Eighty Eight*, and that it was ready to put to Sea: Whereupon Soldiers were levy'd with all Diligence, and plac'd on the Sea-Coaſts; two Navies were made ready, one to wait for them in the *Engliſh* Channel, and the other to go for *America* under the Conduct of *Drake* and *Hawkins*. But this Rumour ſoon began to ſink and vaniſh, and no greater Fleet appear'd than four *Spaniſh* Ships, who coming from the Coaſts of *France*, and landing early in a Morning in *Cornwall*, fir'd a Church ſtanding alone in the Fields, and three Villages of Fiſhermen, *Mouſe-hole*, *Neulin* and *Penſans*, and then immediately retir'd, without taking or killing any one Perſon: And theſe were the firſt and laſt *Spaniards* that ever made any Hoſtile

A. D. 1595. Reg. 37/38.

Landing in *England*. So that the Queen had no further Fear from the *Spaniard* this Year, for all her Concern was from *France*, where Miſchiefs daily increaſing, many perſuaded that King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*; and the Queen her ſelf began to be apprehenſive of ſuch a Deſign, eſpecially having lately receiv'd Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave, that he was receiv'd into the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope's particular Benediction, and upon Conditions prejudicial to the Proteſtants in general.

And therefore at this Time were promoted ſeveral Expeditions of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Spaniard*: The firſt was undertaken by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, now Captain of the Queen's Guards, who having ſeduc'd a Maid of Honour, whom he afterwards marry'd, had loſt the Queen's Favour, and was kept in Priſon for ſome Months: But being ſet at Liberty, tho' baniſh'd the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guiana* in the *Weſt-Indies*. Setting Sail from *Plimouth* in *February*, he arriv'd at *Trinidado*, where he took St. *Joſeph*'s Town, but found no Mony in it. From hence with Boats, and a hundred Soldiers, he enter'd the vaſt River *Orenoque*, and rang'd up into *Guiana* four hundred Miles; but gain'd little more than Experience and new Diſcoveries. In his Return he fir'd *Cumana*, and ſome other Places, that refus'd to redeem themſelves with Mony. In like manner, *Amyas Preſton* and *Somers*, plunder'd ſeveral of the *Spaniſh* Towns in thoſe Parts; and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* ſet upon a vaſt Carack, which in the Battel took Fire and conſum'd all the Goods and moſt of the Men. Theſe and ſome other Exploits were perform'd by private Men: But the Queen being inform'd that great Quantities of Treaſure for the King of *Spain*'s Uſe were convey'd to *Porto-Rico*, in St. *John*'s Iſland, ſent out *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskervill*, with Land-Forces; furniſhing them with ſix Ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other Men of War. Theſe ſet Sail from *Plimouth* the laſt of *Auguſt*, and twenty ſeven Days after arriv'd at *Grand-Canary*, which being ſtrongly fortify'd they did not think fit to attack. A Month after they arriv'd at the Iſle of St. *Domingo*; where five *Spaniſh* Ships being ſent out to watch the *Engliſh*, fell in with one of the ſmall *Engliſh* Ships, ſtray'd from the Company, and putting the Maſter and Seamen to the Torture, underſtood by them that the *Engliſh* Fleet was bound for *Porto-Rico*. Whereupon they us'd all poſſible Speed to give Notice to the Place, that they might put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. And thereupon, as ſoon as the *Engliſh* had caſt Anchor in the Road of *Porto-Rico*, the *Spaniards* thunder'd upon them from the Shoar with unexpected Succeſs; and Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* dy'd of their Wounds. *Hawkins* himſelf, and alſo *Drake*, partly of Sickneſs, and partly out of Grief for their ill Succeſs, dy'd ſhortly after. At the End of eight Months, the Fleet return'd home, after they had fir'd ſome few Towns and Ships, but receiv'd infinite Damage themſelves; and loſt two ſuch Sea Captains, as were not left perhaps in *England* or all *Europe*. For the *Spaniards* having of late Years ſuſtain'd great Damages from the *French* and *Engliſh*, had now better ſecur'd themſelves with Fortifications not eaſily and ſuddenly taken.

Raleigh's *Expedition.*

The Death of Drake *and* Hawkins.

During theſe remote Tranſactions, the frugal Queen laid before the Confederate States of the *Netherlands* the immenſe Sums ſhe had expended in relieving them ten Years ſucceſſively; for which ſhe expected ſome conſiderable Recompence. The States acknowledg'd all their Safety and Happineſs to have riſen from her, but alledg'd their great Expences in the Year *Eighty Eight*, and ſince by repelling the *Spaniards* in her Cauſe; but however to prevent any Miſapprehenſions, they were content to eaſe the Queen of her uſual Charges in their Country, and to allow ſome reaſonable Retribution; but yet for the preſent nothing material was concluded. Likewiſe at this Time the Hanſe Towns in *Germany* made complaint to the Emperor, and the Princes of the

Empire, That the Immunities from Cuſtoms anciently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *Engliſh* Merchants was erected in *Germany:* To which the Queen by Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, firſt ſhewing the Cauſe of the Original Grant, and the Reaſon of Queen *Mary*'s ſucceeding Prohibition, gave them ſo ſatisfactory an Anſwer, that thoſe very Hanſe-Towns that had complain'd, brought into *England* at this Time Quantities of Corn, it prevented a Mutiny which was like to have happen'd in *London*, through the Scarcity of that Commodity.

In this Year dy'd *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who was condemn'd in 1589, and pardon'd by the Queen, *William* Lord *Vaulx* a zealous Papiſt; Sir *Thomas Heneage* Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy; Dr. *William Whitaker*, Maſter of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, and the Queen's Profeſſor of Divinity; and laſtly Sir *Roger Williams* and Sir *Thomas Morgan*. So that this Year was noted for the Deaths of two great Lords, one exquiſite Courtier, one profound Scholar, and two famous Soldiers. *and of ſeveral great Men.*

Camden. Spotſwood Naunton. Bohun. Cox, &c.

XIII. For ſeven Years together, after the famous *Eighty Eight*, the *Spaniards* had receiv'd and ſuſtain'd mighty Damages from the *Engliſh*, in ſeveral Parts of the World; but thoſe were generally in the Nature of private Expeditions: But this Year it was thought neceſſary by the Queen to make a more publick Attempt againſt that inveterate Enemy, which had been many Years plotting the Ruin of the Queen, often join'd with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and had lately become more formidable by taking of *Calais* from the *French*. Therefore to divert the King of *Spain* from farther Attempts, the Queen and Council judg'd it moſt proper to make an Invaſion of his Dominions. Whereupon a noble Fleet of a hundred and fifty Sail was made ready, of which ſeventeen were Capital Ships, and twenty two *Dutch* Men of War. In theſe were above ſix thouſand Soldiers under Pay, one thouſand Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, and almoſt ſeven thouſand Seamen, beſides thoſe of the *Netherlands*. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, who were at great Expences themſelves, were made Commanders in chief with equal Authority, under the Title of Generals; yet ſo that the Admiral ſhould be ſuperior at Sea, and the Earl of *Eſſex* at Land. To theſe were join'd for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the Admiral commanded the Firſt, the Earl of *Eſſex* the Second, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Third, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* the Fourth. The Officers of the Army were Sir *Francis Vere* Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Wingfield* Quarter-Maſter-General, Sir *George Carew* Maſter of the Ordnance, and Sir *Coniers Clifford* Serjeant-Major. The Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*; Sir *Edward Wingfield* was Commander of the Volunteers, and *Anthony Aſhley*, Secretary to the Council of War, was to Regiſter their Acts and Conſultations. The Commiſſions being drawn, the Queen gave them excellent Inſtructions, diſplaying both her Piety and Policy, and withal deliver'd them a ſhort Prayer of her own Compoſing, to be daily us'd in every Ship. A. D. 1596. Reg. 38, 39. *A grand Expedition againſt* Spain *under the Earl of* Eſſex, *&c.*

This powerful Fleet ſet Sail from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*, with ſecret Orders not to be open'd 'till they had paſs'd Cape St. *Vincent*, near which Place they met with an *Iriſh* Ship, the Maſter of which inform'd them, That at *Cales* they were under no Apprehenſions; that there was only a ſmall Garriſon in the Place, and that in the Harbour were ſeveral Galleons, Gallies, Men of War, and many Merchants Ships laden for the *Indies*. On the twentieth Day of *June*, they caſt Anchor on the Weſt Side of the Iſland of *Cales*, and within two Days after they agreed to attack the *Spaniſh* Ships, at which the Earl of *Eſſex*, full of youthful Ardour, threw up his Hat for Joy. This Enterprize was allotted to the leſſer Ships, becauſe the Road was too ſhallow for the reſt. *They attack* Cales.

The Gallies ſoon gave way, and creeping along the Shore, all but one or two ſecur'd themſelves by Flight; but the *Spaniſh* Men of War that lay at the Point of Land call'd *Puntal*, turn'd their Broad-ſides, and a furious Fight began, which laſted from Morning 'till Noon. The Bravery of *Eſſex* and the *Engliſh* ſoon prevail'd, and the Galleons being miſerably torn and ſhatter'd, and many Men ſlain, the *Spaniards* reſolv'd to fire all their Veſſels, or run them on Ground. The Admiral of the *Spaniards*, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tun, was burnt by a *Moor*, and two other Ships near her took Fire, and periſh'd together. A diſmal Confuſion aroſe, great Numbers of Seamen threw themſelves overboard, ſome gain'd the Shore, ſome were taken, and ſome drown'd; others as they ſwam cry'd out for Quarter, whom out of Pity the *Engliſh* Admiral ſav'd, and by his particular Care took and ſecur'd the two great *Spaniſh* Ships call'd the St. *Matthew* and the St. *Andrew*.

The Sea-Fight being ended, the valiant *Eſſex* landed eight hundred Men at the *Puntal*, a League from the Town of *Cales*; and advancing within half a Mile of the Town with ſeveral brave Commanders, the *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot ſhew'd themſelves, and ſoon retir'd; but ſhortly after came out in greater Numbers. Upon which the Earl order'd his Forces to make a fair Retreat, and by that means having entic'd out his Enemies, he turn'd upon them with ſuch an impetuous Torrent, as drove them to the very Gates of the Town. *Eſſex* immediately got upon a new Work lately rais'd near the Gate, from whence he diſcover'd an Entrance into the Town, but ſo high and ſteep, that the Men muſt leap down a Pike's Length. To excite their Courage therefore, he threw down his own Colours into the Place; upon which *Evans* Lieutenant to *Suſſex*, *Savage* Captain of the Earl's Company, *Bagnal*, *Pooly*, and others leap'd down; while Sir *Francis Vere* broke down the Gate, and ruſh'd into the Town with the General and the reſt. After a ſharp Fight in the Streets, wherein many of the *Engliſh* were hurt from the Tops of Houſes, in half an Hour they made their way into the Market Place, where Sir *John Wingfield* was ſhot in the Head, and *Savage* and *Bagnal* cover'd with Wounds and Blood, were Knighted in the Place. At the ſame Inſtant the Lord Admiral and the reſt entering the Town, the *Spaniards* deſiſted, and retir'd to the Caſtle and Town-Houſe. The next Day they yielded, upon Condition 'That the Citizens ſhould depart in Safety with their 'wearing Garments, and the reſt ſhould go to the Soldiers for Plunder; that 'four hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats ſhould be paid for their Ranſom, 'and for Security, forty of the principal Citizens ſhould be ſent as Hoſtages in-'to *England*. Shortly after Proclamation was made, that no Violence ſhould be offer'd to the *Spaniards*, who were all convey'd in *Engliſh* Veſſels to *Port St. Mary*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen firſt, who were ſuffer'd to depart in their richeſt Apparel and Jewels: And the Generals in Perſon ſtood by the Water-ſide to ſee them ſhipp'd off, without Violence or Diſhonour from the ruder ſort of Soldiers.

Eſſex enters the Town.

Which yields

In the mean Time Sir *Walter Raleigh* was commanded with his Veſſels to fire the Merchant Ships lying at *Port-Real*; upon which they immediately offer'd two Millions of Ducats to redeem them: But this Offer was rejected by the Admiral, who ſaid, *He was ſent to deſtroy Ships, not to ranſom them for Mony*; and accordingly they were all burnt, to the infinite Damage of the Merchants. Thus in an Inſtant a Fleet full of Men, Merchandize, Proviſions, Armour, and twelve hundred Pieces of Ordnance, all valu'd by themſelves at twelve Millions of Ducats, was ſuddenly ſunk, conſum'd or taken; and the Town alſo was plunder'd, every Soldier bringing ſome Portion of its rich Spoils into *England*, to ſhew the Service he had perform'd at *Cales*. They laid the Town in Aſhes, except the Churches, batter'd the Walls, demoliſh'd the Towers, pillag'd and burnt the Iſland it ſelf, and laid all waſte before them, leaving the Rubbiſh to declare the Ruins the *Engliſh* had made in *Spain*. The whole Damage that the *Spaniard* ſuſtain'd from this Expedition, was farily computed

It is plunder'd and demoliſh'd.

The Damage to the Spaniards.

at

at no leſs than twenty Millions of Ducats; and all this with the Loſs of only one Man of Note, Sir *John Wingfield*, who ſlew a *Spaniſh* Commander with his own Hand. Then ſixty Men being knighted for their Valour, and the rich Spoils got on Shipboard, on the fifth of *July* the whole Fleet ſet ſail from thence, with this Commendation given them by the *Spaniards*, *That tho' in ſacred things the* Engliſh *had ſhew'd themſelves Hereticks, yet in all other Matters, they behav'd themſelves like valiant Soldiers, wiſe Counſellors, and Men of Honour*. After ſome little Cruiſings on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, they return'd ſafe into *England*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who not only would have kept *Cales*, but alſo have undertaken ſome new Expedition this Year.

The Queen receiv'd them at their Return with ſingular Affability, and gave particular Thanks to thoſe who had beſt ſignaliz'd themſelves, eſpecially to *Eſſex* and the Admiral, whoſe Acts and Conduct ſhe highly applauded. And now conſidering with her ſelf which of her Commanders to make Governor of the *Bril*, which was given up by the Confederate States as a Caution-Town for Mony due, ſhe made Choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, altho' the Earl of *Eſſex* had recommended others to her for that Poſt. But another thing he took with greater Diſſatisfaction, that in his Abſence ſhe had preferr'd the Lord *Burleigh*'s Son, Sir *Robert Cecil*, to be Secretary of State, where he had formerly with great Earneſtneſs recommended Sir *Thomas Podley*. Shortly after, the King of *Spain*, that he might retrive the Honour he had loſt at *Cales*, rigg'd out a new Fleet for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great Number of *Iriſh* Fugitives. But being at Sea, moſt of his Ships were by Storms caſt away upon Rocks, and overwhelm'd in the Ocean: So that the very Elements ſeem'd to fight for the glorious Queen, who heard of her Enemies Fate, before ſhe was inform'd of their Deſign.

Eſſex diſguſted.

The Spaniſh *Fleet ruin'd.*

At this Time the Queen, for the better Security of her People, enter'd into a League Defenſive and Offenſive with the *French* King, againſt the King of *Spain*, upon certain Conditions on both Sides; which League ſhe confirm'd by Oath, in the Chappel at *Greenwich*, the twenty ninth Day of *Auguſt*, laying her Hand upon the Hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marſhal of *France*; the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* holding out the Evangeliſts, ſurrounded by a great Number of the Nobility. In *September* following, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* was ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, to take the *French* King's Oath, and to preſent Sir *Anthony Mildmay* for the Queen's Ambaſſador in Ordinary, in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately deceas'd, and likewiſe to inveſt the King with the Noble Order of the Garter: To which Order, deſign'd originally for the Honour of Military Men, the Queen had choſen him as a Prince highly renown'd for Martial Glory. And not long after Sir *Thomas Baskervill* went over into *Picardy* with two thouſand *Engliſh* Foot, according to the Agreement for this Year.

A League with France.

In the following Year, the Queen was inform'd, that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet againſt *Ireland*; whereupon ſhe alſo prepar'd a Navy of one hundred and twenty Sail, which were divided into three Squadrons, the firſt Commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the ſecond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; in which alſo ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry were embark'd. On the ninth Day of *July* they ſet Sail from *Plimouth*, directing their Courſe to *Farol* and the *Groyne*; but before they had ſail'd forty Leagues, they were toſs'd with ſuch a terrible Storm for four Days, that the beſt Seamen were almoſt diſtracted, and with great Difficulty recover'd *Plimouth*, where they were detain'd by contrary Winds for a whole Month. On the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* they got to Sea again, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were diſpers'd by another dreadful Tempeſt, in which, one of the two great Ships taken at *Cales* was daſh'd in pieces. At the Iſles call'd *Azores*, the Fleet met again, where *Raleigh* wanting Water, went on Shore with-

A. D. 1597. Reg. 39/40.

A new Expedition againſt Spain.

without Leave; and before he could be furniſh'd, was commanded to follow *Eſſex* to *Fayall*: But not finding him there, he obſerv'd the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders advis'd him to attack the Place. Upon which *Raleigh* with ſome of his prime Volunteers landed, and ſoon won the Town, but found no ſuch conſiderable Booty, as they expected in it. The next Day *Eſſex* came thither, whom *Merrick* maliciouſly inform'd that *Raleigh* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordſhip in the Honour of the Exploit. Whereupon ſome perſuaded the Earl to call a Council of War and caſhier him; and others even to take off his Head for Landing without the Leave of his chief Commander. This Matter was ſoon adjuſted by the Mediation of the Lord *Howard*; but from this and other Matters aroſe ſuch an unhappy Conteſt and Emulation between theſe two great Men, that never could be throughly extinguiſh'd but by Death it ſelf.

A Feud between Eſſex *and* Raleigh.

From hence the Fleet ſet Sail for *Gratioſa*, where the Inhabitants crav'd Mercy and obtain'd it; and here *Eſſex* would have tarry'd in Expectation of the *Spaniſh Indian* Fleet, but *Graves* the Pilot diſſuaded him becauſe of the Badneſs of the Harbour. This prov'd unfortunate Advice, for the *Engliſh* were not gone above an Hour or two, before the *Spaniſh* Fleet, conſiſting of forty Sail, arriv'd at the Place; but hearing that the *Engliſh* were in theſe Parts, they directed their Courſe to *Tercera*, where all gain'd the Harbour except three Ships which fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; who deſign'd to have ſet upon the reſt in the Port: But finding the Attempt impracticable, they ſail'd from thence to St. *Michael's*, where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were Knighted. And then *Eſſex* landed within ſix Miles of the chief Place, near *Villa-Franca*, a fair Town, and well furniſh'd with Merchandize, Wine, Wood and Corn; where they tarry'd ſix Days, and the common Soldiers found good Booty. At the ſame Time a rich Carack was diſcover'd coming from the *Indies*, which by Means of a Warning Piece from a *Dutch* Veſſel, perceiving the *Engliſh* to be near, run her ſelf a-ſhore, unloaded the Merchandize, and then fir'd her ſelf. Thus the *Engliſh* met with Diſappointments in all Places; and on the ninth of *October* they ſet Sail for *England*: But within two Days, a violent Storm from the North diſpers'd them, and likewiſe the *Spaniſh* Fleet at the ſame Time, which had ſet out from the *Groyne* with great Preparations againſt *England*; ſo that they never came in View of each other. Not one of the *Engliſh* Ships periſh'd, but many of the *Spaniards* were loſt; one of 'em was caſt upon *Dartmouth*, where the half-ſtarv'd Seamen confeſs'd that the *Spaniards* deſign'd to have ſeiz'd upon ſome Port in *Cornwall*, which being near the Mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from *Spain*. But Providence now kept theſe two Nations aſunder, and diſappointed both their Deſigns, when they were haſt'ning to each others Ruin.

Both Nations are diſappointed.

The warm Earl of *Eſſex* at his Return found ſome Promotions made which infinitely diſguſted him; Sir *Robert Cecil* was made Chancellor of the Dutchy; and what more ſenſibly affected him, the Lord Admiral *Howard* was created Earl of *Nottingham*, with a Relation in his Patent of the Victory in *Eighty Eight*, and his great Services at *Cales*. This Glory he envy'd him, and beſides was much diſoblig'd, that he muſt now take Place of him: For it was Enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdom ſhould have Precedence of all Men of their Degree. Whereupon the Queen, who had a ſingular Value for *Eſſex*, to ſatisfie him, created him Earl-Marſhal of *England*; by which he recover'd his Place again.

Eſſex *advanc'd.*

Shortly after an Ambaſſador came into *England* from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he ſhould return her Thanks for procuring a Peace between the King his Maſter and the great *Turk*, on the contrary expoſtulated with her for Breach of Privileges in Trading with *Spain*, requiring a preſent Redreſs, or elſe the King his Maſter would do himſelf Juſtice.

The

The Queen with Indignation reply'd *extempore* in *Latin*, *How have I been deceiv'd! I expected an Ambaſſador, and behold a Herald; ſuch! a Speech I never heard before.*——And after ſome farther checking him for his too great Freedom, ſhe referr'd him to her Council, and retir'd with Diſpleaſure. But upon the Ambaſſador's more ſubmiſſive Behaviour, all Affairs were ſoon adjuſted. In the ſame Year the Chancellor of *Denmark* came into *England* to reſtore the Garter, with which the Queen had inveſted the King's Father, and withal offer'd his Maſter's Mediation to make a Peace between the Queen and the *Spaniard*. The Queen thank'd him, but deſign'd not to uſe his Mediation for what ſhe did not deſire, and eſpecially now, when he had lately invaded the *French* King her Allie, and had taken *Amiens*, the chief and ſtrongeſt Place in *Picardy*. For which Reaſon the King of *France* urg'd the Queen for a new Aid of four thouſand Men; intimating to her, That he was now offer'd by the Pope's Nuntio a very advantageous Peace, if he would abandon her Intereſt. But while theſe Matters were negotiating, *Amiens* was happily recover'd again by the great Valour of *Baskervill* and *Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledg'd.

D'Ewes, &c.

The Queen now to fortifie her ſelf againſt all Inconveniences, call'd a new Parliament, that met at *Weſtminſter* on the twenty fourth Day of *October*, and was open'd with a Speech by Sir *Thomas Egerton*, made Lord-Keeper, in the Room of *Puckering* deceas'd. In this Parliament the Queen paſs'd ſeveral Laws very acceptable to the People; namely, For recovering Depopulations, committed upon Country Farms; For prohibiting Arable Land and Tillage from being turn'd into Paſture; Againſt imbezeling Lands and Goods given to Charitable Uſes; Concerning the Building of Hoſpitals and Work-Houſes for the Poor; For preventing of Frauds in the Queen's Tellers, Receivers, *&c.* For building Houſes of Correction to puniſh Rogues and Vagrants; For the Reſtraining Extortions and Rapes; For Confirmation of the Depoſing thoſe Popiſh Biſhops in the Beginning of the Reign. 'For theſe Laws paſs'd, the true 'Religion reſtor'd, the Republick moſt happily govern'd, the Nation deliver'd 'from the Fear of Enemies, *Ireland* defended, and the *French* King and the '*Netherlands* reliev'd, the Parliament moſt heartily congratulated her Majeſty: 'And that ſhe might not want ſufficient Aids in Time of Neceſſity, the Clergy 'voluntarily granted three Subſidies, and the Laity pray'd her to accept of three 'Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths and Tenths; beſeeching her as in the Year 1593, 'that ſuch extraordinary Contributions might not be drawn into a Precedent, 'unleſs it were upon the like urgent Neceſſity. After this the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the ninth Day of *February* in the following Year.

The ninth Parliament in this Reign.

Great Aids granted.

The Queen now underſtanding, as ſhe had ſome Time ſuſpected, That the *French* being importun'd by the Pope, and his own Subjects, began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*, immediately ſent Sir *Robert Cecil* and others into *France*, to diſſuade the Negotiation; and after that by Letters charg'd the *French* King with Ingratitude, declaring, *That if he gain'd any reaſonable Terms from the* Spaniards, *he was oblig'd to the* Engliſh *Succours for it; and That ſolemn Oaths and mutual Compacts were never deſign'd for Snares, unleſs by the worſt of Men.* But notwithſtanding all her Endeavours, and thoſe of the Confederate States, he with ſome Compliments and Acknowledgments to the Queen of *England*, concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which is call'd the Treaty of *Vervin*. And now that King, who hitherto flouriſh'd in Martial Glory, began from this Time to reſtore and promote the Welfare of *France*, by maintaining and ſupporting Religion, as well the *Roman* as the *Reformed*, reviving the Laws, cheriſhing Learning, reſtoring Commerce, and beautifying the Kingdom with ſplendid Edifices, inſomuch that he far ſurpaſs'd all the Kings of *France* before him, and gain'd himſelf the Name of *Henry the Great*.

A. D. 1598. Reg. 40/41.

A Peace between France *and* Spain.

In the mean Time the Queen carefully providing for her own and her Peoples Safety, ſent Sir *Francis Vere* to the Confederate States, to know if they were willing

ling to join in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard*: And if otherwiſe, what they would afford towards a War; and to urge them concerning the Repayment of Monies due to her from them. During the Negotiations, there was a grand Conſultation held at home, in which it was accurately debated, Whether it would be to the Benefit and Advantage of the Queen and Publick to make a Peace with the *Spaniard*; and many nice and curious Reaſons were urg'd on both Sides. The wiſe and ſedate Lord *Burleigh* declar'd for Peace, as moſt eligible and neceſſary in this critical Juncture. But the vigorous and valiant Earl of *Eſſex* ſtifly maintain'd, that no Peace could be made with the *Spaniards* but ſuch as would be diſhonourable to *England*, and fraudulent on their Side. Inſomuch that *Burleigh* was provok'd to ſay, *That he breath'd out nothing but Slaughter and Blood:* And after a warm Diſpute about this Subject, in a ſtrange preſaging Manner, the Treaſurer drew out a Pſalm-Book, and without ſpeaking any more Words, pointed him to this Verſe, *The bloody-minded Man ſhall not live out half his Days.* This Debate occaſion'd *Eſſex* afterwards to publiſh an Apology for himſelf, with Reaſons in Juſtification of his Opinion.

A Conſultation about a Peace with Spain.

In carrying on this Buſineſs of Peace, and chuſing a fit Perſon to manage the Affairs in *Ireland*, which were now in great Diſorder, there aroſe a hot Debate between the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*, in the Preſence only of the Lord Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and *Windebank*, Clerk of the Seal. The Queen thought Sir *William Knolls*, Uncle to the Earl, to be the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent into *Ireland*, and *Eſſex* obſtinately aſſerted, that Sir *George Carew* was fitter than him; and ſince he could not perſuade her Majeſty to be of his Opinion, quite forgetting himſelf and his Duty, uncivilly and in Contempt turn'd his Back upon her, and gave her a ſcornful Look. Which ſo rous'd the Female Spirit of the Queen, that not induring ſuch rude Behaviour, ſhe gave him a Box on the Ear, and bad him *begon with a Vengeance.* He immediately in a Rage laid his Hand upon his Sword, while the Admiral ſtepp'd between, and ſwore *That he neither could nor would put up ſo great an Indignity; nor would he have taken it from her great Father* Harry; and in a violent Fury withdrew himſelf from the Court. In his Retirement the Lord-Keeper by a Letter adviſ'd him to ſubmit to the Queen his Soveraign, and to remember that Paſſage of *Seneca*, *If the Law puniſh one that is Guilty, he muſt ſubmit to Juſtice; if one that is Innocent, he muſt ſubmit to Fortune.* He anſwer'd his Letter with great Violence, and us'd theſe and the like Expreſſions, *I know what I owe as a Subject, and what as an Earl and Marſhal of* England; *but know not how to ſerve as a Drudge and a Slave. If I ſhould acknowledge my ſelf Guilty, I ſhould injure the Truth, and God the Author of it. My whole Body is wounded by that ſingle Blow; and having receiv'd this Indignity, it were Impiety to ſerve longer.* However, not long after, he became more Submiſſive, obtain'd his Pardon, and was receiv'd into Favour; the Queen being of ſuch an excellent Diſpoſition, that ſhe always thought it leſs misbecoming her Majeſty to exaſperate a Man, than to hate him. Yet from this Circumſtance his Friends began to date his Fall, who had obſerv'd, That Fortune ſeldom careſs'd her ſlighted Favourites, and Princes more rarely the Perſons they had offended.

The Queen ſtrikes Eſſex.

His Reſentment.

Not long after his Oppoſer the Lord *Burleigh*, being worn out with Labour of Mind, the Gout and old Age, and falling ſick, wrote a Letter to the Queen for her leave to lay down his Offices. The Queen viſited and comforted him; but within a few Days, having liv'd long enough for Nature, long enough for his own Glory, but not long enough for his Country, he peaceably reſign'd his Soul to God, in the ſeventy eighth Year of his Age: A Man of extraordinary Worth and Abilities, who, not to mention his venerable Preſence, his calm and ſerene Deportment, was ſo diſpos'd by Nature, ſo poliſh'd by Education, and ſo inrich'd with Learning, that

The Lord Burleigh's *Death and Character.*

that for Wiſdom, Integrity, Gravity, Induſtry, Temperance and Piety, he had no Superior; and was one of thoſe Few in the World who both liv'd and dy'd in Glory. His Saying was, *Prudens qui Patiens*; and, *That nothing was truly for a Prince's Profit, that was not for his Honour.* The knowing Queen had ſuch Eſteem for him, that ſhe would always cauſe him to ſit down in her Preſence, ſaying, *My Lord, we make uſe of you, not for your Legs, but for your Head:* And viſiting him in his Sickneſs, and the Servants at the Chamber-Door deſiring her Majeſty to ſtop, ſhe anſwer'd, *For your Maſter's ſake I will ſtoop, but not for the King of* Spain. One great Service he did his Country a little before his Death, which was to bring the Confederate States to a Compoſition, for the Payment of eight hundred thouſand Pounds, by thirty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; and likewiſe to the Concluſion of a new League; by which the Queen, beſides the receiving her Debts, was eas'd of a yearly Expence of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds. The Death of this great Support of the Nation was immediately ſucceeded by the Death of its moſt potent Enemy, *Philip* King of *Spain*, in the ſeventy firſt Year of his Age; a Prince of great Wiſdom and Patience, through his Father's Inſtructions and his own Experience; but in Matters of War for the moſt part Unfortunate: For being naturally weak, he was wary in taking Advice, and truſted to others in his Wars; by which the three Keys of the *Spaniſh* Empire, which his Father taught him to watch carefully, *Guletta* in *Africa*, *Fluſhing* in the *Netherlands*, and *Cales* in *Spain* were neglected; one being taken by the *Turks*, another by the *Hollanders*, and the third by the *Engliſh*, to the great Damage and Diſhonour of ſo great a Monarch: So that it was not without Cauſe that he adviſ'd his Son *Philip* to compoſe all Differences with the *Engliſh* and the *Netherlanders*.

His Services.

The Death and Character of Philip *King of* Spain.

No Year was now free from Treaſons and Conſpiracies from the *Romaniſts*; and in this a new Traitor was diſcover'd, one *Edward Squire*, who had firſt been an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable; and going as a Soldier in Captain *Drake*'s laſt Expedition, was taken Priſoner and carry'd into *Spain*, where he came acquainted with one *Walpole* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, who caus'd him to be put into the Inquiſition for a Heretick. This Man to avoid further Miſery, was eaſily induc'd to turn Papiſt, and afterwards to attempt any wicked Act for the Catholick Cauſe. His Ghoſtly Father taught him that it would be a very meritorious Act to deſtroy the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*; and ſent him into *England* with a peculiar Poiſon, to anoint the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle, and the Chair where the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould ſit; which he exactly perform'd, but neither of them took Effect. Whereupon *Walpole*, ſuſpecting the Fidelity of *Squire*, was reſolv'd to revenge it, and ſent a Perſon into *England*, who in general Terms ſhould caſt this Aſperſion upon him. This caus'd *Squire* to be apprehended and arraign'd for Treaſon, who not imagining that his Confeſſor would detect him, directly deny'd all at firſt; but finding himſelf really betray'd, confeſs'd the whole Matter, and ſuffer'd Death.

Squire's *Conſpiracy.*

Ireland had often been in Rebellion againſt the *Engliſh* in this Reign, but never in ſo formidable a Manner as in this Year: For the Head of the Rebels, the Earl of *Tyrone*, notwithſtanding he had lately obtain'd his Pardon for numerous Diſturbances, ſuddenly beſieg'd the Fort of *Blackwater*, and ingaging with Marſhal *Bagnal* his mortal Enemy, he gave the *Engliſh* ſuch a Defeat, as they had ſcarcely ſuſtain'd the like ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland*; for beſides the General, thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Soldiers were ſlain in this Encounter: By which the *Iriſh* gain'd Arms, Proviſions, Ammunition, and Reputation, and the Fort of *Blackwater*; ſo that the *Engliſh* were reduc'd from an offenſive to a defenſive War. This provok'd the Queen, who ſent to the brave Earl of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General, to clear the Army of all the *Iriſh*; and ſhe ſent two thouſand Foot,

Tyrone's *Rebellion and Succeſſes in* Ireland.

and a hundred Horſe to recruit the Army. After this *Tyrone*, whoſe Fame increas'd daily, ſent four thouſand *Kerns* into *Munſter*; and the Preſident being not able to reſiſt them, by reaſon of the Smallneſs of his Forces, that whole Province alſo rebell'd, and began to kill, rob and ravage the *Engliſh*, without Meaſure or Mercy. Thus the Rebellion became in a manner general, and grew to that Height, that it became formidable to the Queen. *Tyrone* in the mean Time ſent ſubmiſſive Letters to the Earl of *Ormond*, but with his uſual Treachery promis'd the *Spaniards* that he would accept of no Conditions from the *Engliſh*, magnifying his Victories beyond all Truth and Reaſon. So that now, by long uſe it was grown to a deſtructive Cuſtom in *Ireland*, that Rebels might with the Mony and Spoils they gain'd from the *Engliſh*, procure themſelves Protection and Pardon.

A. D. 1599. Reg. 41/42. To extinguiſh this increaſing Flame, the Queen thought of ſending *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, to be Deputy of that Kingdom; but the Earl of *Eſſex* intimated that he was a Man but of a mean Eſtate, of no Experience, and too Bookiſh for ſuch a martial Imployment; and in forming the Character of a Man fit for that Office, he ſo artificially drew his own Picture, that the Queen immediately reſolv'd to make him Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army. All this he made a ſhew of Refuſing, praying the Queen to beſtow thoſe Honours upon ſome abler Perſon, yet if any other Perſon was nam'd, he ſtill made Objections againſt him, and behav'd himſelf in ſuch a manner, as gave his Enemies the Advantage of ſaying, *He wanted nothing but an Army at his Command, to ſet up a Title to the Crown*, which his Friends and Flatterers had drawn up for him. Other Courtiers, who deſir'd the Abſence of this Favourite, puſh'd him forwards to accept the Command, knowing his youthful Ardour, and Thirſt of Glory, would haſten his Ruin; there being no way ſo certain to deſtroy a popular and aſpiring Man as forcing him upon Buſineſs improper for his Management. But tho' he was ſomewhat anxious, and fearful of his Father's Fate, yet he did or would not perceive all theſe Arts; therefore with the general Applauſe of Queen and Council, he was made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*. He had a greater Army allotted him than ever appear'd in *Ireland*, twenty thouſand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horſe; and whatever elſe he could deſire was obtain'd by the officious, but deceitful Intrigues of his ſecret Enemies, who were raiſing him on high, that his Fall might be the greater.

The Earl of Eſſex made Lord-Deputy of Ireland.

The unfortunate Earl went over into *Ireland* in the Month of *March*, and having receiv'd the Sword according to Cuſtom, he immediately made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horſe; and contrary to his Inſtructions, he march'd towards *Munſter* againſt the inferior Rebels, neglecting *Tyrone*, the moſt conſiderable Enemy in the Kingdom, againſt whom he was particularly ſent over; and all this without acquainting the Queen with his Reaſons for ſo acting, which caus'd her to be extreamly diſſatisfy'd with his Conduct. Two conſiderable Defeats the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd in *Ireland*; and at length the Earl, contrary to Order, treated ſecretly with *Tyrone*, and concluded a Peace with him. When the Queen had notice of this, and that with ſo ſtrong an Army, in ſo long a Time, and ſo great Expence of Mony, *Eſſex* had in effect done nothing, ſhe was highly incens'd, blam'd his Actions and Counſels, as over-raſh, unfortunate and diſreſpectful to her ſelf, and freely ſaid, *That he had ſomething elſe in his Thoughts beſides doing his Prince and Country Service in* Ireland. Nor were her Suſpicions ill grounded; for now he began to project a wicked Deſign of returning into *England* with a Party of ſelect Men to reduce his Adverſaries to his Power by Force of Arms, being perſuaded that many would join with him, either out of Affection, or the Deſire of Novelties: And had certainly attempted it, if the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* had not deterr'd him from it, as an impious, bloody and dangerous Deſign. It does not fully appear whether the Queen had Intelligence

He is unſucceſsful and ſuſpicious.

of this Matter, tho' it is reaſonable to believe ſhe had; for at this time an Army of ſix thouſand Men were rais'd in *London*, of which three thouſand were appointed to guard the Queen's Perſon, and the reſt to be always near and ready upon all Occaſions, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; but a few Days after the Army was disbanded.

He returns into England.

Within a Month the Earl of *Eſſex* poſted into *England*, and accompany'd with ſeveral ſelect Friends, went to *Noneſuch*, where the Queen then lay; and early in the Morning preſented himſelf on his Knees before her Majeſty in her Privy-Chamber, when ſhe had no Expectation of him. She receiv'd him ſomewhat graciouſly in a ſhort Conference, but not with ſo pleaſing a Countenance as formerly; and at his Departure commanded him to keep his Chamber: For as ſhe was before diſpleas'd with his ill Conduct, he had now incurr'd her further Diſpleaſure by leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* without her Leave. Afterwards his Actions and Proceedings being generally diſlik'd by the Council, and aggravated beſides by the Fictions and Inventions of his Adverſaries, he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Lord-Keeper, that he might not be further withdrawn from his Duty by ſeditious Counſels. Here entering into Conſideration of his Caſe, he gave himſelf wholly to Divine Contemplations, and wrote remarkable Letters to his Friends concerning the Vanity of Human Affairs.

He is committed to cuſtody.

To return to the Affairs of *Ireland*, where the ſix Weeks Truce was ſcarce expir'd, before *Tyrone* prepar'd again for open Hoſtilities, and being accus'd by the Council of *Ireland* for Breach of Faith, he declar'd he had juſt Cauſe to renew the War, ſince the Earl of *Eſſex*, on whom he depended for his Life and Safety, was committed to Cuſtody in *England*; nor would he for the future be concern'd with the *Iriſh* Council, which had heretofore dealt fraudulently with him. In the mean Time Rumours were ſpread abroad among the Rebels, that *England* in a ſhort Time would be imbroil'd in Civil Commotions, therefore he gave new Incouragement to the *Iriſh* Rebels to join with him, to the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Power in *Ireland*; to which he was farther encourag'd by the *Spaniards*, who had ſent him both Mony and Ammunition, and alſo by the Pope, who excited him by large Promiſes and Indulgences; all which Rebellious Practices in *Tyrone*, were either directly or indirectly charg'd upon the Earl of *Eſſex* by his Enemies. In the Depth of the Winter the Queen ſent *Montjoy* her Deputy into *Ireland*; who with great Care and Induſtry fortify'd the moſt important Places in that Kingdom, and ſo harras'd and manag'd *Tyrone* with continual Skirmiſhing, that he ſoon chang'd the Fortune of the War, drove that Arch-Rebel into his Faſtneſſes and abſconding Places, ſubdu'd the Rebels in *Ulſter* and *Leinſter*, and in all Places prov'd victorious. Nor had Sir *George Carew* leſs Succeſs in *Munſter*, againſt the Titular Earl of *Deſmond*; and ſo fully quieted and ſubdu'd thoſe Parts, that not ſo much as one Fort held out againſt the Queen.

Montjoy *made Deputy of* Ireland.

In *England* a new Conſultation was debating, concerning a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which was deſir'd both by him and the *French* King, and by *Albert* the Arch-Duke, who was now return'd into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was marry'd to the *Infanta*. The Queen conſenting to the Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the Time and the Place for the Meeting of the Commiſſioners, who appointed the Month of *May*, and the Town of *Boloign* in *France*: But foreſeeing that a Queſtion would ariſe about Precedency, ſome Perſons were appointed to ſearch ancient Records concerning that Point. Theſe Perſons found in the Book of the *Ceremonies of the Court of* Rome, which according to the Canons gave Rule to the Chriſtian Princes, 'That among Kings, the firſt Place was due to the King of *France*, 'the ſecond to the King of *England*, and the third to the King of *Caſtile*, the 'chief Title of the Kings of *Spain*; and that the *Engliſh* quietly held this Privi-'lege in the General Councils of *Baſil*, *Conſtance*, and others. Accordingly

A. D. 1600. Reg. 42/43.

A Treaty with Spain.

'Pope *Julius* the Third gave Sentence for *Henry* the Seventh, King of *En-*
'*gland*, againſt *Ferdinand* then King of *Caſtile*. At the appointed Time the Commiſſioners met at *Boloign*; Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Edmunds* and *Robert Beal*, for the *Engliſh*; and a proportionable Number of others for the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke. The *Engliſh* had Inſtructions firſt to inſiſt ſtrictly upon Precedency; yet if the *Spaniards* contended the Matter, then to put it to the Deciſion of Lots, rather than diſſolve the Treaty; and for the reſt, to propoſe and mention the renewing the ancient *Burgundian* League, Freedom of Commerce, *&c.* At the Meeting, when they had ſeverally ſhown their Commiſſions, the *Engliſh* challeng'd the Precedency, and the *Spaniards* did the ſame, and in ſuch a peremptory manner, that without that obtain'd, they would break up the Treaty. Hereupon the *Engliſh* made a Propoſal to drop the Queſtion concerning Precedency, and to tranſact the Buſineſs by Writing, and Meſſengers between both Parties; or that the Treaty might be prorogu'd for ſixty Days, ſo that it might rather ſeem diſcontinu'd than diſſolv'd. But all this, and ſeveral new Propoſals came to no Effect; ſo that after the Space of three Months, the Treaty of *Boloign* came to nothing.

But to no Effect.

In the mean Time the Confederate States were ſo far from regarding a Peace, that at this Time they were reſolv'd upon reducing the Sea-Coaſts of *Flanders* into their Command. Accordingly they landed an Army into that Country of fourteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, under the Command of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*; and fifteen hundred of the *Engliſh* under the Command of the two valiant Brothers Sir *Francis* and *Horatio Vere*. At which Time there was fought the famous Battel of *Newport*, where Sir *Francis* order'd his *Engliſh* to throw off their Cloaths, telling them, *That ſhortly they ſhould need none, or get better*; and here nine thouſand *Spaniards* were ſlain, and the Victory by the Valour of the *Engliſh* fell to the Confederate States: For ſo forward and couragious were the *Engliſh* in the Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were ſlain or ſore wounded, eight Captains kill'd, and all the reſt hurt but two.

The Battel of Newport.

All this Year, and the laſt, ſeveral Conteſts and Complaints aroſe between the *Engliſh* and *French*, concerning the Reprizals of Goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation; alſo concerning Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, contrary to the Treaty of *Blois*, and corrupt and deceitful taking of *Engliſh* Cloaths, to the great Diſcredit of the Nation. With *Denmark* alſo aroſe Controverſies concerning Commerce, and the Fiſhing of the *Engliſh* upon the Coaſt of *Iſland* and *Norway*. The Queen likewiſe at that Time, for the Encreaſe of Navigation and Commerce, founded the Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants, who having large Privileges granted them, ſetled ſeveral Factories in thoſe Parts, and carry'd on a great Trade even in this Reign. In the ſame Year, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, perceiving the Queen to be declining in Years, ſent two bold *Breves* into *England*, the one to the Popiſh Clergy, the other to the Laity, in which he pretended to authorize no Perſon whatſoever to aſſume the *Engliſh* Crown after the Queen's Death, but ſuch a one as ſhould promiſe by Oath to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to promote the Catholick Religion, tho' he was never ſo near ally'd to the Blood Royal of *England*. This was deſign'd chiefly againſt the preſent King of *Scotland*; and as *Camden* obſerves, was the Foundation of the famous Powder-Plot in the next Reign.

The Pope's Deſigns againſt England.

Thus, with a Year of extraordinary Scarcity of Corn, concluded the Sixteenth Century; in which there occurr'd more famous Varieties in Church and State, both in *England* and all Chriſtendom, than in any Age ſince the firſt Propagation of the Goſpel and Chriſtianity.

†

XIV. All

Camden. Sored. Baker. Spotswood. Bohun. &c.

A. D. 1601. Reg. 43, 44.

XIV. All Things being in a reaſonable Degree of Peace and Security, the Seventeenth Century in *England* began with the fatal Tragedy of the gallant Earl of *Eſſex*, who was hurry'd on to his ruin by a Temper too violent and impetuous. He had been ſix Months in Cuſtody under the Lord-Keeper, and now out of his own good Nature, the Senſe of his Afflictions, and the good Advice of his Friends, he began to repent of his ill Deſigns, and made ſuch a ſhew of Piety, Patience, Modeſty and Humility, that his Friends hop'd for his Converſion, his Adverſaries envy'd him, and the Queen, molify'd with his ſubmiſſive Letters, ſuffer'd him to retire to his own Houſe, under the free Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, often proteſting, *That ſhe would do nothing againſt him for his Ruin, but only for his Reformation.* But ſince the vulgar Sort had openly proclaim'd his Innocency; that her Majeſty might not be ſuſpected of Prejudice or Injuſtice, ſhe thought fit to have his Cauſe heard, not in the Star-Chamber, leſt he ſhould be ſeverely fin'd, but in the Lord-Keeper's Houſe, before the Queen's Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, and that ſome Cenſures ſhould be taken of his Actions, yet without any Charge of *Perfidiouſneſs*. The Heads of his Accuſation were, 'That contrary to his Com-'miſſion he had made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horſe, had drawn 'his Forces into *Munſter*, neglected the chief Rebel *Tyrone*, and held a private 'and ſuſpicious Parlee with him, contrary to the Dignity of the Queen's Ma-'jeſty, and the Perſon of a Vice-Roy, which he repreſented: And ſome Ag-'gravations were made by the Lawyers of ſome abrupt Sentences in his Let-'ter written to the Lord Privy-Seal. The Earl kneeling at the Table, gave Thanks to God for his Mercies, and to his gracious Princeſs, that proceeded ſo mildly againſt him, profeſſing, *He would not contend with her, nor excuſe the Errors of his Youth, either in whole or in part; That he always meant well, tho' it happen'd otherwiſe in Appearance, but now he would bid the World Farewel.* And ſhedding a Flood of Tears, which caus'd many to ſympathize with him, the Lord-Keeper in Concluſion proceeded to Sentence, which was, That he ſhould be remov'd from the Place of Privy-Counſellor, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl-Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordnance, and be detain'd in Cuſtody during the Queen's Pleaſure. This Cenſure was approv'd by all the reſt; and many were in hopes that he would be reſtor'd to Favour, ſince the Queen had expreſly commanded, that he ſhould not be ſuſpended from being Maſter of the Horſe, and that this Cenſure ſhould by no means remain upon Record.

The Earl of Eſſex's Cauſe.

He is cenſur'd.

After this the Earl made a ſhew of extraordinary Humility, which ſo pleas'd the merciful Queen, that ſhe remov'd his Keeper from him, ſet him at Liberty, and gave him leave to retire into the Country; but admoniſh'd him now to make Diſcretion his Keeper, and by no means to come to the Court, or near her Perſon. But as ſoon as his Servant *Cuffe* had Acceſs to him, he began to poiſon his Ears, and to tax him with Cowardice and Weakneſs; which provok'd the Earl to command his Name to be ſtruck out of the Roll of his Servants, but *Merrick* his Steward, who was of the ſame Opinion, prevented it. And the Earl going into the Country, remember'd himſelf to the Queen by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in theſe Words, *That he kiſs'd the Rod, and the Queen's Hand, which had only corrected, and not ruin'd him; yet he ſhould never enjoy real Comfort, 'till he might behold thoſe bleſſed Eyes, which had been his propitious Stars to guide him in his Courſe, while he ſteer'd at a lawful Diſtance. But now he reſolv'd to feed in the Field like* Nebuchadnezzar, *'till it ſhould pleaſe his Queen to reſtore him to his Senſe.* The Queen ſecretly rejoycing at theſe Expreſſions, ſaid, *Would to Heaven his Actions were anſwerable to his Words; He has long try'd my Patience, I muſt now try his Humility.* And now the Earl grew ſo confident of the Queen's Favour, that he became a Petitioner to her for the Farm of the ſweet Wines, which was

The Queen is reconcil'd.

was a Place of great Profit; but ſhe to try his Temper, return'd him Anſwer, *That ſhe muſt firſt underſtand the Value of it; That Benefits were not to be beſtow'd blindfold: That a furious Horſe muſt be kept ſhort of Provender to bring him to due Management*; commending the Aphoriſm of the Phyſicians, *That corrupt Bodies are injur'd by feeding plentifully*. Theſe unexpected Anſwers ſo inrag'd the Earl that they threw him into his former Frenzy, fir'd him with Indignation, and caus'd him blindly to hearken to the Suggeſtions of *Cuffe*, *Merrick*, and other Incendiaries, whoſe implacable Malice hurry'd them to their own and their Maſter's Deſtruction. Their exaſperating Speeches caus'd him often to join with them, and to drop paſſionate and indiſcreet Words, which coming to the Queen's Knowledge with aggravating Comments and Inferences, alienated her Affections from him. But what moſt ſenſibly provok'd her, and made the Breach irreparable, was his indecent reflecting upon her Majeſty's Perſon, ſaying, *That the Queen was now grown an old Woman, no leſs crooked and diſtorted in her Mind, than in her Body*: Which ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had formerly deluded in Matters of Love, taking up at the Rebound, ſo ſpitefully repreſented it, that it blew up new Flames of Diſcontent between them, and ſo ſtung his diſtracted Mind, that he began to revive the clandeſtine Deſigns he had form'd in *Ireland*, made court to the Puritans and their Miniſters, and alſo to the Papiſts, by ſeeming to commiſerate their Afflictions. He ſecretly entertain'd Soldiers, and daring Prodigals, whoſe Poverty made them ready for any unlawful Enterprize. He and his particular Friends, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Davis*, and *John Littleton* of *Frankel*, held their private Cabals in *Drury* Houſe, where they enter'd upon Reſolutions, To ſeize the Tower, the Court, the Queen's Perſon, and call a Parliament to erect another Government. Theſe frequent Aſſemblies, and the great Reſort to *Eſſex*'s Houſe under Pretence of hearing Sermons, encreas'd the Suſpicions the Court had entertain'd of him, and caus'd him to be call'd before the Council, which he refus'd to obey, being reſolv'd to preſerve his Liberty, tho' with the Price of his Blood, and to that end had gather'd to his own Houſe *Sands*, *Parker* and *Monteagle*, with about three hundred Gentlemen of good Quality.

Eſſex relapſes.

He raiſes Soldiers.

The Queen having order'd the Lord Mayor to keep the Citizens in due Obedience, ſent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolls*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, to know the Cauſe of this unuſual Aſſembly. They were admitted with much Difficulty into *Eſſex*'s Houſe through the Wicket; and in the Court-Yard they found a confus'd Multitude, with *Eſſex* in the middle of them, together with *Southampton* and *Rutland*. The Lord-Keeper demanded the Cauſe of the Tumult, and aſſur'd him that if any had injur'd him, he ſhould have equal Juſtice againſt the Perſons; to which *Eſſex* anſwer'd, *There was a Plot againſt his Life*; and when the Lord-Keeper urg'd him to be particular, the Multitude interrupted him, crying out, *Away, let us begon, they come to betray you, kill them, throw away the Broad-Seal, ſecure them in Priſon.* Upon which *Eſſex*, retiring with them into the Houſe, commanded the Doors to be ſhut, ſaying to the Lords, *Have Patience, I will go into the City and adviſe with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and return immediately*. Coming inconſiderately into *London*, with about two or three hundred in his Company, he cry'd out with the utmoſt Heat, *For the Queen, for the Queen! a Plot is laid for my Life!* and went directly towards Sheriff *Smith*'s Houſe in *Fen-Church* Street; and ſeeing the Citizens run about in a Maze, he bid them *Arm themſelves, or they could do him no Good*: But not one Man took up Arms for him; and the Sheriff in whom he confided, hearing of his coming, withdrew himſelf out at a Back-Door, to the Lord Mayor's Houſe, and would not ſee him. In the mean Time *Eſſex* by a Herald was proclaim'd a Traitor in all Parts of the City; and ſeeing none would eſpouſe his Cauſe, and that his own Party began to deſert, he gave *Gorges* leave to ſet the

He impriſons the Privy-Counſellors,

and excites the Citizens to Rebellion.

the Privy-Counſellors at liberty, who did it, and went with them to the Court by Water. *Eſſex* returning to his Houſe, found a Chain drawn croſs the Street at St. *Paul*'s, and Pikes and Musketeers planted againſt him by the Biſhop of *London*, under the Command of Sir *John Leviſon*. The Earl in a Rage drew his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to fall on; which he did with great Reſolution, kill'd one *Waite*, and was himſelf deſperately wounded, and taken Priſoner. There fell alſo *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman for whom the Earl had a tender Affection, and one or two Citizens. Being thus repuls'd at this Place, his Hat ſhot through, and many ſecretly deſerting him, he return'd to his Houſe by Water, burnt ſeveral Papers, *That they might tell no Tales*, and fortify'd his Houſe on all Sides.

Immediately the Houſe was inveſted by Land by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others; while the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Effingham* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stanhop*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil* enter'd into the Garden by the *Thames* Side; and being ready to attack the Houſe, he ſummon'd him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* ask'd, *To whom they ſhould yield? If to their Adverſaries, their Ruin would be inevitable; If to the Queen, their Guilt would be apparent; but if the Lord Admiral would give them Hoſtages for their Security, they would appear before her Majeſty, or elſe they would ſell their Lives as dear as they could.* The Lord Admiral anſwer'd, *That ſuch Conditions were not to be propos'd by Rebels*; but in Commiſeration, to the weaker Sex, he would permit the Counteſs his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Siſter, and their Women, who fill'd the Air with their diſmal Outcries, to depart in Safety. This the Earl took as a Favour, and only deſir'd the Space of an Hour or two to fortifie the Place, through which they ſhould paſs, which was granted. Now the Earl of *Eſſex* looking upon all Things as deſperate and loſt, after two or three Perſons were kill'd on each Side, once reſolv'd to force his Way through his Enemies, to which he was particularly incourag'd by the old Lord *Sands*, who declar'd, *That the braveſt Courſes were the ſafeſt, and that it was more honourable for a Nobleman to die by the Sword, than the Axe.* But *Eſſex* fluctuating in his Reſolutions, and having the Lord Admiral's Promiſe that all ſhould be civilly treated, all the Noblemen at ten a Clock at Night, falling upon their Knees deliver'd up their Swords, and themſelves Priſoners to him. *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were firſt confin'd to *Lambeth*-Houſe, and ſhortly after with *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Bromley*, were committed to the Tower. The next Day, *Thomas Lea*, Captain of a Company in *Ireland*, intimating to one *Croſs* a Sea-Captain, how noble an Exploit it were for ſix brave Soldiers to go to the Queen, and forcibly compel her to releaſe *Eſſex* and *Southampton*, was immediately apprehended, examin'd, found guilty, and executed.

His Houſe beſieg'd.

He yields.

Upon the nineteenth of *February*, the two Earls, *Eſſex* and *Southampton*, were brought to their Trials in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before many of their Peers, where the Treaſurer *Buckhurſt* was made Lord High-Steward for that ſolemn Occaſion. They were jointly indicted of High-Treaſon, namely, 'That they 'had plotted to deprive the Queen of her Life and Kingdom, to ſurprize her 'in her very Palace; and that they broke out into open Rebellion, by impri-'ſoning the Counſellors of the Kingdom, by exciting the Citizens with vain 'Fictions, by aſſaulting the Queen's loyal Subjects, and by defending of *Eſſex*'s 'Houſe againſt her Majeſty's Forces: To all which they pleaded *not guilty*, and *Eſſex* averr'd, *That he had done nothing, but what was agreeable to the Law of Nature, and upon urgent Neceſſity.* *Yelverton* the Queen's Sergeant, and *Edward Coke* her Attorney, open'd the Indictment, and according to the Cuſtom of Lawyers, upbraided *Eſſex* with the Queen's Favours, compar'd him to *Catiline*, and as ſome thought made too indecent Reflections and Inſults upon Men of their Quality and unhappy Circumſtances: For *Coke* ended his Harangue with this

The Trial of him and his Aſſociates.

this ſevere Concluſion: *It were to be wiſh'd that this* Robert, *Earl of* Eſſex, *might be the laſt of this Name, who affected to be* Robert *the firſt of that Name King of* England. The Earl of *Eſſex* with great Courage and Modeſty anſwer'd, *That this Art of ſcandalous Oratory was common to Men of their Profeſſion, who accounted it their Glory to depreſs innocent Men with Multiplicity of Words*, and therefore pray'd the Lords *not to regard their Clamours and noiſie Suggeſtions, but weigh the Matter according to Truth, and not by Rigour and Quirks of Law.* The Evidences againſt them being heard, *Southampton* endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf out of his Love to *Eſſex*, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and with great Humility begg'd the Queen's Mercy, *whom he had always eſteem'd as the lively Image of the Divine Goodneſs, and againſt whom his Heart had never harbour'd a diſloyal Thought.* *Eſſex*, when the Heat was over between him and *Cecil*, anſwer'd more calmly, *That he had no Deſign but to repel Force by Force; nor would he have enter'd the City inconſiderately, if he had not thought his Life in Danger; nor with ſo ſmall a Number, if he deſign'd any thing but to defend himſelf againſt his private Enemies.* After this the Lords withdrew, and in an Hour return'd to their Places, where every one of them pronounc'd *Eſſex* and *Southampton* guilty; who being brought again to the Bar, and acquainted with it, *Eſſex* humbly begg'd the Lords Favours, that they would intercede with her Majeſty for *Southampton's* Pardon, who might do her good Service, *But*, added he, *for my own Life I value it not; for I deſire nothing more than to lay it down with ſincere Faith to God, and Loyalty to my Prince, tho' the Law has made another Interpretation of it. Yet I would have none to tell the Queen that I ſlight her Mercy, tho' I believe I ſhall never ſervilely beg it: And I beſeech you, my Peers, tho' you have condemn'd me by Law, that you would abſolve me in your Conſciences, who never deſign'd any Ill againſt my Prince.*

They are condemn'd.

The next Day Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Edmund Bainham*, Knights; *John Littleton*, *Henry Cuffe* the Earl's Secretary, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, and *Orel* an old Soldier, were arraign'd; and as ſoon as they had held up their Hands, and the Queen was inform'd they were unwarily drawn into this Plot, ſhe commanded that none but *Littleton*, *Bainham* and *Orel* ſhould be try'd, and that the reſt ſhould be remanded to Priſon; and tho' Sentence paſs'd againſt thoſe that were try'd, yet at laſt all their Lives were ſpared. *Bainham* redeem'd his by a Sum of Mony paid to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Littleton* dy'd of a Diſtemper, and *Orel* was pardon'd.

In the mean Time the ſorrowful Earl of *Eſſex*, diſturb'd in his Conſcience, and terrify'd by the attending Miniſter, deſir'd to diſcourſe with ſome of the Privy-Council, and particularly with Secretary *Cecil*. Upon which Requeſt, the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Admiral and *Cecil* went to him; and after he had ask'd Pardon of the Lord-Keeper and *Cecil* for what he had done or ſaid againſt them, he aſſur'd them, *That the Queen could never be ſafe as long as he liv'd*, and therefore begg'd that he might be executed privately in the Tower. He diſcover'd ſeveral of his Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy; and deſiring to ſpeak with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*, as ſoon as he ſaw them, he cry'd out, *Ah* Cuffe! *Ask Pardon of God and the Queen; for you were the Perſons that chiefly provok'd me to this Diſloyalty.* Nor was he ſatisfy'd with this verbal Confeſſion, but in Writing diſcover'd the Conſpirators, which were then in ſeveral Countries, as *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the *Netherlands*.

Eſſex's Confeſſion.

The twenty fifth of *February* was appointed for the fatal Day of Execution, when *Thomas Montford* and *William Barlow* Doctors of Divinity, with *Aſhton* Miniſter of the Tower Church, were ſent to him early in the Morning, to prepare him for Death. In the Preſence of theſe Men he gave Thanks to God, *that his Deſigns, ſo dangerous to the Publick, had no Succeſs.* He freely told them, *That he had now look'd ſeriouſly into his Sins, and was heartily*

heartily ſorry that he had ſo obſtinately defended an unjuſt Cauſe at the Bar. He thank'd the Queen who had granted him a private Execution, *leſt his Mind, at preſent compos'd, might be diſturb'd by the Peoples Behaviour; for he had learn'd how vain a Thing was popular Breath, and how he deſerv'd to be cut off from the Commonwealth, for the Contagion of his Enterprize, which like a foul Diſeaſe had ſpread and infected many.* In the mean Time the Queen's Mind was violently agitated with various Apprehenſions; and her former Affection reviv'd, which with the Remembrance of paſt Services, produc'd ſuch tender Emotions of Pity and Clemency, that ſhe ſent her Commands by Sir *Edward Cary*, that he ſhould not be executed: On the other Side his perverſe Obſtinacy, who ſcorn'd to ask her Pardon, and had openly declar'd, *That his Life would be the Queen's Deſtruction*, did ſo puſh her on to Juſtice and Severity, that ſoon after ſhe ſent a freſh Command by *Darcy*, that he ſhould be executed. Accordingly he was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower, near which ſate ſome few Lords, ſome of the Aldermen of *London*, and ſeveral Knights, among whom was *Raleigh*, purpoſely, as he ſaid, to anſwer to any Accuſation the Earl might make againſt him; but as others thought, to feed his Eyes with the Sufferings of his Enemy; therefore he was adviſ'd out of Decency to withdraw into the Armory, where he beheld the whole Tragedy. The Earl having aſcended the Scaffold with the above-nam'd Divines, uncover'd his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, confeſs'd his Sins, and begg'd Mercy for them, eſpecially this laſt, which he call'd, *A bloody, crying and outragious Sin.* He pray'd the Queen and her Miniſters to forgive him, *And that God would give her a long and happy Reign*, proteſting, *That he never deſign'd to lay violent Hands on her Perſon.* Then he pray'd God *to ſtrengthen his Mind againſt the Terrors of Death*, and intreated the Spectators to join with him in a ſhort Prayer, which he deliver'd with great Devotion. Then he rehears'd the Apoſtle's Creed; and laying himſelf down, plac'd his Neck upon the Block; and having repeated the firſt Verſes of the fifty firſt Pſalm, and commended his Spirit into the Hands of God, his Head was ſtruck off at the third Blow; but the firſt took away both Senſe and Motion. Thus fatally dy'd *Robert D' Evereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, in the thirty fourth Year and Prime of his Age; a Perſon endow'd with all thoſe Accompliſhments that ſerve to finiſh a Nobleman, and a gallant Warrior, whoſe Genealogy was ancient and illuſtrious. He had been a great Favourite, and loaden with Preferments, had a towering Spirit, and an obliging Affability; but he was not born for a Courtier, for he could neither flatter nor diſſemble, but always carry'd his Love and Hatred in his Countenance. His great Thirſt after Popularity, and his continual Ingroſſing of Fame procur'd him many Enemies, and made his Mind boil into undecent Paſſions, more advantageous to his Enemies Deſigns than his own. For they lighted their Candle at his Fire; and this Heat being blown into a Flame by ſome fiery Spirits about him, ſtain'd his good Nature with Thoughts of Revenge, which his Enemies turn'd upon the Queen her ſelf; ſo that the ſame Coal with which he deſign'd to conſume his Enemies Houſes, kindled his own Funeral Pile. Thus Pride and Ambition do often uſurp the Names of Greatneſs and Gallantry, 'till they prove the Downfall and Ruin of the braveſt Men upon Earth.

The Queen diſturb'd in her Mind.

Eſſex *brought to the Scaffold.*

His Execution and Character.

Not many Days after Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merick*, and *Cuffe*, being accus'd of the ſame Crimes with the Earl, were brought to their Trials, and being convicted by the Jury, receiv'd the Sentence of Death, and were all executed at *Tyburn*; except the two firſt, who being nobly deſcended, were beheaded upon Tower-Hill. To this Cauſe alſo there belongs a peculiar Cenſure, given at this Time in the Star-Chamber: The Earl of *Eſſex* complain'd at his Trial, that his Letters were counterfeited, and upon a diligent Enquiry into the Matter, a bold Impoſture was diſcover'd. The Counteſs of *Eſſex*, being apprehenſive, that in thoſe trouble-

Other Executions.

A piece of Forgery.

troubleſome Times ſome Miſchiefs might befal her Husband and her ſelf, put ſome Letters which ſhe had receiv'd from him into a Cabinet, and intruſted it in the Hands of a *Dutch* Woman call'd *Rihove*, who hiding them in her Houſe, they were accidentally diſcover'd by her Husband *John Daniel*; who reading them over, and obſerving ſome Paſſages in them that might incenſe the Queen and endanger the Earl, caus'd them to be tranſcrib'd by a Perſon expert at *Counterfeiting of Hands*. And when the timorous Counteſs was ready to be deliver'd of a Child, he told her that unleſs ſhe would give him three thouſand Pounds, he would put them into the Hands of her Husband's Enemies. The good Lady, to prevent that threatning Danger, immediately gave him eleven hundred and ſeventy Pounds; and ſtill for that great Sum the Impoſtor only gave her the Counterfeit Copies, and kept the Originals, to get another Sum for them from the Earl's Enemies. For which he was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, fin'd in three thouſand Pounds, two of which was to be paid to the Counteſs, and to ſtand with his Ears nail'd to the Pillory, with this Inſcription on his Breaſt, *A wicked Forger and Impoſtor*.

The tenth Parliament in this Reign.

Not long after the vigilant Queen ſummon'd her laſt Parliament, which met at *Weſtminſter* upon the twenty ſeventh Day of *October*; in which grievous Complaints were made by the Houſe of Commons concerning the Miſchiefs of Monopolies. The Queen, by way of Prevention, ſent out Proclamations, declaring the ſaid Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving ſome Part to the Determination of the Laws; which was ſo acceptable to the Commons, that they immediately ſent eighty ſelect Perſons, together with their Speaker, to return their hearty Thanks to her Majeſty. She on the other Side in a tender Speech gave them Thanks, *For being ſuch faithful Miniſters to her, and recalling her from an Error proceeding from her Ignorance, not Will.* After that ſhe declar'd to them, *That ſhe had rather her Heart or Hand ſhould periſh, than that either one or the other ſhould allow ſuch Privileges to Monopoliſts as might be prejudicial to her dear People. That the Splendor of Regal Majeſty had not ſo blinded her Eyes, that licentious Power ſhould prevail more than Juſtice. That ſhe was none of thoſe Princes that would be deceiv'd by the Glory of the Name; for ſhe knew the Commonwealth was to be govern'd for the Good of thoſe committed to her, not of her ſelf to whom it was intruſted; and that an Account was one Day to be given before a ſuperior Judge. She thought her ſelf moſt happy, that ſhe had by God's Aſſiſtance ſo proſperouſly govern'd the Commonwealth; and that ſhe had ſuch loving Subjects, as for their Good ſhe would willingly leave both her Kingdom and Life.* This Speech, and her endearing Behaviour, ſo pleas'd and charm'd the Commons, that they now gave her greater Aids than ever ſhe had receiv'd, namely four intire Subſidies, and eighteen Fifteenths and Tenths: After which this Parliament, after a ſix Weeks Seſſion, was diſſolv'd upon the nineteenth Day of *December*.

The Queen's Generoſity.

Reg. 44. During theſe Tranſactions at home, the Arch-Duke *Albert* beſieg'd *Oſtend* in the *Netherlands*, and the Confederate States being oblig'd for their own Preſervation to defend it, they made Sir *Francis Vere* Governor of it, under the Title of *General of all the Forces within and without* Oſtend. This Place, within the Memory of that Generation, was but a few Cottages for poor Fiſhermen on a naked Shore; but at the Beginning of the *Netherland* Wars, was fortify'd by the States, firſt with a Paliſado; afterwards upon the Sea working in, and making a very convenient Harbour, they added a Trench to it, and plac'd an *Engliſh* Garriſon in it. Theſe Men firſt under *John Conway*, and afterwards under Sir *John Norris*, ſo diſturb'd and over-run *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* began to lay Siege to it, but in vain. *Le Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was repell'd with great Loſs; and the Arch-Duke *Albert* ſurrounded it with ſeventeen Sconces. But when the Garriſons with theſe Sconces prov'd as burdenſome and vexatious to *Flanders* as the Enemies, and

The famous Siege of Oſtend.

and the Haven being thought convenient both to harbour the *Spaniſh* Gallies, and diſturb the Navigation of the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, the *Spaniards* reſolv'd to take it at any Expence, and the States on the other hand were as reſolute to preſerve it. Never in that Age was a Siege more obſtinately maintain'd, or more gallantly defended; nor a greater Slaughter of Men, or a Piece of Service that laſted a longer Space. At the End of five Months, Sir *Francis Vere* finding his Forces diminiſh'd by frequent Sallies, the Enemies Shot and the Peſtilence, a Part of the old Town ſwallow'd by the Sea, their Proviſion almoſt ſpent, and by reaſon of contrary Winds no Hopes of Supplies, which he had often in vain demanded; and underſtanding that the Enemy were ready to make a general Aſſault upon the Town, he deſir'd a Parly with the Arch-Duke concerning a Surrender of the Place; and after Hoſtages were given on both Sides, Commiſſioners were ſent to treat about it. But General *Vere* only protracted Time, and fed them with Hopes of a Surrender, 'till freſh Supplies of Men arriv'd; and then ſent back the Commiſſioners, excuſing himſelf by that Military Axiom, *That to over-reach an Enemy is both pleaſant and advantageous*, and therefore deſir'd their Pardon, if in caſe of the like Neceſſity he ſhould make uſe of the ſame Stratagem. The Arch-Duke in Revenge made a furious Aſſault the next Day, but was beaten back with Loſs; and General *Vere*, when he had repair'd the ſhaken and batter'd Places, was recall'd by the States, who thought fit every five Months to ſend a new Governor with freſh Supplies of Men: Which ſucceſſive Governors, with great Management and Reſolution, defended the Town above three Years and three Months, againſt all the furious Attacks of the Sea and the Enemy. And it would have been thought happy by vaſt Numbers, if the Sea had been let in and had ſwallow'd it up; for the beſt and braveſt Soldiers of the *Netherlands*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Italy*, while they contended for a barren Plat of Sand, found here one common Sepulchre, tho' with that an eternal Monument of their Valour.

The Spaniards land in Ireland.

As to the Affairs of *Ireland*, the Inhabitants there had been in long Expectations of Aſſiſtance from *Spain*, which now to their great Joy arriv'd in Safety at *Kingſale*; and having peaceably enter'd the Town and refreſh'd themſelves, Don *John d'Aquila*, who commanded them, with the Title of *General of the Catholick King in God's War, for maintaining the Faith in* Ireland, publiſh'd ſeveral Papers, to perſuade the People, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* was by ſeveral 'Sentences of the Pope depriv'd of her Crown, that her Subjects were abſolv'd 'from their Oath of Allegiance, and that now the *Spaniards* were come to 'deliver *Ireland* from the Jaws of Hell; and by that ſpecious Pretence he induc'd great Numbers of lewd and diſſolute Perſons to join with him. The Lord-Deputy having drawn together what Forces he could, inveſted *Kingſale*, forc'd the Caſtle of *Kincurran* to ſurrender; and with the Aſſiſtance of Vice-Admiral *Leviſon*, ſtraiten'd the Town with a cloſer Siege, which was ſoon after a little relax'd, in regard *Leviſon* with his Fleet was oblig'd to ſail from thence againſt two thouſand *Spaniards*, landed at *Bear-Haven*, *Caſtle-Haven* and *Baltimore*, five of whoſe Ships he happily ſunk. About the ſame Time, *Tyrone*, *O-Donel*, *O-Rock*, and the principal Rebels drew near, and joining the new-landed *Spaniards*, compos'd an Army of ſix thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe; and were ſwell'd with ſuch an Aſſurance of Victory, as being freſh Men, more numerous, and well provided with Neceſſaries, while the *Engliſh* were extreamly fatigu'd with a Winter's Siege, and both Men and Horſes deſtitute of Proviſions and Conveniences. However when both Armies came to ingage, they ſoon found their Error; for the *Spaniards* were miſerably ſlaughter'd, and the *Iriſh* threw down their Arms, and betook themſelves to Flight. Don *Alphonſo O Campo* was taken Priſoner, with three *Spaniſh* Leaders and ſix Enſigns; twelve hundred Men were ſlain, and nine Colours taken; and of the *Engliſh* few were kill'd, though many were wounded. Upon

They and the Iriſh are beaten.

this the two Rebel Earls, *Tyrone* and *O-Donel*, made their Escape; the former to his Northern Shelters, and the latter into *Spain*. The next Day the Lord-Deputy commanded *Bodley* to survey the Works about *Kingsale*, to finish the Mount, and draw the Trenches nearer the Town; which caus'd *D'Aquila* to send a Trumpeter and desire a Parly, and that General signify'd to Sir *William Godolphin*, 'That he had found the Lord-Deputy a sharp but honourable Ene-'my, and the *Irish* weak, rude and perfidious; that the Catholick King had 'sent him to assist two Earls, whom he now question'd whether they were in 'the World, since one Blast of War had blown one into *Spain*, and the other 'into the North; wherefore he was willing to treat of a Peace, which might 'be advantageous to the *English*, and not prejudicial to the *Spaniards*; tho' he 'wanted nothing for a Siege, and daily expected Succours to enable him to per-'form his Master's Commands. At length it was concluded that the *Spaniards* should surrender *Kingsale*, with the Castles and Forts at *Bear-Haven*, *Castle-Haven* and *Baltimore*, and depart honourably with their Goods and Liberties, without being molested by any *English* Ship in their Voyage to *Spain*; all which was soon after perform'd. Great and many were the Advantages of the Victory and Treaty; for *Ireland* that was staggering, and ready to revolt, was hereby kept in Obedience, the *Spaniards* driven out of the Country, the Rebels dispers'd, the Queen's Authority restor'd, the Hearts of honest Men reviv'd, and a solid and perfect Peace establish'd in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

They abandon the Kingdom.

A. D. 1602. Reg. 44/45.

The *Spaniards* being thus happily expell'd out of *Ireland*, the wise Queen, to prevent their Return into that Kingdom, sent out Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Monson*, with eight of her own Men of War, and some inferior Ships, to make new Attempts upon the Coasts of *Spain*. On the nineteenth Day of *March Levison* set Sail, and *Monson* afterwards, having in vain tarry'd behind for some *Dutch* Ships to join with them. *Levison* in the mean Time fell in with the *Spanish* Fleet of thirty eight Sail, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and ingag'd them, but to no great Effect. When *Monson* was come up with the rest of the Fleet, they receiv'd certain Intelligence that a mighty *Indian* Carack of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*, where they found it: But it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies, and the Carack it self appear'd like a strong Castle; yet they resolv'd to fire it, if they could not take it. The next Day they thunder'd so furiously against the Gallies, that within seven Hours the Marquess of St. *Crosse*, together with the Gallies he commanded, retir'd, and two of them were taken and fir'd, in which were great Quantities of Powder design'd for the *Netherlands*. Upon which *Levison* signify'd to the Captain of the Carack, that the Gallies in which they confided were repuls'd and remov'd, therefore if they now refus'd Mercy, they were to expect none hereafter. After much Debate on both Sides, it was at last agreed, That the Carack, with all the Goods and Ordnance, should be yielded up to *Levison*. Thus the *English* having a fair Wind, return'd home with a Booty amounting to a Million of Ducats, by the *Portugueze* Account, and not above five of their Men lost in the Expedition.

The last Expeditions against the Spaniards.

A Contest between the Jesuits and the Secular Priests.

About this Time a famous Contest arose between the Jesuits and the Secular Priests in *England*: For *Blackwell*, who was wholly at the Command of *Garnet*, General of the Jesuits in *England*, usurp'd an Authority over the Secular Priests, depriv'd them of their Faculties, and procur'd a *Breve* from the Pope, declaring them Schismaticks and Hereticks, from which they clear'd themselves by a Censure of the University of *Paris*. In publishing of several Books, the Secular Priests highly extoll'd the Queen, and made it appear, 'That in the first 'eleven Years of her Reign, there was not one Papist had his Life call'd in 'question for his Religion; and that in ten Years after the Publication of the 'Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion of the Papists, not above 'twelve Priests were put to Death for Treason, 'till in the Year 1580, when 'the

'the Jeſuits firſt crept into *England*. Then they largely ſhew'd, That the 'wicked Deſigns of the Jeſuits confounded all, and enforc'd the making of ſe-'vere Laws againſt Catholicks. That ever ſince *Engliſh* Seminaries had been 'erected by the Procurement of *Parſons* a Jeſuit, fifty had been yearly ſent 'to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom of *England*: That *Parſons* excited 'the *Spaniards* to invade *England* and *Ireland*, and ſet up the Title of 'the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England*: That *Holt* a Jeſuit 'perſuaded *Hesket* to raiſe a Rebellion, and hir'd *Cullen*, *York* and *Williams* 'to kill the Queen; and that *Walpole* a Jeſuit perſuaded *Squire* to poiſon her. 'Inſomuch that the Queen, whoſe Judgment was, *That Conſcience ought 'never to be forc'd*, was neceſſitated to uſe Severity, or betray her own and 'her Kingdom's Safety. They reproach'd *Parſons* with being a Baſtard, the 'Dregs of the People, and a turbulent ſeditious Equivocator: They condemn'd 'the defamatory Libels which the Jeſuits had writ againſt the Queen, and the 'Authors as Traitors to God and her Majeſty; and deſir'd the *Engliſh* Catho-'licks not to ſend their Children to be educated in the Jeſuits Colleges, where 'they imbib'd the Poiſon of Treaſon and Rebellion with their firſt Rudiments. Theſe Conteſts were politickly promoted by the Biſhop of *London*, as advantageous to the Church of *England*; but the Privy-Council were of Opinion, that notwithſtanding this pretended Animoſity, they were both agreed to pervert her Majeſty's Subjects, and therefore were both baniſh'd by Proclamation: Which prov'd very ſeaſonable; for while theſe Diſputes were depending, *Thomas Winter* and *Teſmund* a Jeſuit were ſent over into *Spain*, where they carry'd on a dangerous Conſpiracy for cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*, and excluding the King of *Scotland* from his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*.

Both Parties are baniſh'd.

In *France*, the Marſhal *Biron*, for entering into dangerous Attempts againſt the publick Peace of that Nation, was arraign'd and beheaded. His Confeſſion brought ſome others into Danger; and amongſt them the Duke of *Buillon*, of the Proteſtant Religion, ſo that when he was cited, he durſt not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Upon this Accident the King of *France* ſent a Meſſage to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining, 'That the Duke had declar'd his Marriage 'unlawful, and the Pope's Diſpenſation of no Validity, pronouncing his Sons 'Illegitimate; had deſtin'd the Prince of *Conde* to the Succeſſion of the Crown, 'and conſpir'd the Deſtruction of the chief of the Nobility. The Queen was much concern'd for this Proteſtant Duke, and by her Leiger Ambaſſador adviſ'd the King, not too credulouſly to entertain thoſe Reports, as doubting theſe Suggeſtions might proceed from ſome of the *Spaniſh* Faction. Upon which the King became very angry, and ſaid, *That the Queen had a better Opinion of the Duke than he deſerv'd, and that he was one of the chief Founders of the Earl of* Eſſex's *Treaſon, for that being queſtion'd by him about it, was not able to deny it*. About the ſame Time alſo, the Duke of *Savoy* by Stratagems and open Force proceeded againſt the State of *Geneva*; upon which the generous Queen reliev'd them with large Sums of Mony, gather'd amongſt the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

Foreign Affairs.

As moſt Places began to be at reſt before the Death of the mighty Queen, ſo *Ireland* this Year was brought to a perfect Peace by the final Submiſſion of the Arch-Rebel *Tyrone*; who being haunted with an evil Conſcience, and ſuſpicious of his own Party, wrote ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen and the Lord-Deputy, and gave ſuch Marks of true Repentance, that the Queen order'd the Lord-Deputy to receive him into Mercy, provided he would beg it upon his Knees with that Humility he promis'd in his Letters. Upon notice of this welcome News *Tyrone* repair'd to the Court at *Dublin*, and being admitted into the Preſence-Chamber, where the Lord-Deputy ſate in his Chair of State, with great Numbers about him, he fell on his Knees at the very Entrance, and then advancing nearer with a dejected Countenance, ſaid, *I acknowledge my Sin againſt God, and my Offence againſt my moſt gracious Queen*

A. D. 1603. Reg. 45.

Tyrone *ſubmits.*

Queen and Soveraign, to whoſe Royal Clemency, as to a ſacred Anchor I fly, offering up my Life and Eſtate to her Diſpoſal; and as I have felt her former Bounty and preſent Power, ſo now I humbly beg that I may taſte of her Mercy, and be made an eternal Example of her Princely Clemency. My Age is not ſo far ſpent, my Body ſo feeble, nor my Mind ſo broken, but that by my valiant and faithful Service, I may yet expiate the Sin of my Rebellion. Thus ended the famous *Tyrone*'s Rebellion by the auſpicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord-Deputy *Montjoy*, about eight Years after it firſt began: Which was continu'd ſo long, by the too great Slight and Covetouſneſs of the *Engliſh*, who were unwilling to grant proportionable Supplies; and was protracted by unſeaſonable Emulations, diſſembled Truces, difficult Acceſſes in the Country, and by the Temper of the *Iriſh*, who truſted more to the Celerity of their Feet, then the Strength of their Hands.

And now all Things being in Peace at home, and in a good Proſpect with *Spain* abroad, after the mighty Queen had acted the nobleſt Parts in the Theatre of the World, ſhe who had hitherto enjoy'd a continu'd State of Health, now became ſenſible of the Infirmities of old Age, by a general Weakneſs and Indiſpoſition that had lately ſeiz'd upon her. Therefore ſhe remov'd from *Weſtminſter* to her Palace at *Richmond*, which ſhe call'd her Warm Box where ſhe could beſt truſt her diſtemper'd old Body, and where ſhe could more freely attend the Service of God, and the Salvation of her Soul. And here commanding her Inauguration Ring to be fil'd off her Finger, as being grown into the Fleſh and painful, it was by all thought an unfortunate Omen, and that the Marriage between her and her dear People was near a Diſſolution. Her Sickneſs began with a Swelling in her Throat, but that ſoon abated; and then by Degrees her Appetite fail'd, and ſhe had no Reliſh for any thing ſhe taſted. She much deſpis'd the Counſels of Phyſicians, declaring, *She was ſatiated with this preſent Life, and deſir'd to be tranſlated to a State of Immortality, and to eſcape out of this dark and diſorder'd State of human Affairs: That Death, ſo abhorr'd by many, was only the Payment of a Debt to Nature; and that our Spirits were of Right to be reſtor'd to God from whom they came.* Thus her Body by ſlow Degrees conſum'd away, and ſhe became very lean, weak and faint; and her Mind ſeem'd more afflicted than her Body, being Night and Day diſturb'd with an uneaſie Remembrance of the late executed Earl of *Eſſex*, as likewiſe with her too great Compliance with *Tyrone*, whom ſhe had in ſome meaſure rewarded for his Treaſons and Perjuries. Her Sorrows were daily increas'd, and render'd more inſupportable by the melancholy Humour which then abounded in her Blood, and from a juſt Indignation to find her ſelf neglected by ſome who were too ready to worſhip a riſing Sun; yet ſtill ſhe bore her laſt Sickneſs with a wonderful Conſtancy and noble Patience of Mind. And now the Lord-Admiral informing the reſt of the Privy-Council, what the Queen had ſometime ſaid to him concerning the Succeſſion, they all thought fit that he, with the Lord-Keeper and Secretary of State, ſhould wait upon her Majeſty, and in the Name of all of them underſtand her Pleaſure concerning her Succeſſor. The Queen made Anſwer with a weak Voice, but ſound Mind, *I ſaid that my Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that I would have no mean Perſon ſucceed me.* The Secretary asking her the plain Meaning of theſe Words, ſhe ſaid, *I will that a King ſucceed me; and who ſhould that be, but my neareſt Kinſman the King of* Scotland? When ſhe had ſaid this, and recommended her Name and Memory to her Nobility, ſhe caſt off all Thoughts of this Life, and wholly betook her ſelf to Acts of Piety and Devotion; keeping the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* near her, with whom ſhe often pray'd with great Zeal and Fervency. When that pious Prelate adviſ'd her to place all her Truſt in the Merits of Chriſt, ſhe anſwer'd with a gaſping Breath, *That ſhe was weary of this miſerable Life, ſubject to*

The Queen's laſt Sickneſs.

She nominates King James for her Succeſſor.

ſo many Calamities and Dangers; that from her Soul ſhe begg'd to paſs to that eternal Light which flow'd with moſt perfect Felicity; and was haſtning to her Heavenly Kingdom, to the Preſence, and into the holy Arms of her good Saviour. Then turning a little, and laying her Head upon her right Arm, ſhe compos'd her ſelf for her Diſſolution, with a quiet Mind and calm Countenance; and when the Arch-Biſhop deſir'd her to keep her Thoughts upon God, ſhe juſt anſwer'd, *I do, nor does my Mind wander from him.* The laſt Moments of her Life were of the ſame Nature; for it appear'd by the Motions of her Hands and Eyes, that they were ſpent in the moſt ſublime Devotions and Mental Prayer. Thus gradually expiring, on the twenty fourth of *March*, near Mid-Night, ſhe peaceably reſign'd her pious Soul to God, after a long and incomparable Reign of forty four Years, four Months, and ſix Days, in the ſeventieth Year of her Age, to which Age no King of *England* but one ever arriv'd. *Her Death.*

Thus dy'd the renown'd Virgin Queen, cover'd with all the Glories of this World, and nobly qualify'd for thoſe of the next; having had all the Virtues and Accompliſhments of her mighty Father, and ſcarce any of his Vices and Imperfections; only ſhe was in ſome Caſes a little too parſimonious, and a little too liable to Paſſion and the Love of Flattery. The News of her Death immediately fill'd the Court, the City and the whole Nation with ſuch Floods of Tears, and produc'd ſuch Marks of inexpreſſible Sorrow, as were never known before; and in Reality no Princes ſince the Creation had ever more ſincerely the Hearts of their Subjects, than this illuſtrious Queen. We have before given the Character of her Perſon, and mention'd her Qualifications; all which are ſtill more compleatly learnt from the Hiſtory of her Reign; which if the Goodneſs and Excellency of it may be meaſur'd by the great Happineſs of the People, may juſtly be eſteem'd the moſt glorious yet extant in our Annals. The Wiſdom, the Grandeur, and the Fame of it, have been largely celebrated and diſplay'd by the nobleſt Pens both at home and abroad. At *Rome*, where ſhe was both hated and excommunicated, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* us'd to ſpeak with the greateſt Honour of her Government; and profanely wiſh'd he might enjoy her but one Night, that he might beget a ſecond *Alexander* the Great. Her Court was as compleat an Academy of honourable Counſellors, illuſtrious Peers, gallant Courtiers, learned Profeſſors, and profound Politicians, as ever attended any Chriſtian Prince: And as her great Stateſmen reflected new Luſtre upon her own Wiſdom and Underſtanding, in making ſo worthy a Choice; ſo ſhe never was ſo happy in her Choice, as when ſhe govern'd by her own Judgment without the Advice of others. Having ſurmounted the chiefeſt Difficulties in Church and State, one of her great Obſervations was *That the People of* England *were more governable in Times of War, than in Times of Peace.* Tho' ſhe never thirſted after any unjuſt Inlargement of her Dominions, yet the great Affairs of *Europe* principally depended upon her Directions; while ſitting at the Helm of all, ſhe arbitrated and guided their Eſtates both in Peace and War. *Spain* endeavouring to overflow all, was driven back, and ſcarce able to maintain its own Banks. In *France*, the Houſe of *Valois* was happily ſupported by her Counſels, that of *Bourbon* advanc'd by her Countenance, Forces and Treaſure; *Scotland* reliev'd by her Love, the *Netherlands* by her Power, *Portugal*'s King by her Bounty, and *Poland* by her Commiſeration: Likewiſe *Germany*, *Denmark* and *Swedeland*, often took up and laid down Arms at her Pleaſure and Diſpoſal. Nor could the utmoſt Bounds of *Europe*, *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, limit the Extent of her great Fame; but it ſpread further into the more remote Parts of *Aſia*, *Africa* and *America*, among the *Turks*, the *Perſians*, *Barbarians* and *Indians*. In moſt of whoſe Dominions, to the great Inriching of her Kingdom, ſhe ſetled Commerce, and gain'd large Privileges for the Encouragement of her Merchants, whom ſhe cheriſh'd as a moſt neceſſary and important Part of her Common-wealth. *Her Character and Reign.*

*

Not-

The Blemiſhes in the Government.

Notwithſtanding all the various Excellencies of this Reign, and the admirable Virtues and Qualifications of the Queen her ſelf, we ought not to diſmiſs her Character, without taking Notice of the real Spots and Blemiſhes of the Government, both as to Church and State. The Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation has been juſtly accounted one of the greateſt Glories of this Reign, and what procur'd the Bleſſings of Heaven upon it for ſo many Years: Yet in the ſame Parliament, the Queen conſented to ſeveral unjuſtifiable Incroachments upon the Lands and Revenues of the Church, for which it ſuffers to this Day, tho' ſome have been lately glorioufly reſtor'd; not to mention ſeveral other bold Attempts in this Reign. The other Blemiſh is the myſterious Proceedings in the *Scotch* Affairs, and ſtrange Treatment of the Queen of *Scotland*; but this is candidly interpreted to be more her great Misfortune, than her real Fault; as the other is thought by ſome to have been occaſion'd more by her Ignorance in that very Caſe, and from the Neceſſities of that infirm Juncture of Affairs; tho' ſome Alienations of the Church Revenues cannot be excus'd. Beſides theſe, ſeveral Scandals have been charg'd upon her by ſome implacable and malignant Pens; which, being as much beneath the Dignity of Hiſtory, as they are ſhort of Probability, are better omitted, than recited. But if we ſet aſide the forementioned Particulars, and conſider the whole Reign in general, we find it the moſt ſurpriſing and amazing Thing in the World, that all that is great and glorious ſhould be manag'd, and the chief Affairs of *Europe* ſhould move and be directed by a Woman's Nod. This for a whole hundred Years has been a continu'd Subject of Admiration, 'till the new Wonders of our preſent Age began to eclipſe all the Glories of former Times; and, to our unexpreſſible Joy, have nobly convinc'd us, That as the greateſt Magnanimity is agreeable to the ſweeteſt Diſpoſitions, ſo no Attempt can be too Extenſive, nor no Enterprize too Great for the Female Sex. ✝

The End of the Third Book.

Hiſtory

History of England.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of King JAMES *the First.*

Containing twenty two Years, and three Days.

Sped. Spotswood. Wilson. Baker. An. Camd &c.

I. HItherto we have treated of the Monarchy of *England* it self, and with the different Acceſſions of *Ireland* and *Wales*; but now we are arriv'd at a new State of Affairs, and a more remarkable Addition to the *Engliſh* Empire, namely, the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was happily join'd in the Perſon, and under the Subjection of *James Stuart* the preſent King of *Scotland*. And conſidering the vaſt Effuſion of Blood, and immenſe Sums of Mony, that for ſeveral Ages had been waſted and expended between the two contending Nations, nothing could be judg'd more fortunate and propitious, than this long deſir'd Conjunction, and nothing could ſooner alleviate and extinguiſh the Remembrance of the wonderful Felicities of the laſt Reign. So that all People began ſoon to dry up their Tears, and to caſt their Eyes towards the bright Northern Star, which was now to guide and influence the whole Iſland. Therefore immediately upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Lords of the Council gave full Satisfaction to the People in proclaiming *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, by the Name of *James* the Firſt, King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. to the great Joy of all true *Engliſhmen*, as well for his unqueſtionable Claim, as his Profeſſion of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, as alſo for his ſingular Learning and Experience, with which he was qualify'd for the Management of ſo great an Empire; having now attain'd to the Age of thirty ſix Years and nine Months, and exercis'd in the Practice of Regal Government from the firſt

A. D. 1603. Reg. 1.

King James *proclaim'd.*

Years of his Infancy. His Title was good beyond all Diſpute, being deſcended from the united Families of *Lancaſter* and *York*, King *Henry* the Seventh, and Queen *Elizabeth* his Wife; whoſe Iſſue by the Male failing in the laſt deceas'd Queen *Elizabeth*, the Iſſue of *Margaret* their eldeſt Daughter was the next Heir, which Lady marry'd to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, and by him had *James* the Fifth, whoſe only Daughter Queen *Mary* was Mother to this preſent Monarch.

Notice given to him in Scotland.

The firſt News of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death was brought to him by Sir *Robert Cary*, a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunſdon*, who coming without Order, and the greateſt Expedition, was afterwards rewarded with a Barony of the Realm. But tho' this was ſufficient for the King's Information, yet it was not ſufficient for the Lords of the Council, in Diſcharge of their Duty; therefore as ſoon as they could provide proper Perſons, they ſent Sir *Charles Piercy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerſet*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a Man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to inform him of the general Applauſe and Satisfaction of the Nation, and of the preſent State and Condition of the Realm, that he might not be altogether a Stranger at his Arrival. Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him a great and flouriſhing Kingdom, without Incumbrance, rich and free; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; a Kingdom furniſh'd with all the Fruits of Peace, Plenty of all Things neceſſary, and the chief of all Neceſſaries, a wiſe Council: For ſhe left Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord-Chancellor, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt* Lord-Treaſurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord-Admiral, and Sir *Robert Cecil* principal Secretary of State; four ſuch Men, as the meaneſt of them were fit to ſit at the Helm of any Kingdom in *Europe*. All theſe the new King by his Letters kept in their Stations, and afterwards added ſome others of his own chuſing; as the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one the Brother and the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had ſuffer'd ſo much for the Queen his Mother. But tho' the advancing of theſe two laſt, was probably done out of Favour to that Family; yet, one of them being a known, and the other a reputed Papiſt, it was immediately apprehended as a Favour to the whole Party; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his good Inclinations to them in general. And in reality it was convenient they ſhould at this Time have ſuch kind of Imaginations; for more than once in the late Reign *Brieves* had been tranſmitted from *Rome* to the Catholicks in *England*, to admit of none to ſucceed in the Kingdom, *When that miſerable Woman ſhould die, but ſuch a Perſon, of whoſe good Inclinations to the See of* Rome, *they ſhould at leaſt be well perſuaded.* Whatever this Prince's Inclinations and Actions were then and afterwards, this is certain that no King of *England* ever came to the Throne with greater Love and Reputation than himſelf.

He leaves Scotland.

King *James* having ſetled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and made Preparations to take Poſſeſſion of a greater Kingdom, on the fifth of *April*, with a noble Attendance of Lords and others, he ſet forwards from *Edinburgh*, and on the ſeventh arriv'd at *Berwick*, and the ninth at *New-Caſtle*, where he ſtaid three Days, and heard the Biſhop of *Durham* preach on *Sunday*; and the Inhabitants were ſo tranſported with his Arrival and Preſence, that during his Stay they bore all the Charge of his Houſhold. On the thirteenth of *April* he ſet forwards to *Durham*, from thence the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, and the fifteenth towards the City of *York*, where his Train increas'd to ſuch a Multitude, that he was neceſſitated to publiſh an Inhibition to prevent too great a Concourſe. As he was in all Places receiv'd with Royal Entertainment and rich Preſents, ſo he carry'd himſelf with great Affability, and with much Freedom diſtributed his Favours, in moſt Places diſcharging all Priſoners that were not confin'd for Treaſon or Murther; and ſo great was the Obſequiouſneſs and Applauſes of all Men, that a rough *Scotchman* openly ſaid, *This*

His Progreſs.

People

People would ſpoil a good King. After three Days ſtay at *York*, where the Earl of *Cumberland* was declar'd the King's Sword-bearer in that Place, his Majeſty went to Sir *Edward Stanhope*'s Houſe at *Grimſton*, from thence to *Pontfract*, and ſo to *Doncaſter*, and on the twenty firſt Day arriv'd at *Newark* upon *Trent*; where a Cut-purſe being taken in the Fact, was by the King's Warrant alone hang'd, without any formal Trial, which afterwards gave ſome Occaſion for Reflection. On the twenty ſecond, hunting all the Way, he arriv'd at *Beavoir* Caſtle, and the twenty third at *Burleigh* Houſe near *Stamford*, where he tarry'd two or three Days with great Satisfaction. On the twenty ſeventh he remov'd to *Hinchinbrook* by *Huntington*, a Houſe of Sir *Oliver Cromwell*'s, where he was ſolemnly met by the Heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and as he paſs'd through *Godmancheſter*, the Bailiffs of the Town preſented him with ſeventy Team of Horſe all trac'd to fair new Ploughs, declaring to his Majeſty, That it was the ancient Cuſtom ſo to do when any King of *England* paſs'd through their Town, and by which they held their Lands, as Tenants to the King. At *Royſton* he firſt lodg'd at his own Charge; and from thence went to Sir *Thomas Sadler*'s Houſe at *Standon*, where he ſtaid on *Sunday*, and heard the Biſhop of *London* preach. On the ſecond of *May* he remov'd to *Broſbourn*, a Houſe of Sir *Henry Cook*'s, Coferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where he was met by the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Admiral, and divers other Lords of the Kingdom. The next Day he arriv'd at *Theobalds*, a Houſe belonging to Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had accompany'd him from *York*; where all the Lords of the Privy-Council preſented themſelves, and there the Lord-Keeper made a ſolemn Oration. On *Saturday* the ſeventh of *May* he rod towards *London*, being met on the Road by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, who by their Orator Sir *Richard Martin*, made him an eloquent Speech; and thus the King arriv'd with a glorious Train at the *Charter-Houſe*, near *Smith-field*, a Place belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he ſtaid four Days. In his whole Journey, which laſted above a Month, he made many Diſtributions of Honour: At *Theobalds* he made ſeveral Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy-Council, as the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume*, Sir *James Elphingſton*, the Lord of *Kingloſs*, and immediately after the Lords *Zouch* and *Burgley*. After that he made Sir *George Hume* Earl of *Dunbarre*, Sir *Thomas Ereskin* Earl of *Kelley*, Sir *John Ramſey* Earl of *Holderneſs*, Sir *James Hay* Earl of *Carliſle*, and Sir *Richard Preſton* Earl of *Kildare*. As to Knights, he made great Numbers of both Nations, particularly twenty eight at *Theobalds*, about eighty at the *Charter-Houſe*, and a hundred not many Days after, and ſtill far greater Numbers before the Year was out, ſo that many admir'd what Occaſion the King could have for ſo many *Milites* in the Time of Peace: Yet it was thought fit to give a free Courſe to the Paſſage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign had been ſo ſtopp'd, that few Counties of *England* had Knights enough to make a Jury. On the ſeventeenth of *May* he made fourteen new Serjeants at Law, and on the twentieth, four new *Engliſh* Lords, namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Eſindon*, Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurſt*, Sir *William Knolls* Baron of *Greys*, and Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*; and ſhortly after, the Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, Earl of *Dorſet*.

His arrival at London.

New Advancements.

Tho' King *James* was now ſafely arriv'd at *London*, yet he accounted himſelf but half ſetled, 'till his Queen and Children were alſo with him; therefore there were now appointed many Lords and Ladies to conduct them into *England*: Of Lords, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*: Of Ladies, the Counteſs of *Worceſter*, the Counteſs of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to the Earl of *Pembrook*, the Lord *Scroop*'s Lady, the Lady *Rich*,

The Queen and Family sent for out of Scotland.

Wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walſingham*, one of the late Queen's Bed-Chamber. But tho' theſe were only appointed by Name, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went voluntarily to attend their new Queen; as the Counteſs of *Bedford*, the Lady *Haſtings*, the Lady *Cecil*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harington*, and ſeveral others: And with this glorious Attendance the Queen, with two of her Children, Prince *Henry* nine Years of Age, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *York* on the eleventh of *June*. Where reſting themſelves a few Days, on the twenty ſeventh of the ſame Month they came to *Eaton* in *Northamptonſhire*, a Houſe belonging to Sir *George Fermor*, where the King himſelf met them at Dinner; and afterwards they rod together to a Houſe of Sir *John Forteſcue*, and ſo to the City of *London*. The King's younger Son, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, did not come at this Time, as being not three Years of Age, and therefore thought not able to endure ſuch a Journey; but the following Year, falling ſick of a Feaver, Doctor *Atkins*, one of the King's Phyſicians, was ſent to take Care of him, who in ſix Weeks cur'd him of his Diſtemper; and in *October* brought him ſafe to *Windſor*, where the King then reſided; for which Service he met with great Rewards, and no leſs advantageous Practice.

Ambaſſadors from Foreign Princes.

The King had by this Time found the Love and Affection of his own People, but the Inclinations of the neighbouring Princes towards him was at preſent in Suſpence; 'till about the Beginning of *June*, there came firſt an Ambaſſador from the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; ſhortly after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*; then another from the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*; another from the King of *Spain*; a Fifth from the State of *Venice*; another from the Duke of *Tuſcany*, and laſtly *Monſieur de Roſny* from the King of *France*; all congratulating his happy Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*. For the more ſolemn Reception of which Ambaſſadors, and all others for the future, the King inſtituted a new Officer by the Name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*, allowing him two hundred Pounds a Year Fee; and the firſt that had this Place was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*, a Gentleman who beſides other Accompliſhments, was very skilful in the neighbouring Languages. All this while the King mov'd within his own Sphere, and had tranſacted nothing out of the Nation: But now in the Month of *June* he ſent the Earl of *Rutland* Ambaſſador to his Brother-in-Law the King of *Denmark*, upon two Occaſions; the one was to offer himſelf to be God-Father to his Son, who was nam'd *Chriſtianus*, and the other was to preſent him with the honourable Order of the Garter: Upon the like Imployment, he ſhortly after ſent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtenberg*; both which Lords ſaw the ſaid Princes inveſted with the Garter, and after ſolemn Entertainments return'd home.

In *England*, it was probably conceiv'd that all Offences againſt Queen *Elizabeth* had been forgotten; but King *James*, more ſenſible of Wrongs done to her than himſelf, would not ſuffer *Valentine Thomas* ſo to eſcape; who after he had lain many Years Priſoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of *June* arraign'd at the King's Bench-Bar; and for Conſpiring againſt the late Queen and ſome of her Council, was on the ſeventh of *June*, after ſix a Clock at Night, drawn to Sir. *Thomas Watrings*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. About this Time the honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy* return'd out of *Ireland*, and brought with him the famous Rebel *Hugh O-Neal*, Earl of *Tyrone*; at whoſe Arrival the Lord *Montjoy* was ſworn of the King's Privy-Council; and *Tyrone* himſelf, who had been the Cauſe of ſuch an Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood, was notwithſtanding pardon'd, and Proclamation made, that he ſhould be treated by all Men with Reſpect and Honour. The Lord *Montjoy*, as a Reward for his good Services, was created Earl of *Devonſhire*; and thus having given Way to new Creations, they ſoon after broke in like a Deluge upon the Nation; the King being an inexhauſtible Fountain of Honour, which might ſerve for all Kinds of Rewards and Purpoſes.

Tyrone *pardoned.*

While all Men enjoy'd the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, ſuddenly, like a Storm in a fair Day, there broke out a Conſpiracy of a ſtrange Compoſition; for as moſt Treaſons are compos'd of Men of one particular Faction, in this there were Perſons of all ſorts, Prieſts and Lay-Men, Papiſts and Proteſtants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen: So that ſeveral would have thought it to have been a deep laid Conſpiracy; but it prov'd ſo ſhallow, that it could ſcarce be obſerv'd what the Authors of it deſign'd, or what they would have effected. It ſeems the great Favour King *James* had ſhown to the Earl of *Southampton*, who nearly eſcap'd when the Earl of *Eſſex* ſuffer'd, prov'd highly diſobliging to all his Oppoſers; and it was ſaid, that as the King had ſent to enlarge the Earl of *Southampton*, and appointed him to meet him upon the Way, ſo when he heard that his two chief Oppoſites, the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were likewiſe deſign'd to meet him, he ſent them word, *That they might ſave themſelves that Labour*. However it was, they found ſome Cauſe for a fatal Diſcontent, which hurry'd them into the Company and Society of ſome who had more real Deſigns againſt the Government than themſelves. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guards, which was given to a *Scotch* Lord, to his great Diſguſt; and not long after parting, with his Siſter at *London*, he recommended himſelf to her Prayers, ſaying, *That he was going whence he thought never to return*; which ſhe underſtood of ſome Combate he had undertaken, and diſcovering it to her Neighbours, the Words were carry'd to Court, where they receiv'd a different Conſtruction. Upon this and other Accidents ſeveral were apprehended, as *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, *George Brook* his Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* Knighs, *Bartholomew Brookesby*, and *Anthony Copley*, Gentlemen, *William Watſon* and *William Clark Romiſh* Prieſts. Tho' they were apprehended in *July*, yet they came not to their Trials 'till *November* following; for by reaſon of a Peſtilence then raging in *London*, the Term was deferr'd, and order'd to be kept at *Wincheſter*; only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* were kept at the King's Mannor at *Richmond*.

Reg. 1.

A ſtrange Conſpiracy.

Sir Walter Raleigh *diſguſted.*

In the mean Time his Majeſty held a ſolemn Feaſt at *Windſor*, where Prince *Henry* was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter, as alſo the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. After which Preparations were made for the King's Coronation, which was preceeded by a new Stream of Creations and Honours. Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Lord Chancellor, was made Baron of *Elſmere*; Sir *William Ruſſel*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Gray*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantſey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerrard Bromley* in *Staffordſhire*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After which the King conferr'd inferior Orders, and made Knights of all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, and all his Gentlemen Uſhers, with ſeveral others: And laſtly he made ſixty two Knights of the Bath, moſt of Noblemen's Sons, and the reſt Gentlemen of ſpecial Worth. Theſe Things compleated, on the twenty fifth Day of *July*, being the Feaſt of St. *James*, the King and Queen were both ſolemnly crown'd and anointed at *Weſtminſter*, by the Hands of *John Witgift*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Preſence of the Nobility and others, namely Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen his Brethren, and twelve principal Citizens admitted to attend on them. All other Citizens were ſtopp'd from paſſing either by Land or Water by Reaſon of the Plague; and on the firſt of *Auguſt* following all Suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court 'till the Winter following. And indeed the Sickneſs rag'd ſo much, that in the City of *London* this Year there dy'd above thirty thouſand of that Diſtemper.

New Advancements.

The King's Coronation.

On

The Trial of the Conſpirators.

On the fourth of *November*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the reſt of the Delinquents formerly mention'd, were remov'd from the Tower by ſtrong Guards, and arraign'd at *Wincheſter*. Their Indictment lay for conſpiring to kill the King, to raiſe Rebellion, to alter Religion, to ſubvert the State, and to procure a Foreign Invaſion. Concerning the firſt Point it was prov'd, That the Lord *Grey* deſign'd to obtain the levying of two thouſand Men, for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and with them to ſeize upon the King and Prince, and ſecure the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Particulars, it was prov'd or alledg'd, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* met at St. *Martins* in the Fields, and there conſulted about moving Sedition, raiſing Rebellion, altering Religion, ſubverting the State, and ſetting up the Lady *Arbella Stuart*. And for the particular Point of ſubverting the State, it was prov'd, That *Watſon* the Prieſt was deſign'd to be Lord-Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord-Treaſurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Secretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Maſter of the Horſe, and Earl-Marſhal of *England*. And for the effecting of theſe Treaſons, it was prov'd, That *Watſon* had drawn up particular Oaths in Writing, by which all Parties were bound to Secrecy. Then for the laſt Point, it was urg'd, That Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for a large Sum of Mony, and the Lord *Cobham* to apply himſelf to the Arch-Duke and King of *Spain*, to induce them to aſſiſt the the Lady *Arbella*. Theſe Particulars being largely alledg'd againſt them on the ſeveral Days of their Indictments, what was chiefly reply'd in Mitigation of their Crimes was, firſt, *That theſe Things could not be Treaſon, becauſe the King was not yet crown'd*; and ſecondly, *That the whole was but a verbal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore it could not be Treaſon*. But theſe Aſſertions being both refuted by the Court, they were all, but Sir *Edward Parham*, found guilty of High-Treaſon, and Sentence paſs'd upon them.

They are condemn'd.

In Purſuance of this Sentence, the two Prieſts, *Watſon* and *Clerk*, were executed at *Wincheſter* on the twenty ninth Day of *November*; and *George Brook* was beheaded on the fifth of *December*; but then the Hand of Juſtice was ſtopp'd, and the King was pleas'd to ſhew Mercy after this peculiar Manner. After the Death of the three laſt nam'd Delinquents, he ſign'd three other Warrants for the Execution of the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, upon a prefix'd Day; but before that Day he privately ſign'd another Paper, written with his own Hand, and directed to the Sheriff, by which he countermanded the former Warrants. And that this gracious Deſign might be manag'd with Secrecy, and produce an agreeable Surprize, he ſent the Paper by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a *Scotch* Man, and one utterly unknown to all in Office upon this Occaſion, appointing him to deliver it in ſuch a Manner, that it might not take Effect, 'till after their ſeveral Confeſſions, and at the very Point of their Execution; all which was exactly perform'd. At which Moment it was remarkable to ſee how the Offenders upon their Knees lamented and deteſted their Crimes, and moſt of all applauded and extoll'd the King's uncommon Tenderneſs and Commiſeration. But tho' they were thus pardon'd, yet they were carry'd back to the Tower; where the Lord *Grey* not long after dy'd, which extinguiſh'd that Barony and Family which had formerly poduc'd many valiant and worthy Men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after ſome Time was ſet at Liberty, and retired beyond Sea, where he liv'd long after in a very mean Condition. The Lord *Cobham* likewiſe was afterwards diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment, but depriv'd of his Eſtate, living many Years in great Penury and Miſery; and in his Perſon ended that noble Family, which had flouriſh'd in great Hour for many Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was detain'd ſeveral Years in the Tower, where with great Reputation he ſpent his Time in Writing one of the nobleſt Hiſtories in the World; and might have continu'd a happy Man, had he never been releas'd.

Some are ſpar'd.

As

As ſome have thought this whole Conſpiracy, as well as that of the *Gowries* in *Scotland*, to have been only a State Trick to weaken a Party, ſo moſt are of Opinion that the Part of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, ſo great a Man and a Proteſtant, was all Riddle and Myſtery. *Weldon*, if he may be credited, has ventur'd to unfold this, and tells us, That the greateſt Evidence againſt *Raleigh* was *Cobham*'s Accuſation, whom he only deſir'd might appear *Viva Voce*, and he would yield without further Defence; but his Enemies knowing that *Cobham* neither would nor could accuſe him, they made uſe of *Wade*, the Lieutenant of the Tower and *Cecil*'s great Confident, to perſuade him to Sign a Paper of Accuſation againſt him. This being refus'd, at laſt *Wade* prevail'd upon *Cobham*'s Weakneſs to ſet his Hand to a blank Paper, over which *Wade* wrote the Accuſation. *Cecil* therefore upon *Raleigh*'s Trial, often asked him if he would confeſs, provided *Cobham* accus'd him under his Hand? *Raleigh* reply'd, *That he knew* Cobham *a weak Man, and knew not how far he might be inſnar'd; but was confident he would not accuſe him to his Face, and therefore he had no Reaſon to venture his Life upon it.* On this Defence he inſiſted 'till nine at Night; at laſt his Fate carry'd him againſt his Reaſon, and he conſented that upon producing of *Cobham*'s Hand he would yield, when immediately that Paper was produc'd, which was really his Hand, but the Contents the Contrivance of *Wade*. Afterwards the Queen falling into a deſperate Sickneſs, which the Phyſicians thought incurable, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being an excellent Chymiſt and Maſter of all Kinds of Learning, undertook and perform'd the Cure; for which he would receive no other Reward, but that his Majeſty would ſend certain Lords to the Tower to examine the Lord *Cobham*, *Whether he had at any Time under his Hand accus'd him of Treaſon.* Whereupon the King ſent ſix Lords, who were Enemies to *Raleigh*, to make Enquiry into this puzling Affair. *Cobham* proteſted, *That he never did or could accuſe Sir* Walter, *but acknowledg'd that he was by a Slight prevail'd upon to ſet his Hand to a Blank-Paper, but never knew what the Contents of it were to be.* The ſix Lords returning to the King, made one of them their Spokeſman, who ſaid, *Sir, my Lord* Cobham *has confirm'd all that ever he wrote or ſaid*; which was a horrid Equivocation, for 'tis true, he made good whatever he wrote, but he wrote nothing to accuſe Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Thus was the King abus'd, according to *Weldon*'s Account, and Sir *Walter* much more; who by that Means was afterwards brought to entire Ruin.

The Caſe of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Spotſwood Speed. Wilſon. Baker. An. Camd &c.

II. The King being now happily and peaceably eſtabliſh'd in his Throne; like a Wiſe and Pious Prince, proceeded to conſider the State of the true Religion in his Kingdom. He found a great Difference ariſing between the Epiſcopal Party, and thoſe call'd by the Name of *Puritans*, and both active in attaining their Ends, and that ſeveral Petitions were exhibited to him for the Reformation of Abuſes in the Church; therefore at the Importunity of both Parties he appointed a ſolemn Conference at *Hampton-Court*, to be held by ſome Biſhops, Deans and Doctors, together with ſome of the moſt grave and modeſt among the Complainers. The Biſhops were thoſe of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Worceſter*, St. *Davids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliſle* and *Peterborough*; the Deans were thoſe of the Chappel, *Chriſt-Church*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Paul*'s, *Cheſter* and *Windſor*, together with Doctor *Field* and Doctor *King*. For the Petitioners were Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Spark*, Mr. *Knewſtubb*, and Mr. *Chatterton*. All theſe being call'd into the Privy-Chamber, his Majeſty ſpoke to this Effect; *That following the Example of all Chriſtian Princes, who uſually began their Reigns with the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, he had now, at his Entering upon the Throne, aſſembled them, for ſetling an uniform Order in the ſame, for planting Unity, removing Diſſentions, and reforming Abuſes, which were naturally incident to all Politick Bodies. And that he might not be miſapprehended, and his Deſigns in aſſembling them miſconſtrued, he*

A. D. 1604. Reg. 2.

The Conference at Hampton-Court.

The King's Speech.

he declar'd that his Meaning was not to make any Innovation of the Government eſtabliſh'd, which he knew was approv'd of God, but to hear and examine the Complaints that were made, and remove the Occaſion of them; therefore he deſir'd the Petitioners to begin, and ſhew what were their Grievances.

The Complaints of thoſe call'd Puritants.

Doctor *Reynolds* with the other three, falling upon their Knees, after a ſhort Preamble, reduc'd the Matters in Queſtion into two Heads; ſome he ſaid concern'd the Doctrine of the Church, and others the Government. Concerning the Doctrine, that in the Books of Articles, ſome Things were obſcure, and ſome Things defective, which they deſir'd to be ſupply'd and explain'd, of which he nam'd ſome Particulars; which being a while diſcuſs'd and debated, and the Doctor profeſſing he had receiv'd Satisfaction, the King ſaid, *That if theſe were their greateſt Grievances, ſuch Importunity needed not to be us'd to him, and that a more private Courſe had been better.* Then proceeding to ſpeak of the Government of the Church, they complain'd of the Want and Scarcity of ſufficient Miniſters in every Pariſh, of the Subſcription urg'd to the Common-Prayer Book, the Cenſures inflicted by Lay-Chancellors, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, and ſome other Circumſtantials. After about three Hours Debates, they were all commanded to meet again in the ſame Place ſome few Days after, at which Time they were to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning theſe Matters.

They ſeem ſatisfy'd.

At the appointed Day, which was the eighteenth of *January*, the Biſhops, Deans and Doctors of the Arches being call'd firſt, the Arch-Biſhop preſented certain Notes of Explanation of the Liturgy, which the King had recommended to the Biſhop's Care. Accordingly the King queſtion'd them concerning the Exerciſe of the High-Commiſſion, the Oath *Ex Officio*, the Cenſure of Excommunication, and the Matter of Subſcription; and when they had anſwer'd to all Points to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, Doctor *Reynolds* and the others were deſir'd to appear in the Chamber, and the aforeſaid Explanations read to them, with which likewiſe they profeſs'd to be ſatisfy'd and content. The King upon this expreſſing a great Satisfaction with what had paſs'd among them, ſeriouſly exhorted them to the Preſervation of Unity, and the Biſhops to treat their Inferiors with all Lenity, and uſe the mildeſt Methods for reclaiming thoſe who were of a contrary Opinion; warning the others alſo to beware of Obſtinacy in their Opinions, and Diſobedience to the Orders of the Church. *Obedience and Humility*, added he, *are the Marks of good and honeſt Men, ſuch as I believe you to be; but I fear many of your Sort are humorous, and too buſie in perverting of others. The Exceptions againſt the Common-Prayer Book, as I perceive, are Matters of meer Weakneſs, and they who are diſcreet will be gain'd by Time and gentle Perſuaſions; and if they be indiſcreet, it is better to remove them, than the Church ſhould ſuffer by their Contentions. For the Biſhops I will anſwer, That it is not their Deſign immediately to enforce Obedience, but by Fatherly Admonitions and Conferences to gain thoſe that are diſaffected; but if any be of an obſtinate and turbulent Spirit, I will have them inforc'd to a Conformity. Neither tell me, That the wearing of a Surplice, or uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm, can diminiſh the Credit of Miniſters that were formerly of another Opinion; for that is the* Scotch *Argument, when any thing was concluded not agreeing with their Humours, the only Reaſon for their Diſobedience is*, that it ſtands not with their Credit to yield, having been ſo long of a contrary Opinion. *I will have none of that, but that a Time be limited by the Biſhops of every Dioceſe, and ſuch as will not ſubmit, whoever they are, let them be remov'd; for we muſt not prefer the Credit of a few private Men to the general Peace of the Church.* Throughout all this remarkable Conference, in every Point that was mov'd, or came to be diſcuſs'd, the King ſhew'd ſuch a Knowledge and Readineſs, as rais'd no ſmall Admiration in all the Hearers. The Lord-Chancellor *Egerton* being ſurpriz'd to ſee him ſo expeditious and perfect in all Kinds of Divinity, ſaid, *That he*

The King's Wiſdom.

had often heard and read, that a King was a mixt Perſon with a Prieſt, *but never found it verify'd 'till that Day.* And Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*, a moſt learned and pious Man, went further, and ſaid, *He was verily perſuaded that the King ſpoke by the Spirit of God.* This great Man, who had the higheſt Concern for the Church, finding the King inclinable after this to make ſome Alterations, is ſaid to have dy'd of Grief on the twenty ninth of *February*. He was ſucceeded in his See by *Richard Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, but not with the ſame Spirit; for what *Whitgift* ſtrove to effect with Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs, *Bancroft* proſecuted with Rigour and Severity, to the great Weakning of the Church, as many have rationally believ'd.

Beſides the main Fruit of this famous Conference, the uniform Settlement of the Church, ſeveral other important Matters were at the ſame Time projected, and by his Majeſty's provident Care had then their Conception, tho' after Times brought them to Perfection. The firſt was his ſacred Order for a new Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures, according to the Originals, as alſo for an uniform Reading of them in all Churches. To which pious End, three ſelect Companies from *London* and the two Univerſities, moſt skilful in Languages, being imploy'd, after long Conference, much Reading, and diligent comparing of former Tranſlations, it was publiſh'd in due Time, and to this Day continues in Uſe. The King's ſecond Project was, that as in *England*, ſo alſo in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the Northern Parts, the ſame Religion might be fully planted and eſtabliſh'd. Which purpoſe he ſo zealouſly proſecuted, eſpecially for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that he held it not ſufficient to join theſe two Crowns into one temporal Monarchy, unleſs he ſaw them united in the Rites and Government of one Spiritual Hierarchy. Nor was his Wiſdom leſs conſpicuous than his Zeal, in making ſo happy a Choice of ſuch *Engliſh* Divines, as not long after were ſent for this Deſign into *Scotland*. The chief of whom was Doctor *George Abbot* afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Labours, as *Speed* aſſures us, were a Document to others, how admirably ſucceſsful is true Learning, where it is guided by true Prudence, and Piety to God is join'd with Charity to Men. But notwithſtanding all the King's Care, the Jeſuits being in hopes to catch ſomething by troubling the Stream, flock'd into *England* in great Numbers; and the King perceiving that their near Approaches put his Perſon and Religion into Danger, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, commanding all Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart out of the Kingdom, and if any of them ſhould preſume to return again, they ſhould be proſecuted according to Law. This ſomewhat allay'd the Heats and Hopes of the Jeſuits, and their Correſpondents; but it made Way for more dark and ſecret Conſpiracies, which they afterwards put in practice. Another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion according to Law, and to reduce thoſe who had not receiv'd Satisfaction at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; for now it became a doubtful Queſtion among many, whether the Jeſuits or the Nonconformiſts were greateſt Enemies to the Church of *England*. The Conſequences of this were found to be afterwards, that of the ten thouſand Miniſters in *England*, not above forty nine ſtood out and were depriv'd. After this there came out many other Proclamations, againſt Monopolies, Salt-Petre Men, Purveyors, Cart-Takers, and other inſolent Officers that were grievous to the Subject.

A new Tranſlation of the Bible.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts.

And for Uniformity.

The King's firſt appearing abroad was privately, to viſit ſome of his Houſes, for naturally he did not love to be gaz'd on; and thoſe Formalities of State which ſet a Luſtre upon Princes in the Peoples Eye, were but ſo many Burthens to him: For his private Recreations at home, and his Hunting Exerciſes abroad, were his greateſt Delight, when he met with the leaſt Company. Continuing in the Tower, in order to paſs through the City in State, he took great Pleaſure in baiting of Lions; and the firſt Parliament being to meet on the nineteenth Day of *March*, he with his Queen and Prince *Henry*, four Days before, rod from the Tower to *Whitehall*, having his Eyes entertain'd with

The King rides through London in State.

the Pageants and Splendor of the City, and his Ears fill'd with the Compliments and Applauſes of the People. But he was not like his Predeceſſor, Queen *Elizabeth*, who with a well-pleas'd Affection met her Peoples Acclamations, thinking moſt highly of her ſelf when ſhe was born upon the Wings of their humble Supplications. He endur'd this Day's Fatigue with Patience, and that of his Triumphal Riding to the Parliament, as not expecting to meet with the like again; but afterwards in his publick Appearances, eſpecially in his Sports, the Acceſſes of the People render'd him ſo impatient, that he often diſpers'd them with Frowns, and ſometimes with Curſes: So various and noted are the Natures and Actions of Princes, that the ſame Perſon may paſs for a good Man, that will not be accounted a good Prince.

The firſt Parliament in this Reign.

At the Opening of the Parliament, the King was pleas'd to entertain them with a very long and extraordinary Speech, containing great Variety both as to the Matter and Method; in which he interweav'd the Rights and Duties of the Monarchy, with the Privileges of the Subject, ſo that all Men thought it worthy of Commendation. In ſpeaking of the Prerogative he declar'd, *That the Difference between a rightful King and an uſurping Tyrant was this; that the Latter thought his Kingdom and People were ordain'd for the Satisfaction of his Deſires and unreaſonable Appetites; while the Former, on the contrary, acknowledg'd himſelf to be ordain'd for procuring the Wealth and Proſperity of his People, and that in theſe conſiſted his principal worldly Felicity.* And a little after he ſaid, *That as the Head is ordain'd for the Body, and not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelf to be ordain'd for his People, and not his People for him.* Theſe and many other Paſſages gave a general Satisfaction, but ſome Things he ſaid concerning Religion was not ſo univerſally receiv'd: For the *Romaniſts* were uneaſie at his ſaying, *They were unſufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintain'd the Pope to be their ſpiritual Head, and to have Power to dethrone Kings.* On the other ſide the Separatiſts were offended at his acknowledging *The* Roman *Church to be our Mother Church, tho' defil'd with ſome Infirmities and Corruptions*, and his declaring, *That if the Papiſts would lay aſide King-killing, and ſome other groſs Errors, he would be content to meet them half Way, ſo that all Novelties might be renounc'd on either Side.* So that every one grounded his Hopes, or his Fears, upon the Shallows of his own Fancy, not exactly knowing what Courſe the King would ſteer. But in general the Parliament applauding the King, and admiring his Abilities, made a Recognition of his Right to the Crown of *England*, to which they oblig'd themſelves, their Heirs and Poſterity; ſo that the King as it were triumph'd upon a Throne of the Peoples Love and Duty.

The King's Speech.

A Recognition of the King's Title.

An Union attempted between England *and* Scotland.

One of the great Deſigns of the King was to have an intire Union made between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; accordingly the Parliament paſs'd an Act to Authorize certain Commiſſioners, namely fourteen of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and above double the Number of Commoners to manage and effect that laudable End. Theſe Commiſſioners, any eight of the Lords and twenty of the Commons, had Power to aſſemble, meet, treat and conſult with certain ſelect Commiſſioners to be nominated and authoriz'd by the Parliament in *Scotland*, concerning ſuch Matters and Cauſes, as they in their Wiſdoms ſhould think convenient and neceſſary, for the Honour of the King, and the common Good of both Nations. In order to promote this great Work, the King caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*, and the Names of *England* and *Scotland* to be diſcontinu'd; the *Scotch* Coins were made current, and the *Engliſh* Ships had St. *George*'s and St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes quarter'd together in their Flags. But all theſe Deſigns had not their deſir'd Effects, as appear'd afterwards; but ſtill many wiſe and good Laws paſs'd in this Parliament, too numerous to be recited in this Place. Only we ought not to omit mentioning the King's Religious Care of the Church, which, to the almoſt only

Blemiſh

Blemiſh to the laſt Reign, was much endanger'd and threaten'd by the ſeveral Alienations of its Lands and Revenues, which were often granted to ſuch as had leaſt Right to them. To prevent the like Miſchiefs, it was Enacted, 'That neither Arch-Biſhop, nor Biſhops ſhould alienate, aſſure, give, grant, 'demiſe, or in any ſort convey, no not to the King himſelf, his Heirs or Suc-'ceſſors, any of the Honours, Caſtles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Here-'ditaments, being Parcel of the Poſſeſſion of his Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſho-'prick; and if any ſo were made, to be utterly void and of none Effect, not-'withſtanding any former Law, Statute, Act or Ordinance to the contrary. *The Churches Lands ſecur'd.*

Beſides this laudable Care, the Clergy in Convocation, by the King's Directions and Authority, did many Things to the Honour and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, and made many excellent Canons, which are in Force to this Day, and are the laſt that had a full and legal Sanction. The Parliament having ſate almoſt three Months, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons made a long Speech anſwerable to that made before by the King, after which it was on the ſeventh Day of *July* prorogu'd to the ſeventh of *February* following. *The Parliament prorogu'd.*

In Relation to Foreign Affairs, King *James* had hitherto been conſider'd in two Capacities, one as King of *Scotland*, in which he was in perfect Amity with the *Spaniard*, and the other as King of *England*, which caus'd him to be at Enmity with that Monarch; but he as *Rex pacificus* choſe the beſt from both, and ſtood altogether for the Olive-Branch. Therefore when at his firſt Arrival in *England*, he found Letters of Repriſal granted againſt the *Spaniards*, he firſt caus'd them all to be call'd in, and then conſented to a Treaty of laſting Peace and Amity. In which Treaty, negotiated at *London*, the Commiſſioners for the King of *England* were the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Nottingham*, *Devonſhire*, and *Northampton*, and Secretary *Cecil* lately made Viſcount *Cranburn*; for the King of *Spain* were the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, the Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius* Profeſſor of Law; and for the Arch-Duke were the Count *de Aremberg*, *Richardot* Preſident of the Privy-Council, and *Werreikin* principal Secretary. By theſe a Peace was concluded, conſiſting of many Articles, which were ſaid to be very advantageous to the *Spaniard*, and in a great Meaſure purchas'd by the Gifts of the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, which were ſo rich and numerous, that there was not one Courtier of Note who did not taſte of *Spain*'s Bounty either in Gold or Jewels; and we are told that *Audley-End*, and other magnificent Structures had their Foundation from *Spaniſh* Gold. The Treaty being finiſh'd, the King of *Spain*, beſides the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, ſent *la Syerra* his Great Chamberlain, accompany'd with ſeveral Marqueſſes, Earls and Barons, who arriving in *England* with great Pomp, were by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, brought to Court; where the King in his Chappel, and in the Preſence of the Commiſſioners and other *Engliſh* Lords, while the Conſtable held the King's Hands between his own, took his Oath upon the Holy Bible, religiouſly to obſerve and keep all the Articles agreed upon in the ſaid League and Treaty. *A Treaty of Peace concluded between* England *and* Spain.

In *March* following, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Admiral of *England*, was ſent into *Spain*, in like manner to take the Oath of the *Spaniſh* King; who accompany'd with three Lords, many Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the Number of ſix hundred and fifty, on the fifteenth of *April* arriv'd at the *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted three hundred Miles to *Valledolid*, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, being entertain'd in all Places at that King's Charge, with ſuch extraordinary Proviſions and Demonſtrations of Joy, as plainly manifeſted the great Satisfaction the *Spaniards* had in the *Engliſh* Amity. Indeed they were aſtoniſh'd at the Splendor of the Embaſſie, and the Beauty of the Gentlemen that made up the Retinue: For the Jeſuits had reported that the *Engliſh* had all the Ugglineſs of Hell, as a Puniſhment for their Apoſtacy from *Rome*; but when they beheld the Looks of Angels, they with Indignation reſented the Impoſtors of their Confeſſors. The Lord Ambaſſador being arriv'd at A. D. 1605. Reg. 3. *An Embaſſie into* Spain.

at Court, he caus'd *Thomas Knolls* to deliver the Preſents ſent from the King of *England*, which were ſix ſtately Horſes, with Saddles and Trappings richly imbroider'd, three for the King, and three for the Queen; two Croſs-Bows, with five Sheafs of Arrows; four Fowling-Pieces, inlaid with rich Plates of Gold, and a Couple of Lyme-Hounds of ſingular Excellencies; all which the King and Queen very kindly receiv'd. On the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Ambaſſador being deſir'd to appear, the King came forth into a large Room; where having a Table ſet before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo* read the Oath, while the Lord Ambaſſador held the King's Hands between his own, and the King kneeling down, laid his Hands upon the Book, and after his Oath ſubſcrib'd the Articles formerly concluded. While the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus imploy'd in *Spain*, *Edward* Earl of *Hartford* was likewiſe ſent to *Albertus* and *Iſabella*, Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, to take their Oaths, for Confirmation of the ſaid Articles of Peace; which were taken at *Bruſſels* the firſt Day of *May*, with extraordinary State and Solemnity. After which, as the Earl beſtow'd on the Arch-Duke's Servants, to the Sum of three thouſand Pounds, ſo the Arch-Duke at his Departure preſented the Earl with a Jewel worth nine hundred Pounds, and a Suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his Charges all the Time of his Stay at *Bruſſels*. Thus was King *James* truly ſtil'd *Rex Pacificus*, being now in full Peace and Amity with all the Princes of Chriſtendom; a Happineſs which few of his Anceſtors ever enjoy'd; which continu'd Peace, as ſome have thought it the Glory, ſo others have accounted it the great Unhappineſs of his whole Reign. Before the full Concluſion of it, the ſtrong Town of *Oſtend*, after above three Years Siege, and the Deaths of above a hundred and twenty thouſand Men on both Sides, was taken by the Marqueſs *Spinola*, for which he was highly honour'd by the King of *Spain*.

Another into Flanders.

Oſtend *taken by the* Spaniards.

In theſe peaceable Times, the munificent King open'd new Fountains of Honour, beginning firſt with his ſecond Son *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, then but four Years of Age, who with unuſual Pomp and Solemnity was created Duke of *York*. Afterwards keeping St. *George*'s Feaſt at *Greenwich*, the King there made two Knights of the *Garter*, namely Duke *Ulrick* Heir of *Norway*, and Brother to the preſent Queen *Anne*, and the noble Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*. A few Days after, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, richly hang'd with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viſcount, and four Barons; namely Secretary *Cecil*, and Viſcount *Cranburn*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, and his eldeſt Brother, Earl of *Exeter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Montgomery*; *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penſhurſt* and Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, Viſcount *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Lord *Stanhope* of *Harrington*; Sir *George Carew*, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonſhire*, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh*, Lord *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*. Not long after, on the fifteenth of *June*, a notorious *Scotchman* call'd *Thomas Dowglaſs* was committed to the Tower, being ſent into *England* three Days before by the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. His Offence was, that he had counterfeited the King's Privy-Seal to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*; one to the Arch-Biſhop of *Coloign*, another to the Arch-Biſhop of *Triers*, another to the Duke of *Cleves*, another to the Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. Of all which, being examin'd and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and their hang'd and quarter'd. On the twenty ſeventh of *Auguſt*, the King with his Queen made a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Oxford*; where their Entertainment was ſuitable to the Dignity of their Perſons, and the Honour of ſo noble and auguſt a Body.

Several new Promotions.

Dowglaſs *executed.*

III. Whilſt

Speed. Spotswood Baker. Wilson. Rot. Parl. &c.

III. Whilſt all Things appear'd in a moſt happy and peaceable Condition, no Storms abroad, no Troubles at home, there was ſuddenly detected a horrible Conſpiracy againſt the King, and the whole Body of the State of *England*; of ſuch a prodigious and infernal Nature, as no Age or Hiſtory can parrallel; proceeding from a reſtleſs Spirit of Envy, and an implacable Zeal inflam'd againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion and Religion. This had its Riſe and Foundation in the latter End of the laſt Reign, when Pope *Clement* the Eighth publiſh'd his bold *Breves* in *England*, to exclude the King of *Scotland* from the Succeſſion; but all Endeavours failing then, and in the Beginning of this Reign, new and unheard of Attempts were now put in practice to ſupport a deſperate Cauſe. The principal Contriver of this black Conſpiracy was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of great Account in *Northamptonſhire*, deſcended from that famous *Catesby*, who had been chief Counſellor to King *Richard* the Third; to whoſe Family the Divine Vengeance had now ordain'd a diſaſtrous Period: This raſh Gentleman, not able to perform the Work alone, drew in many to aſſiſt him, as *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Graunt*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Francis Treſham*, *Guido Fawks*, and at laſt Sir *Everard Digby*, all zealous Papiſts and Promoters of the Catholick Cauſe. Five of theſe meeting together behind St. *Clement*'s Church, and conſulting by what Methods they might retrieve their declining Cauſe, *Piercy* immediately propos'd the killing of the King, and offer'd to perform it at the hazard of his own Life: But *Catesby*, who had a much deeper Contrivance in his Thoughts, reply'd, *That if he ſhould ſucceed, the Catholick Cauſe would be no better, while the Prince and Duke of* York *were alive; and if they were remov'd, ſtill the Counſellors, Nobility, Judges, Knights, and many others would remain, ſufficient to croſs all their Purpoſes: Therefore he had thought of a ſafer and more effectual Way, which was at one Time and with one ſignal Blow to cut off all their Enemies; by blowing up the Parliament-Houſe with Gun-powder, at the very Moment the King and the Eſtates of the Realm were aſſembled.* This was approv'd on by all, as a noble and extraordinary Project; but firſt it was thought proper to ask the Opinion of their Ghoſtly Fathers, and be inform'd of the Lawfulneſs of the Fact, from *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwold Teſmond*, and *John Gerard* Jeſuits; who being conſulted applauded the Enterprize, aſſuring them, *They might proceed with a good Conſcience and perform the Deed, ſince the Deſign was againſt Hereticks and Excommunicated Perſons.*

A. D. 1605. Reg. 3.

The Beginning of the Powder-Plot.

The Parties concern'd.

Their grand Deſign.

Having gain'd this Point, and being ſatisfy'd in their Conſciences, for their greater Security, they proceeded to take an Oath of Secrecy, ſwearing to each other, *By the ſacred Trinity and the bleſſed Sacrament, which they were then going to receive, that neither directly nor indirectly, by Words or Circumſtances, they would diſcover the Purpoſe they had taken to any whomſoever, nor would deſiſt from performing the ſame, without leave from their Aſſociates.* The Oath was adminiſter'd in the Preſence of *Gerard* the Jeſuit; and having heard Maſs, and receiv'd the Sacrament, *Piercy* was appointed to hire a Houſe cloſe adjoining to the Upper Houſe of Parliament, for the more ſafe and ſecret Working of their Mine deſign'd for the Powder. This being obtain'd, and *Guy Fawks* aſſuming the Name of *John Johnſon* Servant to Mr. *Piercy*, about *Chriſtmaſs*, in the Year 1604, they began their Work with no ſmall Labour and Difficulty, in digging through a vaſt thick Wall; and had ſeveral Intermiſſions, by reaſon of the Prorogation of the Parliament from the ſeventh of *February* to the third of *October*, and laſtly to the fifth of *November*. About *Candlemaſs* they had almoſt wrought their Mine through the Wall, when ſuddenly they heard a Noiſe in the next Room, which threw them into a great Conſternation, for fear of a Diſcovery; but ſending *Guy Fawks* to find out the Occaſion, he brought advice, that it was a Cellar where Sea-Coals had been laid, which were now under Sale, and the Room offer'd to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room

Their Oath of Secrecy.

Room being directly under the Parliament-House, and most proper for their Purpose, was immediately hir'd by Mr. *Piercy*; who brought thirty six Barrels of Gun-Powder from *Lambeth*, and placing them in this Cellar, cover'd them over with great Quantities of Sea-Coal, Billets and Faggots.

They find a Cellar for their Purpose.

The first Part of the Plot being brought to so hopeful an Issue, it now remain'd to consider what was to be effected, when the fatal Blow should be given: For tho' the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Elizabeth* would still be safe, and consequently their main End endanger'd if not defeated. Therefore *Piercy*, by reason of his Acquaintance in the House, undertook to secure the Duke of *York*; and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a Match of Hunting near to *Dunchurch*, where under Colour of Sport they might draw Company together, and secure her at the Lord *Harrington*'s House in *Warwickshire*, where she then resided. The next Doubt they propos'd was where to procure Mony and Horses; for which *Digby* made offer of fifteen hundred Pounds, *Tresham* of two hundred, and *Piercy* promis'd to bring all he could gather from *Northumberland* Rents, which he thought would amount to four thousand Pounds, and to provide ten Horses for his Share; not doubting, when having the Heir Apparent in their Hands, but they should find Means for their Purpose. A third Question propos'd, was what Lords they should save from going to the Parliament; which they agreed to be as many Catholicks as they could prevent with Conveniency. Next it was mov'd amongst them, what Foreign Princes should be acquainted with their Designs, and whose Aid they should seek: In which it was agreed, That none of them should be made Privy to the Conspiracy, as fearing they could not obtain their Secrecy; but for Aid after the Work perform'd, they might have Time to apply themselves to *France*, *Spain* or *Flanders*. Lastly they resolv'd to make the best Use of the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to proclaim her Queen: To which purpose they had a Proclamation form'd, in which no mention was made of altering Religion, because they wanted sufficient Forces; and 'till they could sufficiently strengthen their Party, they would not acknowledge the Fact to be theirs, but use their Endeavours to charge it upon the Puritans.

Their several Resolutions.

Thus far the monstrous Design was carry'd on with a promising Aspect to all the Conspirators; and now all Dangers being foreseen, and all Engines provided against the fifth Day of the next *November*, there remain'd nothing but the Performance of the last Act of the intended Tragedy. But of a sudden the infernal Secret, cover'd with all the Clowds of Darkness, and secur'd by all the Fences of Human Policy, was brought to Light after a wonderful Manner. The Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his Lodgings at seven at Night, was surpriz'd with a Letter given him by one of his Footmen, who receiv'd it in the Street from an unknown Person, with a strict Charge to put it into his Master's Hand. The Letter was this: My Lord, *Out of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have regard to your Preservation; therefore would advise you, as you tender your Life, to invent some Excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament: For God and Man have concur'd to punish the Wickedness of this Time. Think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety: For tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible Blow in this Parliament, and shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemn'd, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm; for the Danger is pass'd as soon as you have burnt the Letter: And I hope God will give you the Grace to make good Use of it, to whose holy Protection I commit you.* It was only ten Days before the Parliament that this Letter was receiv'd, and but twelve Hours before their Meeting that the Plot was really discover'd; in which it seems wonderful, that when so many were concern'd in it, it should remain conceal'd for almost the Space of a Year. Some Advices were indeed sent to the King, and several of

The Plot first discover'd by a Letter.

the Council from beyond Sea, 'That the Papiſts were preparing a Petition for 'a Toleration for Religion at the Meeting of the Parliament, *which ſhould be 'be ſo well back'd, that the King would be loath to refuſe it*; but theſe were only look'd upon as little Deſigns to put the King in Fear of a weak Party. And this Lord, when he receiv'd the Letter, ſtill doubted that it was only ſome private Artifice to deter him from attending the Parliament; but yet out of a Tenderneſs to the King's Preſervation, he reſolv'd to communicate it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, the principal Secretary; and going the ſame Night to *Whitehall*, he deliver'd the Letter to him. The Secretary acquainted the Lord-Chamberlain, the Admiral, and ſome others of the Council with it; and examining every Line of it, reſolv'd to ſhew it to the King at his Return from his Hunting at *Royſton*, and not to ſearch further 'till they ſhould hear his Opinion.

Which is communicated to the Council.

The King returning to *London* on the laſt of *October*, the Letter was ſhown him the next Day; and having carefully read and conſider'd it, he ſaid, *It was not to be contemn'd, for the Stile ſeem'd more quick and nervous than that of Libels, Paſquils, and the like.* The Secretary perceiving the King to apprehend the Matter more deeply than he expected, told him, *That the Letter ſeem'd to have proceeded from Folly or Madneſs*; and pointing to that Paſſage, 'The Danger is paſs'd as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter, he ſaid, *The Warning would be of no Uſe, if the Burning of the Letter would remove the Danger.* But the King deſir'd him to conſider the former Sentence, where it was ſaid, 'They ſhould receive a terrible Blow in the Parliament, and not ſee 'who hurt them, and when he ſhould join that with the other, he ſhould find it to be a *ſudden Danger* there meant, ſuch as Blowing up by Powder. Therefore he order'd all the Rooms about the Parliament-Houſe to be ſearch'd, both above and below, to prevent all future Dangers; which Buſineſs, belonging to the Chamberlain, was purpoſely deferr'd 'till the Afternoon before the firſt Seſſion of Parliament. At which Time the Chamberlain taking with him the Lord *Monteagle*, who was highly deſirous to ſee the Event, went and view'd all the Rooms, where he perceiv'd in the Vault under the Upper Houſe a great Quantity of Faggots, Billets and Coals; and demanding of *Whinyard*, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what Uſe he had put thoſe Cellars, he anſwer'd, *That Mr.* Piercy *had hired the Houſe and Cellar, and the Wood and Coals were the Gentleman's Fuel for Winter.* The Chamberlain caſting his Eye aſide, and eſpying a ſuſpicious Man in the Corner of the Vault, tranſiently ask'd who he was, and was anſwer'd, *He was Mr.* Piercy's *Man, who kept the Houſe for his Maſter.* Thus having view'd all Places after a ſeeming careleſs Manner, he return'd and made report of all to the King, which increas'd his Majeſty's firſt Apprehenſions; who thereupon gave order for turning up the Wood and Coals to the very Bottom; and if nothing were found, it was agreed that *Whinyard* ſhould pretend the Stealing of ſome of the King's Furniture in his Keeping, which might give Colour to the Search. Accordingly Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and a Juſtice of the Peace for *Weſtminſter*, was appointed for this Buſineſs; who going thither with ſome few in Company about Midnight, found a Man ſtanding at the Entrance of the Vault in a Cloak and Boots, which he immediately apprehended. Then entering the Place, by overturning the Billets and Coals, they ſoon found the Serpents Neſt, ſtor'd with thirty ſix Barrels of Gun-Powder; and ſearching the Villain who ſhould have brooded theſe Eggs, they found about him a Dark-Lanthorn, three Matches, and other Contrivances to have given Fire to the Train at an exact Juncture of Time. This was *Guido Fawks*, who paſs'd for *Piercy*'s Man, and was ſo far from relenting, that he declar'd with an Oath, *That if he had been found within the Houſe, he would have blown up himſelf and them together.* Sir *Thomas* ſecuring the Man, immediately repair'd to the Palace, and ſhew'd the Chamberlain and Secretary how he had ſucceeded; who making themſelves ready, with what Counſellors they could get, went all together

The King's Opinion of it.

A Search made.

All Things are diſcover'd.

ther to his Majesty's Bed-Chamber. The King being awak'd, the Chamberlain, not able to conceal his Joy, cry'd aloud, *The Treason was discover'd, and the Traitor in their Hands* ! Then the Council were order'd to examine the Prisoner concerning his Accomplices; but he, nothing dejected or mov'd with so honourable a Presence, boldly avow'd the Fact, and was only sorry that he had fail'd in the Execution, declaring, *That the Devil, and not God had betray'd his good Design.* All that Day he would discover no one Associate, but took all the Blame upon himself, professing he had done it for Religion and Conscience Sake; and speaking of the King, he deny'd him to be his Soveraign, in regard he was a Heretick; and therefore it was no Sin to destroy him. This was his Behaviour for a while; but being convey'd to the Tower, and the Rack presented, he laid open the whole Substance of the Conspiracy, and confess'd the whole Truth.

Fawks Confesses all.

In the Time of this strange Discovery, *Catesby*, *Piercy*, *Winter*, *Tresham*, and the younger *Wright*, were lodg'd in the City; who hearing that all was discover'd, hasten'd into the Country, appointing to meet at *Duncburch* in *Warwickshire*, where *Digby* resided. *John Graunt*, with some Confederate Recusants, had the same Night broke open a Stable of one *Bourch*, a Manager of large Horses, and took away seven or eight belonging to certain Noblemen in the Country; for he concluded the Conspiracy had taken effect, and was preparing to surprize the Princess *Elizabeth*, whose Residence was not far from the Place. But within a very short Time, *Piercy* and others that were fled from *London*, assuring them of a total Miscarriage, they desperately resolv'd upon a publick Rebellion, and pretending the Cause of Religion, endeavour'd to draw some Companies together; yet when they had gather'd all their Forces, they could not produce a hundred Men. In the mean Time Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, hearing of *Graunt*'s Outrage, and supposing it the Beginning of a Rebellion, sent Advice to the neighbouring Towns, and warn'd them to be upon their Guard. The Sheriff of the County likewise calling the People to Arms, pursu'd these desperate People from Shire to Shire; and Sir *Richard Walsh*, the Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, having found where they had taken Harbour, sent a Trumpet and Messenger, commanding them in his Majesty's Name to surrender, and promising to intercede for their Lives. But they, finding their Crimes to be unpardonable, return'd Answer, *That the Sheriff must have more powerful Assistance than he had brought, before he could command or compel them.* The Sheriff, provok'd by their insulting Answer, prepar'd to attack the House; and while they made their Defence, it happen'd that a Spark of Fire falling among some Powder they were drying, blew up the House, which so scorch'd their Faces and Bodies, that losing their Courage, they open'd the Gate, and expos'd themselves to the Fury of the People. *Catesby*, *Piercy* and Sir *Thomas Winter* joining Backs, and resolving to die rather than be taken, the two first were kill'd with one Shot, and the other after some Wounds was made Prisoner: The two *Wrights* were also kill'd, but *Rookwood*, *Graunt*, *Digby* and *Bates* were taken and secur'd. *Tresham* had staid at *London*, and changing his Lodgings, thought to have met an Opportunity of escaping by Sea, but was at last discover'd; as likewise was *Robert Winter*, with one *Littleton*, who with all the rest were committed to the Tower of *London*. Upon Examination, *Thomas Winter* ingenuously confess'd the whole Conspiracy, writing down the Particulars with his own Hand, and acknowledging the Offence to be greater than could be forgiven. *Digby* extenuated the Crime by the Despair to which they were driven, having Hopes from the King at his Accession to the Crown, That the Catholicks should have a free Toleration of Religion, which being deny'd they had ventur'd upon these impious Attempts. *Tresham* in his Confession nam'd *Garnet* the Jesuit as privy to the Conspiracy; but afterwards by his Wife's Instigation deny'd it, declaring he had injur'd him, and had not seen him for sixteen Years; yet

The Conspirators are taken.

Garnet being apprehended after his Death, confeſs'd that they had met ſeveral Times within the laſt half Year.

The ſecond Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament.

In the mean Time the King met his Parliament upon *Saturday* the ninth of *November*, and made a long and remarkable Speech to the publick Eſtates; in which having aggravated the Danger by many Circumſtances, and as much magnify'd the Mercies of God in the Diſcovery, when he mention'd the Trial and Puniſhment of the Offenders, he was obſerv'd to retain an excellent Temper in his Diſcourſe, wiſhing that no innocent Perſon, either domeſtick or foreign, ſhould thereby receive any Hurt: *For*, added he, *however the blind Superſtition of their Errors in Religion has been the only Motive in this deſperate Attempt, it muſt not be thought that all who profeſs the* Roman *Religion are guilty of the ſame: For as it is true, that no other* Sect, *or* Hereſie, *not excepting* Turk, Jew, *or* Pagan, *or thoſe* that worſhip the Devil, *did ever maintain by the Grounds of their Religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murther Princes or People upon the account of that; yet it is true on the other Side, that many honeſt Men, blinded perhaps with ſome Opinions of* Popery, *as if they be not ſound in the* Real Preſence, *the Number of the* Sacraments, *and ſome ſuch School-Queſtions, do either not know, or not believe at leaſt, all the true Grounds of* Popery, *which is indeed the* Myſtery of Iniquity. *And therefore we juſtly confeſs that many* Papiſts, *eſpecially our Fore-Fathers, laying their only Truſt upon Chriſt and his Merits, may be ſav'd; deteſting in that Point, and thinking that Cruelty of* Puritans *worthy of Fire that will allow no Salvation to any Papiſts.* And then concluding that Part of his Diſcourſe he declar'd, *As on the one Part many honeſt Men, ſeduc'd with ſome Errors of* Popery, *may yet remain good and faithful Subjects; ſo on the other Part, none of thoſe who truly know and believe the whole Grounds of* Popery, *can prove either good Chriſtians or faithful Subjects.* Having finiſh'd his Speech, without further Buſineſs he prorogu'd the Parliament to the twenty firſt Day of *January* next.

The King's Speech.

A. D. 1606. Reg. 4.

The King's Management and Wiſdom in this Affair was highly applauded, and univerſal Rejoicings appear'd among the People; inſomuch, that the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke made Bonfires, and threw Mony among the People in Token of their great Satisfaction. And on the fourth of *January* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador deliver'd a Preſent to his Majeſty from the King his Maſter, conſiſting of ſix Jennets of *Andaluſia*, with Saddles moſt richly imbroider'd, and Trappings of fine Cloath of Tiſſue. This was a Preſent ſent before any Knowledge had of the Powder-Plot; but as ſoon as this was known, there was immediately another Preſent ſent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, purpoſely to congratulate the King's happy Deliverance from the execrable Treaſon, and brought by Don *John de Mendoſa*, which was a curious Robe of Murry Sattin, twice imbroider'd about every Seam and Skirt with Gold; the fore Part of which was ſet with forty eight Tags three Inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and fill'd with Amber-Greeſe: Alſo two large Chains of Gold, two rich Carkanets, a Velvet Cap with Gold Buttons, finely enamel'd, and a Girdle ſuitable to the Buttons; all which were preſented together in a capacious Veſſel of Gold, in Form of a Baſon: So that it ſeems none more rejoic'd for the Overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick Cauſe, than the Catholick King himſelf. And now King *James* was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the firſt Diſcoverer of this Conſpiracy; for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, two hundred Pounds a Year in Fee-Farm Rents, and five hundred Pounds a Year beſides, during his Life, as a Reward for his good Service.

Congratulations and Preſents from Spain.

The third Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

On the twenty firſt Day of *January* the Parliament again met according to the Prorogation; and ſix Days after a Commiſſion was directed to ſeveral Lords and Judges of both Benches, for the Trial of the ſeveral Conſpirators, namely, Sir *Everard Digby* Knight, *John Graunt*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, and *Robert Winter*,

Winter, Eſquires, *Thomas Winter*, *Robert Keys*, *Thomas Bades*, and *Guido Fawks*, Gentlemen or Yeomen. Theſe were all fairly convicted and condemn'd to die; and on the *Thurſday* following Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Graunt* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*; and on the next Day, the other four, *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood* and *Fawks*, were after the ſame manner executed in the Parliament Yard at *Weſtminſter*. Of all whom, none was ſo much lamented as Sir *Everard Digby*, and not without Cauſe; for he was a noble Perſonage, and of excellent Parts, and had it ſeems been ſubtilly drawn in, and bound to Secrecy by Oath, when he leaſt imagin'd ſuch a Treaſon. Not long after, *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, was arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, for concealing and promoting the aforeſaid Treaſon, where he was condemn'd to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; and accordingly on the third Day of *May*, he was drawn from the Tower to the Weſt-End of St. *Paul*'s Church, and there executed. At his Death he acknowledg'd his Crime, begg'd Forgiveneſs, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any Treaſon againſt the King or State, as a Method to which God would never give Succeſs. Beſides thoſe who ſuffer'd Death, ſome others were brought into Danger and Trouble; particularly *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, who were brought from the Tower to the Star-Chamber; where tho' they were not charg'd with any direct Point of Treaſon, yet were obliquely accus'd of neglecting to appear at the Parliament, according to the Summons; for which Neglect alone, without any further Charge, the former was fin'd ten thouſand Marks, and the latter ſix thouſand, and both to be Priſoners during the King's Pleaſure. But the Burthen fell heavier upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, who after them being brought to the Star-Chamber, was more directly charg'd with Circumſtances concerning the Treaſon, eſpecially with Regard to *Thomas Piercy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen Penſioners, without adminiſtring to him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recuſant; for which he was puniſh'd with a thirty thouſand Pound Fine, Forfeiture of all his Offices, and Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure.

The Puniſhment of the Conſpirators.

The People in a Conſternation.

While the Parliament was ſitting, and all Men in a pleaſing State of Security, the publick Satisfaction was ſtrangely diſturb'd by a ſudden Rumour and Outcry at Court, That the King was ſtabb'd with an invenom'd Knife at *Oking*, twenty Miles from *London*. Upon which the Court-Gates were immediately ſhut, and double Guards ſet in all Places about the City, and all Mens Minds were infinitely confounded and diſtracted: But within two Hours all theſe Clouds were diſpers'd, and a new Sun-ſhine appear'd, when it was unqueſtionably known, that the King was ſafe, and in perfect Health: For which a Proclamation was immediately iſſu'd out to ſignifie the ſame to the People; and that Afternoon the King came himſelf to *Whitehall*, where innumerable Multitudes, tranſported with Joy, came flocking to ſee him. And ſo general was the Triumph, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, a valuable Chain of Gold for bringing him the News. Tho' afterwards, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, it was thought by ſome, that this Rumour was politickly invented to cauſe the Parliament and People to be more tender of the King's Safety; and by making them more ſenſible what a Treaſure they enjoy'd by his Life, they might more willingly part with their Treaſure for his well-living. However it was happy for the King, for the Parliament did every Thing that might oblige his Majeſty, and gave him three intire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths; beſides four Subſidies of four Shillings in the Pound, granted him by the Clergy of the Realm in Convocation. The Parliament likewiſe made many material Laws for the Diſcovery and Suppreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants; and they attainted the Blood of thoſe Traitors that were executed, as alſo thoſe who were ſlain in the Field, or dy'd in the Priſon. And to compleat all, 'With Hearts full of Affection for God's great Deliverance of

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'the whole Kingdom from Ruin and Deſolation, they made a ſpecial Act to have 'the fifth Day of *November* for ever ſolemniz'd with publick Thankſgivings: 'Imputing the Diſcovery of the Treaſon to God, inſpiring the King with a 'divine Spirit to interpret ſome dark Phraſes in the Letter, above and beyond 'all ordinary Conſtruction. When this and many other Acts had paſs'd the Royal Aſſent, on the twenty ſeventh of *May* the Parliament was prorogu'd to the eighteenth of *November*.

The fifth of November *made a Holy-Day.*

And here happily ended that famous Conſpiracy, call'd the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, the Blackneſs of which hath been ever ſince annually diſplaid by the moſt eloquent Tongues and Pens in the Kingdom; which *Thuanus* calls ſuch a *Monſter of Conſpiracies* as no Age or Country did ever produce; in which the King, Queen, the Royal Family, Nobility, Prelates, Judges, Knights and Gentry, and in effect the whole Body of the Kingdom, were to be exterminated; ſo that it might be well call'd a Wickedneſs beyond Expreſſion, as well as Excuſe. Yet ſo different are the Notions or Intereſts of Mankind, that *Garnet* and the reſt of the Traitors executed for this Plot, were afterwards reputed and pronounc'd Martyrs for the Catholick Cauſe by the College of Jeſuits in *Rome*.

Baker. Wilſon. Spotſwood. Osborn. Rot. Parl. &c.

IV. This laſt threatning Storm was ſucceeded by a Calm of ſeveral Years, without any violent Agitations, or many memorable Actions; in which Pleaſures, Entertainments and Expences, took their ſeveral Turns in Court, City and Country. All which were introduc'd by the Arrival of *Chriſtianus* King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, who having been long expected, with eight Ships enter'd the River *Thames*, and anchor'd before *Grave's-End*, being met the next Day by King *James* with Prince *Henry*, and ſeveral of the Lords in Barges, who formally conducted him to *London*, where he ſtaid above three Weeks. In which Time he was entertain'd with all the Magnificence that could be invented, the King and he riding in great State through the City, where ſtately Pageants were erected in many Places; and after he had been ſhown all the chief Buildings and Rarities of the City, had been feaſted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four Days together at *Theobalds*, and had ſeen Tilting, Fencing, Wreſtling, and many other Exerciſes, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, and many great Lords, he took Shipping, and in eight Days arriv'd ſafe in *Denmark*: A peculiar Happineſs when Princes can converſe together like private Perſons, and are not kept aſunder by Jealouſies of State. After the King of *Denmark*'s Departure, on the twenty third of *September* there arriv'd in *London*, *Francis* Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompany'd with ſeven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of Quality, and a hundred and twenty others; who all went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where for fourteen Days together they were feſtead, and royally entertain'd, and then return'd home.

A. D. 1606. Reg. 4.

The Arrival of Chriſtian *King of* Denmark.

On the eighteenth Day of *November*, the Parliament according to Prorogation met again at *Weſtminſter*, where the main Conſideration was the Union with *Scotland*, which was much urg'd by thoſe who knew the King's Mind: Among whom Sir *Francis Bacon*, now his Majeſty's Sollicitor, was a principal Inſtrument, who came prepar'd for it, and firſt mov'd the Houſe of Commons, That the *Scots* might be Naturaliz'd by Act of Parliament; which was oppos'd by ſeveral ſtrong and modeſt Arguments. After many ſeveral Debates and Arguings on both Sides concerning this remarkable Affair, on the laſt Day of *March* in the following Year, the King ſent for both Houſes of Parliament to *Whitehall*, to whom in a formal Speech he earneſtly preſs'd the Matter, and declar'd, 'That as there was but *Unus Rex*, ſo there ought to be but *Unus* 'Grex, and *Una Lex*; and that his Intention was not, as ſome idly alledg'd, to 'give *England* the Labour and *Sweat*, and *Scotland* the Fruit and *Sweet*; and 'he profeſs'd, he ſought this Union only to advance the Greatneſs of the Em-

The fourth Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

A. D. 1607. Reg. 5.

The King's Speech.

The Parliament against an Union with Scotland.

'pire here in *England*, yet with ſuch Cautions as might ſtand with the Weal 'of both States. He likewiſe gave diſtinct Anſwer to Objections againſt, and the Inconveniencies ariſing from this Union; but all did not ſatisfie the Parliament, who ſtill apprehended the King's Partiality to his Countrymen, and that Damage would proceed from an Union, where the Laws and Government were of different Natures. The *Scots* would by no means leſſen, or in any Degree derogate from the Dignity of their long continu'd Monarchy; and the *Engliſh* thought they had no Reaſon to yield to them, and derogate from themſelves; and ſo the Matter reſted in this Seſſion of Parliament. They ſtill fear'd that the King would have ſuch an Influence upon the Judges, that the *Scots* would be Naturaliz'd too ſoon, therefore they would not be acceſſary to it; which not long after was confirm'd in *Calvin*'s Caſe of the *Poſt-nati*, and reported by the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook*, the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmere*, and moſt of the Judges of the Kingdom, in the *Exchequer* Chamber, tho' many Arguments were brought againſt it. On the fourth Day of *July*, the Parliament was again prorogu'd firſt to the ſixteenth of *November* next, and then to the ninth of *February* in the Year 160⅞.

Diſturbances in the Midland Counties.

Before the Parliament broke up, ſome Diſturbances happen'd in the Midland Parts of the Nation, as in *Northamptonſhire*, *Warwickſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire*, where many aſſembled together, firſt not in a treaſonable, but in a riotous and felonious Manner, throwing down many Incloſures, and committing many Outrages of the like kind, and all without any particular Head. 'Till at length there aroſe a mean Perſon, call'd *John Reynolds*, whom they nam'd Captain *Pouch*, becauſe he wore a large Leather Pouch by his Side, declaring to the reſt, *That in that he had ſufficient to defend himſelf againſt Oppoſers*; tho' it afterwards appear'd that all the Magick in that Repoſitory lay in a Piece of Green Cheeſe. A Proclamation was iſſu'd out, ſtrictly commanding them to ſurceaſe their Diſorders, and declaring them Traitors if they perſiſted; but this had no Effect, 'till the King ſent the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Exeter*, the Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cook*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, to ſuppreſs them by Force of Arms, and to puniſh the Levellers according to the Nature of their Crimes; ſome by Death, as for Treaſon, and others by Fines, as for Riots; of the former Kind Captain *Pouch* was made an Example, which put an End to the Diſturbance. Beſides this Inſtance of ill diſpos'd Perſons of the meaner Sort, the Earl of *Tyrone*, ungratefully forgetting the King's Clemency to him, together with *Tirconell*, the Lord of *Dungannon*, and ſeveral other *Iriſh* Lords, fled into Foreign Parts, purpoſely to ſollicit thoſe Princes againſt their own Soveraign, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope, all which was immediately ſignify'd to the Realm by Proclamation.

Now the King paſs'd his Time in Eaſe and Diverſions; and in the Month of *June*, being attended by ſeveral Lords, he din'd with the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *John Wats*; who after Dinner preſented him with a Purſe full of Gold, and humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would be pleas'd to be free of his Company the *Cloth-Workers*. To which the King graciouſly condeſcended; and thereupon call'd to Sir *William Stone*, Maſter of the Company, and familiarly ſaid, Stone, *give me thy Hand, I am now a* Cloth-Worker; *and in Token of my ſpecial Favour to this Society, I do here give a brace of Bucks yearly for ever to this Company, at the Election of the Maſter and Wardens*: At which Time alſo many Lords and Gentlemen were made free of the *Cloth-Workers*. In the following Month, the King and Prince, with many Lords, din'd at *Merchant-Tailors* Hall, where the Maſter and Wardens of that Society preſented his Majeſty with a Purſe of Gold, giving him humble Thanks for honouring their Company with his Royal Preſence: And likewiſe ſhew'd him a Roll wherein were regiſter'd the Names of ſeven Kings, one Queen, ſeventeen Princes and Dukes, two Dutcheſſes, one Arch-Biſhop, thirty one Earls, ſixty

The King made Free of the Cloth-Workers,

sixty six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Priors, with a great Number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, *That he himself was already free of another Company; but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his Head.* Whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a Purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, *That not only himself would be free of the* Merchant-Tailors, *but the Lords also that were with him should do the like*; all which was perform'd with no small Solemnity. *and the Prince of the* Merchant-Tailors.

And now the King proceeded to his wonted Bounty in new Creations, and by a Writ call'd Sir *Thomas Knevet* to the Parliament by the Name of Baron of *Esterick*; and the next Day Sir *Julius Cæsar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sworn a Privy-Counsellor. Not long after Sir *Jervis Clifton*, Knight, was call'd to the Parliament by Writ, by the Name and Title of Baron of *Layton Brameswold*; whose only Daughter and Heir was soon after marry'd to *Eysme Stuart*, Baron *D'Aubigny* in *France*, sole Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, whom he afterwards succeeded in that Dignity. And as the King in the last Year was pleas'd to advance two great Men to the honourable Order of the *Garter*, namely, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Bindon*; so in the following Year, and the Month of *May* 1608, he rais'd two others to that Honour, namely *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*; the former of which left both his Honour and Life not very long after, and was magnificently interr'd in the Abby Church at *Westminster*. *New Promotions.* A. D. 1608. Reg. 6.

Tho' the Affair of the Union was not approv'd by the Parliament of *England*, yet that of *Scotland* at this Time was more inclinable to join in it, especially when they found the King of *England* so zealous for it. He naturally thought that the Work would be more easily effected, if a Beginning was made in *Scotland*, and therefore he call'd a Parliament in that Kingdom, which was held by *Lodowick* Duke of *Lenox*, as Commissioner for his Majesty, in the Room of the Earl of *Montrose* then deceas'd. The Estates, to satisfie the King's Desire, did allow all the Articles concluded by the Commissioners in the Treaty, with this Proviso, 'That the same should be in like manner ratify'd by the Parliament of *England*, otherwise the Conclusions taken 'should not have the Force of a Law: And it was also declar'd, 'That if the 'Union should take Effect, the Kingdom of *Scotland* notwithstanding should 'remain an absolute and free Monarchy; and the Fundamental Laws receive no 'Alteration. But after all the King's Endeavours, by means of the Suspicions of the *English*, and the Stiffness of the *Scotch*, the whole Design fell and sunk to nothing; and all that was obtain'd from the *English* Parliament, was, That the Laws of Hostility, anciently made between *England* and *Scotland*, were repeal'd, that the old Resentments which caus'd the Disunion might be remov'd. And in the said Act they provided, 'That if a 'natural born *Englishman* did commit any Misdemeanor in *Scotland*, and fly 'into *England*, he should be try'd where he was taken, and not carry'd into '*Scotland* to receive Sentence there; 'till such Time as both Kingdoms shall 'be made one in Laws and Government. And further they proceeded not; for they found and fear'd the old Enmity would for some Time continue: For since the King's coming into *England*, the loose and unsetled Borderers, that liv'd upon Spoil and Rapine, had upon these new Changes committed new Outrages; who tho' they were suppress'd by the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and many of them made Examples, yet Custom and Habit had bred a natural Fierceness in them, which nothing but new Laws and Usages could fully restrain. The Laws made in *Scotland* to the Prejudice of the *English*, were likewise repeal'd; so that all Passages were made and left smooth on both Sides, for future Times to accomplish that Work. *The* Scots *inclinable to an Union.* *The Design dropt.*

This Year was somewhat remarkable for the Execution both of Priests and Pirats; for on the eleventh of *April*, *George Jervis* a seminary Priest, and the twenty *Some Persons executed.*

twenty third of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jeſuit, were both executed according to Law at *Tyburn*; and the latter had the Favour offer'd him to be pardon'd, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he utterly refus'd. About the ſame Time there were many famous *Engliſh* Pirats, ſome of whom likewiſe turn'd *Mahometans*, and liv'd in great State at *Tunis*, among which were *Ward*, *Biſhop*, Sir *Francis Verney*, and *Glanvile*. Theſe and ſeveral others, after many Depredations and outragious Acts at Sea, were ſuppreſs'd partly by the King of *Spain*, and partly by the King of *England*, and nineteen of their Aſſociates being taken, were according to their Deſerts hang'd at *Wapping*.

The Earl of Dorſet's Death.

In the ſame Year the Lord-Treaſurer, *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet*, being at the Council-Table at *Whitehall*, dy'd ſuddenly, while he was pulling out ſome Papers of his Title to *Lucies* Lands in *Kent*, which put an End to that Diſpute which he had brought before the Council. His ſudden Death, and effeminate Life, gave Occaſion to his Enemies to make ſevere and unuſual Interpretations; but his Head being open'd, there were found in it certain little Bags of Water, which by breaking might naturally cauſe ſuch a Death. He was undoubtedly of excellent Parts, and in his Place exceeding induſtrious; in which he was ſucceeded by the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, a Courtier and Politician from his Infancy; tho' Nature was not propitious to his Outſide, as having a crook'd Back, yet ſhe ſupply'd that Defect with admirable Endowments of Mind. The Earl of *Northampton* was alſo made Lord Privy-Seal, and theſe were the two prime Miniſters of State, upon whoſe Shoulders the King laid the main Burden of all his Affairs. Another great Miniſter was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was made Lord-Chamberlain; but he came far behind in the Management of the King's Buſineſs, having a Spirit of a groſſer Nature, fitter to part a Fray, and compoſe the Differences of a diſorder'd Court, than thoſe of a Kingdom.

Salisbury *made Treaſurer.*

A. D. 1609. Reg. 7.

A Treaty between Spain *and* Holland.

Being ſupported by theſe Counſellors, the King joining with *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, undertook a Mediation between the King of *Spain* and the Confederate States of *Holland*, and brought them to a Treaty of Amity, in which the States were acknowledg'd Free and Independent; and this after they had manag'd a famous and bloody Conteſt of above forty Years Continuance. This was the firſt Scene in which King *James* appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Mediator, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*; and tho' the Treaty prov'd of extraordinary Conſequence, yet it is ſaid that his Part in it was as mean as that of the King of *France* was glorious; and his Conduct towards the States, for whom he mediated, and towards *France* with whom he join'd, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims of his renowned Predeceſſor. For beſides ſeveral unuſual Condeſcentions to the *French* in the Perſons of his Ambaſſadors, which gave Foreigners a mean Idea of his Government, he was tax'd with being ſubtle and inſincere in the Treaty which he appear'd to promote and incourage. And what Opinion the *French* Miniſters had of him in this Affair, appears from the printed Negotiations of *Jeannin*, the chief Agent for *France*, who in ſeveral Letters to the *French* King his Maſter, wrote *That King* James *was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the* Hollanders *for throwing off the Soveraignty of* Spain, *upon the Account of its bad Example.* In Anſwer to one of which Letters, King *Henry*, whoſe Opinion of King *James* was never very great, own'd his Knowledge of that King's ill Intentions towards the States, and withal told *Jeannin*, *That his Carriage did not break his Sleep*; and concluded his Letter with an Expreſſion of Contempt, rarely us'd among Princes of that Rank, *I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his Subjects.*

About this Time, the Suburbs between *London* and *Weſtminſter* had many ruinous Piles of Buildings, which Age had worn out, and Induſtry and Riches began to revive. Among the reſt the Lord-Treaſurer *Salisbury*, out of the old Stables

Stables of *Durham*-Houſe in the *Strand*, erected a noble Fabrick to be Rival to the *Old-Exchange*, which the King by his Preſence dignify'd with the Name of *Britain*'s *Burſe*, ſince call'd the *New-Exchange*. But he took particular Notice of the increaſing Buildings upon the new Foundations, which he look'd upon as a weakly Conſtitution in the Head of the Kingdom, as drawing a Flux of Humours and Diſeaſes too near the Court; beſides he fear'd the Plague might endanger *Whitehall*, if that Diſtemper increas'd. And therefore, with mature Deliberation of his Council, he forbad all new Buildings to be erected for the future, within two Miles of the City; and by Proclamation ſtrictly commanded, if any were made, they ſhould be pull'd down, which however was not obſerv'd 'till ſeven Years after. On the eighth of *May*, by another Proclamation the King prohibited all Foreign Nations, that after *Auguſt* they ſhould not Fiſh upon any of the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, nor the adjacent Iſles, without the ſpecial Licence from the Commiſſioners ordain'd for that Purpoſe. At this Time the making of *Allum*, which hitherto with great Charges had been brought from Foreign Parts, was by ſeveral that labour'd in it, and now laſtly by Sir *John Bourchier* brought to Perfection in *England*; and thereupon the King prohibited upon Pain of Confiſcation any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and aſſum'd the whole Trade and Buſineſs of it to himſelf.

The New-Exchange *built.*

Other Buildings prohibited.

At this Time Prince *Henry*, arriving at ſixteen Years of Age, began to ſhow himſelf in a more Heroick Manner than was uſual with Princes of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers, and other Martial Exerciſes on Horſeback; which caught the Peoples Eyes, and made their Tongues the Meſſengers of their Hearts, in daily extolling his hopeful and gallant Behaviour to Admiration. Being thus qualify'd, the King now thought him full Ripe for the Honour of Knighthood, in order to which, according to an ancient Cuſtom, the King receiv'd an Aid of his Subjects throughout *England*, which was levy'd with great Moderation. Then to add new Splendor to this glorious Youth, he not long after created him Prince of *Wales*, after this ſolemn Manner: *Garter* King at Arms bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of *Suſſex* the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earl of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earl of *Darby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewſbury* the Cap and Coronet, the Earl of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* ſupported the Prince, who was only in his Surcoat and Bare-headed. Being conducted in that Manner to the King, and attended by twenty five Knights of the *Bath* of eminent Note, Secretary *Salisbury* read the Letters Patents, while the Prince continu'd upon his Knees before the King; and at the accuſtom'd Words the King inveſted him with the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then with a Kiſs the Solemnity ended. After this, it was thought proper that he ſhould keep his Court by himſelf; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governor, was now made his Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *Edward Philips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers aſſign'd him belonging to the Court of a Prince, which was kept at St. *James*'s. In all his Management he ſhew'd himſelf ſo ripe for Majeſty, that he ſeem'd to be a King while he was yet but a Prince; and all Mens Eyes began to be fix'd upon him as the great Hopes of the Nation, to the increaſing Jealouſie of the King himſelf, who now endeavouring to find a ſuitable Match for him, ſent Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Ambaſſador into *Spain* to treat with that King for his eldeſt Daughter; but this never met with the deſir'd Effect.

A. D. 1610. Reg. 8.

Prince Henry *created Prince of* Wales.

He has a diſtinct Court.

This Year prov'd fatal to King *Henry* the Great of *France*, who in the midſt of all his Grandeur and Glory, was by one *Ravillack* aſſaſſinated and ſlain in the open Streets of *Paris*, to the Surprize of all Chriſtendom. It has been obſerv'd, That this great Man, when he came firſt to the Crown, was a profeſs'd Proteſtant; but finding himſelf in a tottering Condition among his Popiſh Subjects,

The Death of King Henry *the Fourth of* France.

jects, he began first to comply with them in Ecclesiastical Affairs; which yet so little satisfy'd the Jesuits, that one of their Instruments stabb'd him into the Mouth with a Knife, without much Hurt: Upon which Accident an Intimate of his freely told him, *That the Hand of God was visible in this Action; for he had now deny'd his Religion but with his Mouth; but let him take Care of denying it with his Heart, for if he did, he fear'd God would strike him there also:* Both which were remarkably accomplish'd. The Contagion and Fear of this Blow soon reach'd into *England*, where the King by Proclamation strictly commanded all Jesuits and Priests out of the Kingdom, and all Recusants to their own Houses, and not to come within ten Miles of the Court, without special Licence. Then to secure all his Subjects, he caus'd 'em to take the Oath of Allegiance; which the Parliament, then sitting, both Lords and Commons began, and the rest of the People follow'd, to the King's great Satisfaction. Then turning from Matters of Policy to those of Trade, upon the humble Petition of the *East-India* Merchants, the King was pleas'd to enlarge their Patents granted them by Queen *Elizabeth*, gave them a Charter to continue for ever, and enabled them to be a Body Corporate; which so incourag'd the Merchants, that they built a Ship of twelve hundred Tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honour'd with going to *Debtford* to see it, and then nam'd it *The Trades Increase:* And at the same Time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor of that Company, a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his own Picture. But this great Ship, having been in the *Red Sea*, and returning to *Bantham*, was there unfortunately Lost, and most of her Men cast away. But then the King himself built the finest Man of War that was ever known in *England*, being of the Burthen of fourteen hundred Tuns, and carrying sixty four Pieces of great Ordnance; which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, and nam'd it after his own Dignity, *The Prince*.

A Proclamation against Jesuits.

The East-India Company establish'd.

But long before these Transactions, the Parliament that had been prorogu'd in the Year 1607, met again on the ninth Day of *February*, and continu'd sitting a great Part of the Year with fewer Compliments, and less Satisfaction than formerly. For the King and his Friends were now labouring hard, and using all Methods and Arguments to induce them to grant new Supplies of Mony, when many thought there was no just Occasion; and there wanted not some in both Houses that openly said, *THE WHOLE WEALTH OF* England *was not sufficient for the King's vast Bounty, and therefore it was in vain to give him Mony who would give it away again:* For it was said that he had made Gold and Silver as plentiful in *Edinburgh*, as it was in *Jerusalem* in the Reign of *Solomon*. Besides this, they began to complain of general Grievances, and of the King's Incroachments upon the publick Liberty, by his Proclamations, the High-Commission Court, and by other Means. To put a stop to these and the like Oppositions, the King summon'd both Houses of Parliament to *Whitehall*; where in a Speech he told them, *That tho' the King's Heart was in the Hands of the Lord, yet he would set it before the Eyes of the People*; assuring them, *That he never design'd to govern by any Law but that of the Land, tho' it was disputed among them, as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and govern by the absolute Power of a King. He knew the Power of Kings, and compar'd it to the Power Divine: For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure, so Kings can give Life and Death, judge all, and be judg'd of none. They can exalt low Things, and abuse high Things, making the Subjects like Men at Chess, a* Pawn *to take a* Bishop *or a* Knight. *But still all Kings, who were not Tyrants, or Perjur'd, would always bind themselves within the Limits of the Laws; and they that persuaded them to the contrary, were Vipers and Pests both against them and the Common-wealth. Yet, as it was Blasphemy to dispute what God might do, so it was Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King might do in*

The fifth Session of the first Parliament.

The King's Speech.

the Height of his Power: And as he would not have Subjects diſcourſe of his Power, ſo he would do nothing but what was conſonant to Law and Reaſon. After this he proceeded to ſpeak much in Commendation of the Common Law, and to thank the Houſe of Commons for burning ſome Papers preſented as Grievances, giving them Rules how to receive Grievances, among which, *They ſhould not meddle with the main Points of Government, which would be to leſſen his* Craft, *who had been thirty Years at his* Trade *in* Scotland, *and ſerv'd an* Apprenticeſhip *of ſeven Years here.* But after theſe, with more obliging Expreſſions, he ſhew'd the emergent Cauſe of his great Expences, declaring, *That when he firſt open'd his Neceſſities to them, his Purſe only labour'd, but now his Deſires were made ſo publick, his Reputation labour'd as well as his Purſe: For the World would think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him, that had leſſen'd their Hearts, and ty'd up their Hands.* In Concluſion, after the paſſing of many good Laws, which the Reader will meet with in the Statute Book, he obtain'd one Subſidy and a Fifteenth; and after this Parliament had continu'd above ſix Years in Being, and had five Meetings, and went through a great Number of uſeful Acts, both for promoting many Advantages, and ſuppreſſing many Miſchiefs, it was diſſolv'd upon the thirty firſt Day of *December.* *The Parliament diſſolv'd.*

Wilſon. Baker. Spotſwood An. Camd Rot. Parl. &c.

V. All Things being now in a reaſonable State of Quiet and Calmneſs, the King may be ſaid to live at this Time in the Height of his Diverſions and Expences, keeping two ſeveral Courts beſides his own; for as the Prince was Maſter of St. *James*'s, ſo the Queen was Miſtreſs of *Somerſet*-Houſe, to which ſhe gave the Name of *Denmark*-Houſe, and that continu'd as long as ſhe liv'd. She was not without ſeveral great Men to attend her, for outward Magnificence, the Court being then in a continu'd Courſe of Interludes and Maskarades, where ſhe and her Ladies, like ſo many Sea-Nimphs, or *Nereids*, often appear'd in ſtrange and various Dreſſes, to the Wonder of the Spectators; while the King himſelf was not a little delighted with ſuch extraordinary Entertainments, that made the Night more glorious than the Day. She had alſo her particular Favourites in one Place, as the King had his in another; for ſhe affected the Earl of *Pembroke* the elder Brother, and he the younger, whom he made Earl of *Montgomery* and Knight of the Garter. But ſtill either not finding him ſuitable to his Humour or Affections, or viewing another more agreeable Object, his Fancy run with a violent Stream upon a young Gentleman, born about *Edinburgh*, of no great Parts or Birth, but of a comely Aſpect, and a courtly Addreſs. His Name was *Robert Car*, who being lately come from *France*, in a Tournament before the King, by a Fall off his Horſe broke his Leg; which Accident gave the King occaſion to take Notice of him, and hearing that his Name was *Car*, remember'd he had a Page of that Name when he came firſt into *England*, which was found to be the ſame Perſon. The King recollecting his Thoughts, fix'd them upon this Object of Commiſeration, and gave particular Orders to have him lodg'd in the Court, and to have his own Phyſicians and Surgeons uſe their beſt Endeavours for his Recovery. The King often viſited him during his Reſtraint, ſometimes an Hour or more diſcourſing with him upon ſeveral Subjects; and tho' he found no great Depth of Learning or Experience, yet ſuch a ſmooth and calm Outſide, made him judge there might be a fit Harbour for his moſt retir'd Thoughts. As ſoon as he recover'd, the King with great Satisfaction made him a Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, took the Pains himſelf to teach him the *Latin* Tongue, and laid a Foundation by his daily Diſcourſes to improve him into a Capacity of receiving his moſt endearing Affections. *The Riſe of Robert Car.*

A. D. 1611. Reg. 9.

And now all Addreſſes were made to Sir *Robert Car*, who was ſaid to be Favourite in Ordinary; no Suit nor Reward were manag'd but by his Means; his Hand diſtributed Favours, and his Hand reſtrain'd them; and the Lords could ſcarce have a Smile without his Approbation. And what greatly added

to his encreasing Power, was the Death of the Earl of *Dunbar*, who was the King's old Servant, and the Cabinet of his Secret Counsels; so that he solely took them into his Charge, together with the Office of Lord High-Treasurer of *Scotland*, which Staff the other had left behind him: And tho' it could be no mighty Supporter, yet the Credit of it carry'd some Reputation into his own Country, where it was his Happiness to be extoll'd, as well as in *England*. Then further to aggrandise this young Favourite, the King created him Baron of *Brandspech*, and Viscount *Rochester*, and shortly after Knight of the Garter, together with his Son *Charles* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Arundel*. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majesty, to shine with the greatest Splendor, often contesting with the Prince himself in his own Sphere. For the Prince, being of a high-born Spirit, and meeting with a young Competitor in his Father's Affections, of a short and sudden Growth, thought the Infection would increase too near him, and therefore he us'd all reasonable Means to stifle and suppress it: And this Contest was gradually blown up by some Sparks of Love, as well as Emulation, being both amorous, warm and youthful, and by Accident fixing their Thoughts upon one Object, contracted to a third Person, in which the Viscount gain'd the Superiority, but to his final Ruin.

He is a great Favourite.

A. D. 1612. Reg. 10.

In the mean Time, while Fortune thus smil'd upon the Viscount *Rochester*, it frown'd with as much Severity upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of the same Nation, and marry'd into a considerable Family in *England*. This Man too much valuing himself upon his unfortunate Skill in Fencing, undertook a Design to affront and disparage a Fencing-Master in his own School, whose Name was *John Turner*; but he apprehensive of his Design, press'd so rudely upon the Baron, that he push'd out one of his Eyes. The Baron being afterwards in the Court of *France*, where that King freely entertaining him in Discourse, ask'd him how he lost his Eye; and understanding it was done by a Sword, without knowing the Circumstances, he reply'd, *Does the Man live that did it?* The Question from the Mouth of a King blew up new Fires of Revenge in the Baron's Breast; and several Years after, coming into *England*, he hir'd two of his Countrymen, *Gray* and *Carlisle*, to murther the Fencing-Master, which they did with a Case of Pistols at his own House in *White-Friars*. One of the Murtherers was apprehended upon the Borders of *Scotland*, the other in a Ship bound for *Hamburgh*; and the Lord *Sanquir* having absconded, and hearing that no less than a thousand Pounds was offer'd for his Head, he resign'd himself to the King's Mercy, by the Mediation of Dr. *Abbot*, now Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, to whom he presented himself as an Object of Commiseration. But no Intercession could prevail, and their Lives satisfy'd the Law, without allowing the Baron the Death of a Nobleman, who in a very penitent Manner suffer'd before the Gate of *Westminsterhall*.

The Case of the Lord Sanquir.

His Execution.

Still the juvenile Favourite *Rochester* maintain'd his Ground against all Opposers; and among his chief Friends Sir *Thomas Overbury* was the Creature he most particularly honour'd with his Familiarity. This begot an Emulation between the two great Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who should ingross him; each presenting, proffering, and accumulating Favours upon *Overbury*'s Relations. His Father was accordingly made a Judge in *Wales*, and he himself was offer'd a Place; but being naturally of a rough and insolent Temper, and swell'd with being the Confident of such a Favourite, whose Munificence could not be retail'd without him, he with a kind of Scorn neglected both their Friendships, and yet made use of them when he had Occasion. Before that Time the politick Minister, the Earl of *Salisbury*, had made an Alliance with the House of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldest Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Catharine* the eldest Daughter of that Family; and that Resentments might not become Hereditary, he was a great Instrument in marrying the young Earl of *Essex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of those Sisters. The Earl of *Essex* was then but

fourteen

fourteen Years of Age, and the Lady thirteen when they were marry'd; and therefore he was ſent to Travel in Foreign Countries 'till Time might capacitate their Co-Habitation. The Lady in the mean Time was kept by her Mother, and educated in all the inchanting Pleaſures of the Court; and being a celebrated Beauty, every Tongue became an Orator at her Shrine, and the Prince himſelf ſent out many amorous Glances as the Ambaſſadors of his Inclinations. But the victorious Lady more favouring the increaſing Fortunes of the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, the moſt zealous of her Adorers, the Prince ſlighted her, as tho' he had offer'd his Addreſſes more to diſtract the other's Amours, than to purſue his own Deſires. Upon the Return of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Counteſs, who was actuated by the moſt violent Reſolutions of Enjoyment, had a double Task to undergo; firſt to hinder her Husband from carnal Knowledge of her, and then to ſecure the Viſcount's Affections; for unlawful Love always produces the greateſt Jealouſies and Confuſions. In order to effect her impious Deſigns, ſhe had recourſe to infernal Arts, and conſulted one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Phyſick's Widow, whom Prodigality had reduc'd to Poverty, and render'd her fit for any Miſchief; and ſhe introduc'd into their Conſultation one *Forman* an Aſtrologer, and a reputed Magician, who ſupply'd the Lady with Charms, Spells and philtrous Potions, both to debilitate the Ardour of the Husband, and to inflame the Paſſion of the Gallant. Theſe Things being manag'd and adminiſter'd according to unknown Arts, they gave this uneaſie Woman Aſſurances of extraordinary Effects. Her amorous Invitations that drew the Viſcount to admire her, were imputed to the Operation of thoſe Drugs he had taſted; and the very unnatural Comportment ſhe expreſs'd to her Husband, was concluded by her to be the Effects of thoſe wonderful Potions and Powders adminiſter'd to him: So ready is the Imagination to take Impreſſion of thoſe Things we are willing to believe.

The unhappy Marriage of the Earl of Eſſex.

The Wicked Deſigns of his Counteſs.

The innocent Earl being made ſenſible of his own Misfortunes, complain'd to her Father, in hopes of Relief; and through his Importunities and Threatnings, ſhe was perſuaded to retire into the Country to *Chartley* with her Huſband; where her Diſappointments ſo enrag'd her Spleen, that ſhe would ſcarce afford common Civility to him, and brought her ſelf to a continu'd Melancholy and Sullenneſs. At length ſhe wrote to her wicked Correſpondents *Forman* and Mrs. *Turner*, *That ſhe ſaw little Effect produc'd by all the Potions ſhe had given her Husband, for he ſeem'd more eager after her than ever, and ſhe was ſenſible that the Viſcount would never love her, if he knew her Huſband enjoy'd her, whom with Difficulty ſhe had put off; but how long ſhe ſhould be able to reſiſt his Violence ſhe knew not; and therefore unleſs they deſign'd to ſee her the moſt miſerable Creature in the World, they ſhould ſpeedily aſſiſt her, and for their Reward they ſhould make their own Propoſals.* And now all the abominable Tricks that could ariſe from Sorcery and Female Averſion being imploy'd to debilitate the Earl, he at length ſuffer'd her to ſteer her own Courſe; and the next Winter came up with her to *London*, where ſhe us'd all the Ornaments that Art and Nature could invent, to inflame the Viſcount's Affections; and her Abſence increaſing his Paſſion, they had many repeated Meetings. Several Perſons qualify'd for ſuch kind of Offices were imploy'd; and when Nature was infeebled and exhauſted, new Spirits were purchas'd at the moſt extravagant Rates to rekindle their unlawful Fires. Thus the Viſcount triumph'd in his Conqueſts, but as to the Heighth of the King's Favours, the great *Saliſbury* was ſtill an Obſtacle in his Way, ſo that he could not arrive to that Pitch of Grandeur in his Time, that he afterwards obtain'd. One Thing among the reſt, in which he defeated or diſappointed him, was in Moderating the King's Bounty to him on this Occaſion: The King had given to *Rocheſter* five thouſand Pounds, which this Treaſurer thought too extravagant a Preſent, where there was ſo little Merit, therefore he laid the Mony in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at *Salisbury* Houſe; and having invited the King to Dinner, he

The Viſcount Rocheſter *intrigues with her.*

Salisbury *diſappoints him.*

made this Room the Paſſage to his Entertainment. The King ſurpriz'd at the Sight of theſe great Heaps of Mony, ask'd for what purpoſe it was aſſign'd; to whom the Earl reply'd, *That he had Orders from his Majeſty to give ſo much to the Viſcount* Rocheſter. The King, who either careleſly thought five thouſand Pounds was no more than the Name of ſo much in *Scotland*, or ſubtlely finding the Treaſurer's Meaning, ſaid, *It was too much for one Man*, and made him be contented with leſs than half of the Sum. But the King was generally profuſe to his Favourites; particularly one Day being in his Gallery at *Whitehall*, with only Sir *Henry Rich* a young ingenious Knight, and *James Maxwell*, one of his Bed-Chamber; ſome Porters paſs'd by with three thouſand Pounds going to the Privy-Purſe: Sir *Henry* whiſpering *Maxwell*, the King ask'd what he ſaid; and being told he wiſh'd for ſuch a Sum, he immediately order'd the Porters to carry it to his Lodgings, with this Expreſſion, *You think you have a great Reward; but I am more delighted in giving you the Mony, than you in receiving it.*

The King's Profuſeneſs.

The Body of the Queen of the Scots *remov'd to* Weſtminſter.

And now the King caſt his Thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where the Body of his unfortunate Mother lay, which he caus'd to be tranſlated to a Magnificent Tomb at *Weſtminſter*; where many ſolemn Ceremonies were perform'd, to pay the laſt Tribute to her Memory. About the ſame Time the King, in ſpecial Favour for the preſent Plantation of *Engliſh* Colonies in *Virginia*, granted a Lottery to be held at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul's*; of which one *Thomas Sharply's*, a Tailor of *London*, had the chief Prize, amounting to four thouſand Crowns in fair Plate. This Year was alſo obſervable for the Arrival of Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son to Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Suſſex*, who for ſixteen Years had betaken himſelf to Travel, and had ſerv'd ſeveral Chriſtian Princes for the Space of five Years, but chiefly *Rodolphus* the Emperor, who for his Services made him an Earl of the Empire. He afterwards travell'd into *Perſia*, and ſerv'd that Emperor ten Years, who made him General of the Artillery, and had ſo great an Eſteem for his Perſon, that he gave him the Lady *Tereſia* in Marriage, whoſe Siſter was one of the Queens of *Perſia*: After which, the *Perſian* imploy'd him to ſeveral Princes of *Europe*; and ſent him in a ſpecial Embaſſie to King *James* in *England*, to whom he deliver'd his Letters, and ſhew'd his Commiſſion; all which teſtify'd the *Perſian*'s great Love and Affection to his Majeſty, with voluntary Offers of free Commerce to all his Subjects throughout the *Perſian* Dominions. After a Year's Stay in *England*, in which Time his Lady was deliver'd of a Son, to whom the Queen was God-Mother, and Prince *Henry* God-Father, he left the Child in this Kingdom, and then with his Lady took Shipping for *Perſia*.

Sir Robert Sherley's *Travels.*

The Arrival of Frederick *Prince* Palatine.

It was in the tenth Year of King *James*'s Reign, and the ſixteenth of *October*, when the illuſtrious Prince *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of Marriage had been made with the King's Daughter *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *Graveſend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and ſeveral other Lords were ſent by his Majeſty, who conducted him to *Whitehall*, and from thence into the great Banquetting-Houſe; where the King, the Queen, the Prince, and the Lady her ſelf, entertain'd him after the moſt obliging Manner, and then by Barge conducted him to *Eſſex* Houſe, appointed for his Reception. It was many Years ſince any King's Daughter had been marry'd in *England*; which now occurring, and to ſo worthy a Prince, was a juſt Cauſe of Triumph and Rejoycing: But according to the frequent Changes of human Happineſs, Joy was no ſooner ſet forth, but was purſu'd by an unexpreſſible Sorrow; firſt by the Sickneſs, and then the Death of that great Delight and Hopes of the Nation, Prince *Henry*, who on the ſixth Day of *November* was ſnatch'd away at the Age of eighteen Years, eight Months, and ſeventeen Days. Several Paſſages are related of this excellent Prince that redound to his Honour; particularly once when he was Hunting the Stag, it happen'd that the Game was kill'd, and his Sport ſpoil'd by a Butcher's Dog; at which the Company endea-

The Death of Prince Henry.

vour'd

vour'd to incenſe him againſt the Butcher, and told him, *That if his Father had been thus interrupted, he would have ſworn ſo that no Man could have endur'd it : Away*, reply'd the Prince, *all the Diverſion in the World is not worth one Oath.* At another Time, when the *French* Ambaſſador, upon taking his leave, ask'd him, *What Service he would command him to his Maſter*, the Prince bad him tell his Maſter *What he was doing*, being then toſſing a Pike. The World is always ready to attribute the Deaths of beloved Princes to unfair Practices, and it became the general Rumour of that Time, that the Prince was poiſon'd. We dare not determine that nice Matter, yet the Preſumptions ſeem too ſtrong to be bury'd in Silence; eſpecially if we conſider the violent Conteſts between him and *Rocheſter*, and the wicked Practices of that implacable Man. For the Prince being an open-hearted Man, and reſenting every Injury done to his Nation, had once declar'd, *That if ever he was King, he would not leave one of that Family unpuniſh'd*; and therefore he and the *Howards* could not think themſelves ſecure, 'till he had paid his Debt to Nature; and ſo the Manner of his Death was paſs'd over by a Certificate from ſome Court Phyſicians, 'That his Liver was paler than ordinary, his 'Gall without any Choler in it, his Spleen, Midriff and Lungs were very 'black, and his Stomach in no Part offended; as if no Poiſon could produce ſuch Effects. On the ſeventh of *December* he was ſolemnly carry'd on a Herſe to *Weſtminſter*, where the Pomp of his Funeral was fully compleated by the Tears and Lamentations of the People.

Cenſures upon it.

But all Tears were ſoon dry'd up at Court, where all Preparations were making for the Solemnities of a *Chriſtmaſs*, and a Marriage between the Prince *Palatine* and the excellent Lady *Elizabeth*. In order to the latter, on the ſeventh of *February*, the Prince was firſt inſtall'd Knight of the Garter at *Windſor*, together with the Deputy of *Grave Maurice* of *Naſſaw*. And on *Shrove-Sunday*, and St. *Valentine*'s Day, the much deſir'd Marriage was ſolemniz'd after an extraordinary Manner in the Chappel at *Whitehall*. The beautiful Bride was publickly led by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord Privy-Seal; ſhe being glorioufly ardorn'd in White, having a reſplendent Crown of Gold upon her Head, her Hair diſhevel'd down her Back, nobly ſhining with Jewels like a Conſtellation, and her Train ſupported by twelve young Ladies, finely attir'd with all the Emblems of Innocence. The King himſelf gave her in Marriage, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* perform'd the Office, and the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* preach'd the Nuptial Sermon; during which Time, ſome peculiar Coruſcations and Lightnings of Joy appear'd in her Countenance, which ſome thought to be Preſages of her future Misfortunes. This Marriage was celebrated the firſt Night with a magnificent Maſque of the chief of the Nobility, both Lords and Ladies; the ſecond Night with another of the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple* and *Lincolns-Inn*; and the third Night with another as remarkable preſented by the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* and *Grays-Inn* : And after this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen preſented the fair Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valu'd at two thouſand Pounds. Now when all Things had been perform'd for the Honour of this Marriage, which either Love and Obſervance could invent, or Art and Magnificence could effect, on the tenth of *April* the illuſtrious Couple took leave of the King and Queen at *Rocheſter*; and there taking Shipping, they arriv'd not long after at *Fluſhing* : From whence the Earl of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, and the Lord *Haringtton* waited upon them to their capital City of *Heidelberg*; being receiv'd in all Places as they paſs'd with great Pomp and State. On the fourteenth of *June* the *Engliſh* Lords return'd home; only the Lord *Haringtton* dy'd by the way at *Worms*, whoſe Corps was brought over, and interr'd in *England*. A Gentleman much lamented in his own Perſon, but much more in that of his admiral Son, whoſe Deceaſe ſhortly after put a Period to that noble Family.

A. D. 1613. Reg. 11.

Prince Frederick *marry'd to the King's Daughter* Elizabeth.

They both retire to Germany.

About

The Earl of Salisbury's Death.

About the ſame Time dy'd that famous Stateſman, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*; a Perſon of admirable Abilities, and one of whom *Osborn* confeſſes, That with all his Faults, he was a Man of incomparable Prudence, who coming ſo near ſuch an unadviſed Scatterer as King *James*, might have much more inrich'd his Family, had he not look'd upon low Things with Contempt; leaving much to the Gleaning of his Servants, of whom many were afterwards advanc'd. He further inſinuates, 'That this Earl was the 'firſt ill Treaſurer, and the laſt good one ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; the laſt Part of which Cenſure might naturally ariſe from the numerous and ſud-

The great Changes in the Treaſury.

den Changes in this high Office. For within this Reign, and the Compaſs of a very few Years, the Earl of *Salisbury* was ſucceeded by five ſeveral Treaſurers: Firſt, The Earl of *Suffolk*, who held the Office longeſt, and was diſcharg'd in a great Meaſure for the Miſmanagement of his Lady: Secondly, Sir *Henry Montague*, taken from the King's Bench, and made Earl of *Mancheſter*, and within leſs than a Year diſcharg'd: Thirdly, Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, who was made Earl of *Middleſex*, and then not only thrown out, but alſo fin'd fifty thouſand Pounds: Fourthly, Sir *James Lee*, taken from the King's Bench, and made Earl of *Marlborough*, who thought fit to reſign his Place in a ſhort Time: And laſtly, Sir *Richard Weſton*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treaſurer, and ſhortly after Earl of *Portland*.

Rocheſter's *Greatneſs.*

Upon the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, the aſpiring *Rocheſter* without Controul aſſum'd the whole Adminiſtration of the Government, executed the Place of Principal Secretary, receiv'd Pacquets and diſpatch'd Anſwers, without the Knowledge of the King or Council, and all done by the Privity, if not Aſſiſtance of his Confident Sir *Thomas Overbury*. But when that Gentleman underſtood that *Rocheſter* deſign'd to marry the Lady *Eſſex*, he dealt freely

Overbury *checks him.*

and honeſtly with him, declaring to him, *That nothing could be more deſtructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay a Foundation upon ſo much Injuſtice, as to marry another Man's Wife, while her Husband was living*; and therefore paſſionately deſir'd him, *To fix his Thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not upon one, whoſe Diſloyalty to her Husband was branded with perpetual Infamy*. This rough Advice found no Reception in the debauch'd Mind of the Viſcount, who being faſcinated with the Charms of his amorous Miſtreſs, did not only eſtrange himſelf from the Friendſhip of *Overbury*, but both denounc'd Enmity, and alſo excited the Fury of the Counteſs againſt him: And ſhe, fir'd with the moſt implacable Reſentments, muſtring up all the Paſſion and Envy that a Female Malice could invent, never left him 'till ſhe had diſcharg'd all the Vollies of her Rage upon him. She importun'd the Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle, to vindicate the Honour of their Fami-

For which his Life is threatned.

ly; and he joining with the Viſcount, they agreed to take away *Overbury*'s Life by Poiſon; but that not being eaſie to be done in a publick Way, they contriv'd to exaſperate the King againſt him, and procure him to be impriſon'd, that they might with greater Privacy effect his Ruin. The King about this Time deſigning to ſend an Ambaſſador into *Flanders* to the Arch-Duke, the Viſcount treacherouſly recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to him for that Service; and dealing on both Sides he us'd all Methods to diſſuade him from undertaking the Imployment, as well knowing that his Refuſal would highly diſoblige the King. *Overbury* was not ſo little a Courtier, or ſo void of Reaſon, as not to ſee the Danger of diſobeying the King's Commands; therefore the Viſcount promis'd him both to moliſie the King's Diſpleaſure, and to procure him better Preferment; while on the other Side he ſo aggravated his Offence in Refuſing his Obedience, and ſo incens'd the King, that the

He is thrown into the Tower.

poor Gentleman was without Hearing ſent to the Tower for Contempt. Then to compleat his ſtrange Tragedy, Sir *William Wade* Lieutenant of the Tower was diſplac'd, and Sir *Jervaſe Elways* put into his Room.

This

This firſt Point being gain'd, the Counteſs, like another *Alecto*, drove on furiouſly with two Wheels, which ran over all Impediments; the one was to procure a Divorce between her and her Husband, that ſhe might marry the Viſcount; and the other was to remove Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who had laid ſuch a Stain upon her Honour, as nothing but his Blood could expiate. For theſe ſhe had ſeveral Inſtruments and Agents, particularly the Earl of *Northampton*, who reſenting his Niece's Grievances, acquainted the King with her Virgin Modeſty, how unwilling ſhe was to divulge her Husband's Infirmities, and how long ſhe had been marry'd without enjoying the Rights of a Wife; that the Earl's Inability muſt needs produce an unnatural Conjunction, ſuch as neither Law nor Reaſon could excuſe; and that there was an entire Affection between the Viſcount and her ſelf, which ought to be encourag'd, as more ſuitable to Equity and Nature. This was ſeconded by the Viſcount's humble Submiſſions to the King's great Wiſdom, who he acknowledg'd had not only rais'd him to his preſent Condition, but might yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a Lady of ſo much Honour and Virtue. The King, who abundantly delighted to compleat the Happineſs of thoſe he lov'd, immediately granted a Commiſſion under the Broad-Seal, to ſeveral Biſhops and others, to try the whole Cauſe, who accordingly made their Appearance. But before they proceeded any further, they empanell'd a Jury of twelve diſcreet Matrons to ſearch the Counteſs, whither ſhe was a Maid or not, as ſhe pretended to be in her written Allegations; for if that prov'd true, they might fix upon a Nullity, and ſo ſeparate them for the Honour of her Virginity. The Counteſs, under a Pretence of Modeſty and Shame to undergo ſuch an Examination, would not expoſe her Face to the Light, but procur'd leave of the Court to appear in a Veil before the Matrons; by which Means ſhe had an Opportunity to ſend in a young Girl in her Place, who in the Opinion of the Jury paſs'd for a real Virgin. Then Articles being drawn up in Form, the good Earl, willing to be freed from ſo horrid a Plague, confeſs'd that he had ſeveral Times attempted to enjoy her, but he never did, and believ'd he never ſhould. Upon theſe Grounds the Judges proceeded to a formal Sentence of Divorce and Separation, in ſuch Terms as are more fit to be tranſcrib'd by Perſons of any Profeſſion than my own. The ſcandalous Reports that had flown about concerning this Lady, caus'd ſome worthy Men to decline the Buſineſs, particularly the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* refus'd to appear, tho' they were nominated in the Commiſſion; and what is ſaid in Favour of the reſt of the Judges, is, That they might not know that another Female was impos'd upon the Jury inſtead of the Lady *Eſſex*.

The Counteſs of Eſſex *ſues out a Divorce againſt her Husband.*

They are part-ed by Law.

While one great Engine was working at *Lambeth*, the other had its Motion in the Tower, puſh'd forwards by the Lady *Eſſex* againſt the unfortunate Sir *Thomas Overbury*; and two of her Agents, *Forman* and *Greſham* being dead, ſhe rely'd wholly upon the Aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Turner*, who procur'd one *Weſton*, formerly her Husband's Servant, and not unskill'd in the Art of Poiſoning, to be the Inſtrument to effect their impious Purpoſes. The Lady alſo procur'd Sir *Thomas Munſon* to recommend him to Sir *Jervaſe Elwayes*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to be his Attendant; by whoſe Means, with the Aſſiſtance of one *Franklin*, and the Connivance of the Lieutenant, ſeveral Potions were adminiſter'd to conſume Nature inſenſibly. But theſe were not thought quick enough to ſatiate that Malice, that was as active as ſubtle; therefore ſtronger Ingredients were infus'd, and given him in his Broths, his Meats and his Tarts; and his very Salt was uſually mixt with *White-Mercury*. Thus was the poor abandon'd Gentleman daily rack'd and tortur'd with a horrid Diſtemper; but being young and of a ſtrong Conſtitution, was able to ſtruggle a long Time with theſe corroding Tormentors: But his Body being not always able to bear ſuch unnatural Preſſures, he fell extreamly ſick; and having no Friend that could or durſt viſit him, none to ſupplicate but the mercileſs Cauſers of his Miſery,

Poiſon often given to Overbury *in the Tower.*

ſery, he without Knowledge of his Diſtemper, languiſh'd both in Body and Mind, after an unheard of Manner.

In the mean Time the Counteſs being freed from her Husband, triumph'd and ſhin'd above all the Court Ladies, and became admir'd by the King, as well as lov'd by *Rocheſter*; who to deſerve ſo valuable a Lady was now created Earl of *Somerſet*; and all the ſplendid Equipage, and magnificent Preparations, that could fill a Court with Delight, or the People with Wonder, were not wanting for the Marriage. On the twenty ſixth Day of *December* the new Earl and Counteſs were marry'd at *Whitehall*, in the Preſence of the King, Queen and Prince, and a great Confluence of the Biſhops and Temporal Nobility: The Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* marry'd them, and the Dean of *Weſtminſter* preach'd the Nuptial Sermon, and that Night was concluded with a glorious Maſque of Lords and Ladies; which a few Nights after was much exceeded by another of the Prince's Gentlemen, to the extraordinary Satisfaction of the King, who caus'd it to be acted a ſecond Time, upon the third Day of *January*. But *Whitehall* was too narrow to contain the Triumphs for this Marriage, which were extended into the City; for on the next Day, the happy Pair, accompany'd by the Duke of *Lenox*, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, with a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry, were invited to a Feaſt in the City at Merchant-Taylor's-Hall; where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entertain'd them with extraordinary Pomp and Formality, and after the Treat with a *Waſſaile*, two Maſques, a Play and a Ball; and after all the whole Company were invited to a magnificent Banquet, which continu'd 'till three in the Morning. Before theſe Pleaſures were well digeſted, upon *Twelfth-Day*, the Gentlemen of *Grays-Inn* invited the Bride and Bridegroom to a ſolemn Maſque; which concluded all the triumphal Gairies of this remarkable Marriage.

Rocheſter *made Earl of* Somerſet.

He marries the Counteſs of Eſſex.

A. D. 1614. Reg. 12.

The Pomp of the Nuptials.

The Noiſe of theſe Rejoicings reſounding in the moſt ſecret Receſſes, brought the News to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a poor Relief to a Man in Miſery, who was conſcious to himſelf, that all his Sufferings proceeded from his Oppoſition to what was now fully ſurmounted; ſo that in his dark Confinement he could not ſee the leaſt Glimmerings of Liberty, when he conſider'd the implacable Nature of the Woman. But yet preſuming upon the former Friendſhip between the Earl of *Somerſet* and himſelf, he wrote to him in the midſt of his Glory, to let him know his deplorable Condition, *and how vaſtly his Health was impair'd, which he imputed to his Recluſeneſs and want of Air; humbly imploring his Aſſiſtance, that he might no longer languiſh under the Burden of his intolerable Infirmities.* *Somerſet* not willing to have him exclaim, made Anſwer, That the King was now full of great Buſineſs; but he would take the firſt Opportunity to move him for his Relief, and make his great Indiſpoſition a Ground for the King's Mercy; including in the Letter a White Powder, which he deſir'd him to take; aſſuring him, *That tho' it made him a little ſick at firſt, it would do him much good in the End.* The poor abus'd Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poiſonous Quality, added to his Affliction; yet it was not ſtrong enough to compleat the Deſign. The Lieutenant of the Tower daily liſten'd to his Complaints with all the outward Marks of Commiſeration, but always declar'd what he ſaid to the Authors of his Calamities; ſo that his very Words were rack'd, as well as his Body tormented. Thus he continu'd in this diſmal Place above four Months, languiſhing under unheard of Pains; 'till his Enemies being more impatient that he endur'd ſo long, than that he ſuffer'd ſo much, they finiſh'd their Work by an impoiſon'd Glyſter compounded by *Franklin*, which in a few Days ended his miſerable Life. Here we may ſee the unhappy Fate, and precarious Fame of Princes govern'd by Minions and Favourites; and how many Ways the King's Name was us'd and abus'd in perpetating this execrable Fact: Firſt in procuring the King to ſend Sir *Thomas* on an Embaſſy into *Flanders*; Secondly in committing him to the Tower

Overbury *in great Diſtreſs.*

His Death by Poiſon.

Tower for his Refusal; Thirdly in continuing a close Prisoner from all Relations and Servants, a Practice never known for a bare Contempt; and lastly in practising his Death, when he was under the King's immediate Protection.

The Earl of *Northampton*, who was a great Actor in this Tragical Event, inhumanly endeavour'd to kill him a second Time by ruining his Fame, and raising a Report, 'That he dy'd of the Pox, and had prodigious Sores and Ulcers in his Body, that produc'd such Putrefaction, that the People, unable to 'indure the noisome Smell, were forc'd to throw him in a loose Sheet into a 'Coffin, and bury him privately on Tower-Hill; concluding in a Letter to 'the Earl of *Somerset*, *That God was gracious in cutting off evil Instruments 'before their Time*; tho' he little imagin'd that he was then pronouncing his own Sentence and Doom. For he being one of the principal Ministers of State, and a Papist in Reality, tho' a Protestant by Profession, he did many Kindnesses to the *Roman* Catholicks contrary to Law; and a Letter of his being intercepted, that was directed to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, discover'd both his Religion and his Intentions: Which Things being first whisper'd, then urg'd against him, they touch'd him to the Heart; so that he suddenly retir'd, dispos'd of his Estate, and dy'd. He had a capacious Mind aiming at great Things, which he was the better able to effect by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very bountiful. Leaving no Issue to propagate his Name, he built a noble House by *Charing-Cross* to continue it, by him call'd *Suffolk*-House, and since *Northumberland*-House. His contriving *Overbury*'s Death was yet a Secret, and made no Noise against him; but when it broke out, Fame loaded his Memory with all the Blackness that Infamy and Odium could produce.

The Earl of Northampton's *Death.*

Still the great Favourite, the Earl of *Somerset*, and his Business met with no Stop nor Interruption, 'till by Degrees he perceiv'd he must a little alter his Biass, or find some new Ways to bring in Mony; for the Revenues of the Crown were not sufficient to maintain such vast Expences, occasion'd by his Riot, tho' he had all the Earl of *Westmorland*'s Lands at his Marriage and Creation added to his Earldom. Therefore a new Project was advanc'd and now effected, which the Earl of *Salisbury* had formerly promoted, upon the Occasion of new Colonies and Plantations to be establish'd at *London-Derry* and *Colerain* in *Ireland*, of which Alderman *Cockain* was the first Governor. In order to promote these and the like Improvements, King *James* instituted a new Order of Knights, call'd *Baronets*, which were to be Hereditary, and to take Place next to Barons younger Sons, and appointed certain Laws to make them capable of being admitted: First that they should maintain thirty Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three Years, at the Rate of eight Pence a Day; and to pay down a whole Year's Wages at the passing of their Patent, the whole amounting to a thousand Pound for their Honour: That they should be Gentlemen of Blood of *Three Descents*; and lastly should have Land of Inheritance in Possession, or immediate Reversion, to the Value of a thousand Pounds a Year. Then to keep the Order from swarming, it was limited to the Number of two hundred, and as the Issue should fail, the Order to cease; of these Sir *Nicholas Bacon* in the County of *Suffolk* was the first. Sir *Richard Baker* observes, That he who examines how well the Institution and the Order has been observ'd, will find it to be here as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at first none were admitted but Princes and eminent Persons, but afterwards all Sorts of Men without Distinction, which made it a Question, Whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the Persons, or the Meanness of the Persons disgrace the Order; and when the Laws of an Institution are not in some Measure observ'd, it seems to make a Nullity in the Collation.

The first Institution of Baronets.

Notwithstanding these, and other Projects of raising the Value of the Gold Coin, the King's Expences prov'd too large for his Incomes and Revenues; therefore after four Years Intermission, he resolv'd to have Recourse to a Parliament,

The second Parliament in this Reign.

which was ſummon'd to meet on the fifth of *April*. There were ſeveral about the Court, preſuming to have Friends in every County and Borough, undertook to make Elections of ſuch Members for Knights and Burgeſſes, as ſhould ſolely comply with the King's Deſires; of whom *Somerſet* was the Head and Chief: But this prov'd a meer Embrio, and became abortive. For the Parliament meeting according to their Summons, when they were excited to give Mony, in Conſideration of the King's marrying his Daughter, and his unuſual Entertainments, with other Expences, they inſtead of contributing to the King's Wants, freely laid open his Waſtes, eſpecially thoſe made to the *Scots*, 'With whom they deſir'd a Share of his Favour; alſo beſeeching his Majeſty to 'ſtem the Current of the future Acceſs of that Nation to his Preſence and 'Bounty. They likewiſe enquir'd into the Cauſes of the unexpected Encreaſe 'of Popiſh Recuſants ſince the Gun-Powder Plot, the Deteſtation of which, 'they thought, ſhould have utterly extinguiſh'd the whole Party; and this 'they found was owing to his Majeſty's Admiſſion of Popiſh Nobility into his 'Councils; his Silencing of many watchful and diligent Miniſters; the ſeve-'ral Treaties he had made, not only for the Marriage of the deceaſed Prince '*Henry*, but for the preſent Prince *Charles*, with the Daughters of Popiſh 'Princes; all which diſheartned the Proteſtant, and incourag'd the Recuſant. Theſe, and other Miſcarriages in the Government being freely remonſtrated, the King, without receiving any Advantage, or paſſing any Act, put a ſtop to all, and diſſolv'd the Parliament on the ſeventh Day of *June*. After which he committed ſeveral of the moſt tumultuous Members of the Commons to the Tower and other Priſons, without Bail or Main-Prize. And laſtly he proceeded to the moſt uneaſie of all Aids in *England*, a *Benevolence* upon the Subject; where thoſe that did not give their Mony, were oblig'd to give their Names: So that what was in its Nature and Eſſence a free Gift, was judg'd in its Effect and Conſequence, a heavy Impoſition.

It is diſſolv'd.

The King of Denmark's *ſecond Arrival in* England.

In the ſame Year, and the Month of *July*, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark*, out of a great Love to his Siſter and King *James*, came a ſecond Time into *England*; but being ſecure of himſelf, he travell'd privately, and with a ſmall Retinue, ſo that he unexpectedly enter'd *Somerſet*-Houſe, where the Queen reſided, before the Nation had any Knowledge of his Arrival. But King *James* being then in his Progreſs in *Bedfordſhire*, upon the News of it, immediately return'd back; and after he had entertain'd him fourteen Days with Hunting, Hawking, Running at the Ring, Bear-Baiting, Plays, Fire-Works, and Fencings, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, where he took his laſt Leave and return'd home. Thus theſe two Kings met with a Happineſs, rare among Princes, of freely ſeeing and converſing with each other, without any Marks of Danger or Jealouſie.

A. D. 1615. Reg. 13.

VI. The King having now reign'd above twelve Years in *England*, by turning the Stream of his Bounty into particular Channels, gave more and more Occaſion to uneaſie People to ſhow their Diſguſts and Reſentments; for he had generally the Misfortune, incident to many Princes, to be too much govern'd by Favourites. The Earl of *Somerſet*, lately made Lord-Chamberlain, now like a mighty Coloſs ſtood the Fury of all the Tempeſts rais'd againſt him, making thoſe who carry'd the greateſt Sail to ſtrike and come under him; nor would he ſuffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be conferr'd on any, which was not ſweeten'd with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it. This Pride and Avarice, join'd to his other Miſcarriages, caus'd ſuch a Number of Underminers, that he ſoon found he had but a tottering Foundation, with no other Support but the King's Favour, which by Providence and inferior Accidents was gradually remov'd; making a Way towards the Vengeance due to the Blood of Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

Wilſon. Baker. An. Camd Clarendo. &c.

For

For about this Time the King began to caſt his Eye upon a new and brighter Object, a young Gentleman nam'd *George Villers*, a younger Son to Sir *George Villers* of *Brookesby* in *Leiceſterſhire* by his ſecond Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*. This promiſing Youth being left by his Father with a ſmall Fortune, his Mother took an extraordinary Care in his Education; and having a beautiful Perſon and a graceful Deportment, to compleat his Accompliſhments ſhe ſent him into *France*, where he ſpent two or three Years in attaining the Language, and perfecting himſelf in the Exerciſes of Riding and Dancing, which laſt was his Maſter-piece: And thus taught and qualify'd, and glorioufly attir'd, at the Age of twenty one Years, he made his Appearance in the Court of *England*, after he had been well acquainted with the Nature and Cuſtoms of that of *France*. The Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that King *James*, of all Wiſe Men living, was the moſt delighted and taken with handſom Perſons and fine Cloaths; ſo that he was ſoon captivated with this pleaſing Object, firſt affording him his Smiles, and making him his Cup-Bearer, and then bringing him nearer by ſeveral Steps, leſt he ſhould too much expoſe him to the Malice of a jealous Competitor. The Courtiers ſoon perceiving the King's Inclinations, began to adore this Riſing Star, and the more becauſe they hated *Somerſet*, and knew that the Riſe of one Favourite would be the Ruin of the other; for which Reaſon alſo, the Queen her ſelf, tho' ſhe expreſs'd great Fears of *Villers*'s future Power, conſented to join in his Advancement, to Suppreſs the exorbitant Authority of the other. He was Cup-Bearer but a few Weeks before he mounted higher, and being Knighted, without any other Qualification he was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and then Knight of the Order of the Garter; and in a ſhort Time, conſidering the Vaſtneſs of the Aſcent, he was made a Baron, a Viſcount, an Earl, and a Marqueſs, and became Lord High-Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, Maſter of the Horſe, and entirely diſpos'd of all the Favours of the King, in conferring all the Honours and Offices of three Kingdoms without a Rival.

The Riſe of George Villers.

His Greatneſs.

The Beginnings of theſe accumulated Graces became very formidable to the Earl of *Somerſet*, who as he began to decline, became more ſenſible of the Terrors ariſing from the innocent Blood of *Overbury*; therefore was as active to preſerve himſelf, as his Enemies were to ruin him. Tho' nothing at preſent was laid to his Charge but the imbezelling ſome of the King's Jewels, yet finding himſelf in a tottering Condition, he threw himſelf at the King's Feet, acknowledging *The great Truſt his Majeſty had repos'd in him, and the mighty publick Weight lying upon him, which through Youth and Ignorance might make him ſlip into ſome Miſcarriages; therefore he humbly beſought his Majeſty to grant him a general Pardon for what was paſs'd, that he might not be expos'd to the Malice of thoſe who would make the worſt Interpretation of all his Actions.* The King who had rais'd this fair Edifice, being unwilling to have it quite deſtroy'd, gave Order for the drawing up a general Pardon, in ſo ample and full a Manner, that it might rather exceed than take riſe from any former Precedent; which was immediately ſent to the Broad-Seal. But the Queen having Intelligence of this, and uſing her Power with the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, put a ſtop to the Seal 'till the King ſhould come to Town, who was then on his Progreſs in the Weſt. And now what had been privately murmur'd in Corners openly reſounded in the Streets; for the Apothecary's Boy that gave *Overbury* the Cliſter, falling ſick at *Fluſhing*, reveal'd the whole Practice, of which Sir *Ralph Wenwood*, Secretary of State, gave a full Relation by his Correſpondent; and a ſmall Breach being thus made, the Earl had Enemies enough to ruſh in and overwhelm him. The King being inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, and ſtruck with Horror at the Relation, he ſent for the Judges, and gave them ſtrict Charge to examine the Matter with the utmoſt Severity, making Imprecations againſt them and their Families if they did not endeavour to diſcover it; *and if he ſpar'd any that was guilty, he wiſh'd God's*

Somerſet declines.

Curſe might light upon him and his Poſterity; ſo Zealous the King appear'd in the Proſecution of this black Affair. Upon this he repair'd to *Royſton*, and took *Somerſet* along with him, whoſe Ears were now continually tormented with freſh Reports and Diſcoveries; but he ſtill thought himſelf too firm in the King's Favour to be remov'd. Therefore when the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook* ſent for him, he went to the King with an open Complaint, reputing it an extraordinary Preſumption; but the King made Anſwer, *Thou muſt go then, for if* Cook *ſends for me I muſt go too.* Others ſay that when he came to take his Leave of the King, his Majeſty embrac'd and kiſs'd him often, urging him to haſten his Return, and ſhowing an extream Concern to be without his Company, but as ſoon as he was gone, ſaid with a Smile, *I ſhall never ſee thy Face again.* However it was, his Counteſs was apprehended before his Arrival at *London*, and committed to Cuſtody in *Black-Friars*; and as ſoon as he came he was ſeiz'd, and committed to the Charge of Dr. *Mountain*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*; and then they proceeded without Interruption, try'd, convicted, and condemn'd all the Offenders.

He and his Counteſs are impriſon'd for Overbury's *Murther.*

Weſton was the firſt Man examin'd and try'd, who ſtood very ſtiff and obſtinate, 'till the Biſhop of *London* on one ſide, and the Lord *Cook* on the other, ſo effectually manag'd him, that he laid open the whole Conſpiracy; and being at the Gallows allur'd with Promiſes to deny his former Confeſſion, his Mind being prepar'd for Death, he reſiſted the Temptation, and penitentially ſeal'd the Truth of it with his laſt Breath; and *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumſden*, who had violently urg'd him to pervert Juſtice, were afterwards fin'd and impriſon'd. Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next, a notorious Example of Pride and Laſciviouſneſs, who now became ſenſible of the Follies and Impieties of her paſt Life. Sir *Jervaes Ellways*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third who ſuffer'd on Tower-Hill, and was pity'd more than the reſt, being ſeduc'd by the Earl of *Northampton* to be a Spectator, rather than an Actor in this bloody Tragedy; which Connivance was too Criminal to be vindicated. At his Death he left two uſeful Sentences for human Inſtruction: The firſt, *Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it*; the ſecond, *Not to take too great Delight in a Pen*; for one began, and the other perfected his Ruin. The fourth that fell by the Hand of Juſtice was *Franklin*, a Man whoſe ſordid Behaviour at his Death agreeing with his pernicious Life, his Memory deſerves no further Notice.

The Condemnation of the reſt of the Offenders.

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After the Execution of theſe inferior Criminals, the primary Murtherers, the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Counteſs, were ſolemnly arraign'd before their Peers; where all the ſcandalous Letters between the Lady and *Forman* were read in open Court, and the Wax and Brazen-Poppets were publickly expos'd, to diſplay the Folly, as well as the Malignity of her Actions. But the Earl and her ſelf being both condemn'd to die, found the King's Mercy, notwithſtanding his former Imprecation, and after ſome Time of Impriſonment in the Tower were ſet at Liberty, and liv'd in private and obſcure Condition: Manifeſting, That no Content or Happineſs can be truly eſtabliſh'd, but on the ſolid Foundation of Juſtice. For that Love that caus'd them to break through all Reaſon and Oppoſition, either on her Side declining towards ſome new Object, as was commonly reported; or on his inclining to Reluctancy towards the old, became at length ſo languid, that it quite pin'd away, and they liv'd long after in the ſame Houſe as Strangers to each other. Her Death happen'd firſt, having all reaſonable Marks of the Vengeance of Heaven, being accompany'd with ſuch loathſom and prodigeous Circumſtances, as are not fit to be mention'd, only that they were directly oppoſite to all the fatal Charms of her former Beauty that ever could produce Love or Deſire. The Earl's Death was obſcure, without Fame, and without Poſterity; of whom we ſhall ſay no more, but that he had ſeveral commendable Qualities, and publick Affections, 'till they were all ſwallow'd up in this Gulf of Beauty, which plung'd him into

Somerſet and his Lady condemn'd and pardon'd.

Their Exits.

theſe dangerous Contrivances. Sir *Thomas Monſon*, another of the Counteſſes Agents, had paſs'd one Day's Trial at *Guildhall*; but the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook*, in his Rhetorical Flouriſhes at his Arraignment, dropp'd ſome Expreſſions, as if he could diſcover more than the Death of a private Perſon; intimating, tho' remotely, That *Overbury*'s untimely Death had ſome thing in it of Divine Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the ſame Crime againſt Prince *Henry*; bleſſing himſelf with Admiration at the Horror of ſuch Actions. In which he flew to ſo high a Strain, that he was taken down by a Court Lure, Sir *Thomas Monſon*'s Trial laid aſide, and he ſoon after ſet at Liberty, and the Judge was humbled ever after. This ſudden ſtopping of *Monſon*'s Trial, fill'd Mens Minds with ſtrange Imaginations; and the Lady *Arabella* dying about this Time in the Tower rais'd new Apprehenſions and Suſpicions, that ſhe dy'd no natural Death; ſo naturally does one evil Action introduce the Belief of another. The Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to the Father of King *James* by *Elizabeth Cavendiſh*, who privately marry'd to Sir *William Seymour*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grandſon to the Earl of *Hartford*: So that both were at ſome Diſtance ally'd to the Crown; which caus'd all her Trouble and Confinement, ſo dangerous is every Appearance that borders upon Soveraign Titles.

The Lady Arabella's Death.

During the ſeveral Trials of *Overbury*'s Murtherers, ſome publick Acts were perform'd of another Nature; particularly a memorable one was compleated by Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, a Citizen and Gold-Smith in *London*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite Expence, and indefatigable Labour, brought Water to the City of *London* from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* an *Amwell* in *Hartfordſhire*; having cut a Channel from thence to a Place near *Iſlington*, whither he convey'd it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all Places of the City. As this was a great Conveniency to the City, ſo another Act was perform'd which added much to the Pleaſure of the Place: For on the North-Side of *London*, a Place call'd *Moorfields*, inviron'd with deep ſtinking Ditches, and noiſom Common-ſhoars, was now not only made fair and ſweet, but ſo levell'd into Walks, and ſet with Trees, that it became the pleaſanteſt Place in all the City. On the following Year another thing was done for the Benefit and Beauty of the City; for *Smithfield*, which was before a rude and miry Place, was now pav'd all over, and ſtrong Rails ſeparating the middle Part of it, were ſet up to make it a fair Walking-Place, and fit for Markets, or any other publick Uſe.

Several Conveniences added to the City.

Wilſon. Baker. Spotſwood Ruſhwor. An. Camd &c.

VII. In theſe peaceable Times, the Temples of *Janus* being ſhut, all warlike Habiliments were turn'd into Masking-Attire, *Halcyon* Days ſhin'd round the Iſle, and the Influence of the King's pacifick Mind had almoſt an univerſal Operation. *Spain*'s Ambition was content to be bounded with the *Pyrenean* Hills and the *Atlantick* Ocean, reaping the Fruits of *Italy* and *Sicily*, hoarding the Treaſures of the *Indies*, and willingly ſinging a *Requiem* to the *Netherlands*. *France* wanting ſufficient Exerciſe, began to ſurfeit with Diſeaſes at home, which by Fits broke out into Tumours among themſelves: And the *Germans* were ſwell'd into a Dropſie of Voluptuouſneſs, by a continu'd Plenty, and the Delights of Peace. In theſe Times of Reſt, the grand Care and Concern of the King of *England* was for his only Son *Charles*, now about ſeventeen Years of Age, whom this Year he ſolemnly made Prince of *Wales*, with a Creation of twenty five Knights of the *Bath*, and a publick Tournament of forty Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*. But the principal Part of his Care was how to find a proper Match for him, about which he was ſo earneſt and intent, that for moſt of the latter Part of his Reign, it over-rul'd all his Counſels, and had a mighty Influence upon the whole State of Chriſtendom. His Intentions were ever Zealous for the Honour and Height of Royal Majeſty, and his Deſire was to match him with one of the higheſt Rank; tho' of a different Religion. There-

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The King's Son Charles made Prince of Wales.

Therefore his Thoughts were ſo long and earneſtly fix'd upon *Spain*, that it gave that King great Advantages over him and his Creatures. There had been a Treaty of Marriage between the late Prince *Henry* and a Daughter of *Spain*, which on the *Spaniard*'s Part was found to be a meer Compliment, carry'd on with the accuſtomed Gravity and Formality of that Nation. For the wiſe Earl of *Salisbury* purſu'd and drove the Matter to that Point, that the Duke of *Lerma*, wanting further Evaſions, diſclaim'd the very Being of a Marriage-Treaty. Nevertheleſs, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to acquit himſelf to *England*, and vindicate his Honeſty, openly produc'd his Commiſſion, together with Letters of Inſtruction from the Duke's own Hand: Which manner of Dealing might have been a ſufficient Cauſe of Indignation againſt any future Motions of this Nature.

His Father's Deſigns for his Marriage.

Therefore after the Death of Prince *Henry*, King *James* turn'd his Thoughts upon a Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth, late King of *France*, as the moſt proper Match for his Son *Charles*; and by Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, his Legier Ambaſſador, endeavour'd to know the Mind of that Court; but could not diſcern their Affections, being not very willing to diſcover his own. At length, in this Year 1616, he took an Occaſion to ſend the Lord *Hayes* extraordinary Ambaſſador to the *French* King, with unuſual Pomp and Magnificence, to Congratulate his Marriage with *Anne* the Infanta of *Spain*; and at that Time reſolv'd to make a full and compleat Trial. The Subject Matter was declar'd, and in Appearance well approv'd, but ſtill had no Succeſs; for the Duke of *Savoy* had engag'd King *Lewis*, and prevail'd for his Son the Prince of *Piedmont*. In the very Time of this Negotiation in *France*, the Duke of *Lerma* frequently intimated to Sir *John Digby*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, 'An extraordina-'ry Deſire in the King his Maſter, not only to maintain Amity with the King of 'Great Britain, but to join in all Methods that might be offer'd for the nearer 'Uniting of their Majeſties, and their Crowns; as alſo a Diſpoſition in this 'regard, to marry his ſecond Daughter to the Prince of *Wales*. The Ambaſſador, remembring the laſt Defeat, was extraordinary cautious how he gave Ear to the *Spaniard*'s Propoſals; but after many Debates, innumerable Scruples rais'd, and Difficulties urg'd, the Matter was brought to this Iſſue, 'That the 'ſeveral Difficulties ſhould be digeſted into certain Heads, and ſelect Perſons be 'appointed for a Conference, but with this Proviſo, That the Kings on either 'ſide ſhould not be intereſted, nor their Names us'd, 'till by clearing of Par-'ticulars there ſhould be great Appearances that the Marriage would take 'effect. Upon a Review of theſe Proceedings, *Digby* adviſ'd King *James*, 'Not to ſuffer his other Reſolutions to be interrupted by this Overture, which 'might be made purely to divert the Match with *France*, and to keep his Ma-'jeſty from declaring himſelf againſt *Spain*, in the Affairs of *Cleves* and *Juli-'ers*, ſtill undermin'd; nevertheleſs, he might be pleas'd for a while to ſu-'ſpend the *French* Treaty, and to entertain this Motion; to which End he deſir'd 'from him, only ſome private Inſtructions for his Direction and Warrant. Theſe remote Conferences made Way for that tedious ſolemn Treaty of ſeveral Years Continuance, in which the Advantage was apparent on the *Spaniard*'s ſide, who was indeed very formal and ſpecious in it, but no ways warm and vigorous, if in any Degree real. But King *James* having a violent Inclination that way, when he was once induc'd and elevated with Hopes, was ſo fix'd upon it, that he would grant all Things poſſible rather than break it, and was impatient in diſſembling his own Eagerneſs. This Affair was chiefly manag'd by the famous *Gondomar*, a Man exquiſitely form'd for the Purpoſe, who by his facetious Ways had highly captivated the King's Affections.

The Management with Spain.

The King now endeavour'd to move all Impediments that lay in the Way to his darling Deſign, and ſtudy'd all Methods to render himſelf acceptable to *Spain*. The Walls of *Great Britain*, the *Engliſh* Fleet, once the ſtrongeſt of all *Europe*, now lay uſeleſs in the Road, diſarm'd and in a ruinous Condition; while *Gondomar*

domar, as we are told, alledg'd to King *James*, that the refitting and furniſhing of it would raiſe Suſpicion in the King his Maſter, and avert his Mind from the deſign'd Alliance. Moreover the King reſolv'd to ſurrender the three Towns of *Fluſhing*, *Ramekins* and *Brill*, which were held by Way of Caution from the United Provinces 'till vaſt Sums were repaid, and which were the Keys of the *Netherlands*, and open'd the Paſſages in and out of the *Maes*, the *Rhine*, and the *Scheld*. For a Sum not amounting to the tenth Part of the Debt, due at this Time from *Holland* to *England*, he freed himſelf from thoſe Places, to prevent Requeſts and Propoſitions from the King of *Spain*, who claim'd the Propriety of them; and *Gondomar* puſh'd hard to obtain them, as knowing the great Advantage of their Situation. Such was the King's Care and Contrivance to keep Faith with the Confederate States, and not diſoblige *Spain*; and to make this appear a politick Action, it was alledg'd, That the vaſt Expence in keeping thoſe Forts, was as conſiderable as the Advantages of Poſſeſſion. However the States were certainly great Gainers, and all the Power of the *Engliſh* Intereſt in their Country was by this Means weakned, and brought to a Period; and the Alienation between King *James* and theſe Provinces, which appear'd of late, and was nouriſh'd by *Bernvelt* a Pentioner of *Spain*, was now increas'd, by the Obſervation and Diſcovery of his Compliances with *Spain*.

The King delivers the Cautionary Towns to Holland.

His Intereſt loſt in thoſe Parts.

Before theſe Tranſactions, ſeveral Alterations were made in the Miniſtry, beginning with a Breach between the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook*, and the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, which made a Paſſage to both their Declenſions. Sir *Edward Cook* was diſcharg'd from his Place, and within two Days Sir *Henry Montague*, the King's Serjeant at Law, was plac'd in his Room. The Perſon remov'd was a Man of excellent Parts, and an extraordinary Lawyer, but Paſſion and Pride was too predominant in him; yet being turn'd out chiefly by *Villers*, he might have been reſtor'd, if he would have given a Gratuity; but he honourably anſwer'd, *A Judge ought not to receive, or give a Bribe.* About the ſame Time, the Lord Chancellor, weary with the Imployment and weakned with Age, deſir'd the King's Permiſſion to retire; upon which the Seal and Place was given to the famous Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Attorney-General; and the Lord *Egerton*, or rather *Elleſmer*, wore out the Remainder of his Life in Quiet, dying in a good old Age full of Honour and Fame, proving the Fountain of a noble Poſterity, who were afterwards advanc'd to the Earldom of *Bridgewater*. Time and Age had alſo worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's able and faithful Secretary, who dying, Sir *Robert Naunton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; Men of contrary Religions and Parties, but join'd by the King, like contrary Elements, to find a Medium between them. But the greateſt Remove was the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord Treaſurer, who began to ſink upon *Somerſet*'s Fall; and now both his and his Wife's Extortions and Briberies being laid open, he not only loſt his Place, which was given to Sir *Henry Montague*, but was alſo fin'd thirty thouſand Pounds. About the ſame Time, Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, being charg'd by his own Servant with Bribery, he was turn'd out of his Place, and cenſur'd in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thouſand Pounds; being ſucceeded by *William Byrde*, a Man of greater Integrity. Alſo Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the King's Attorney, for ſecretly adding new Privileges to the Charter of *London*, was remov'd in Diſpleaſure, and Sir *Thomas Coventry* put in his Room; tho' afterwards *Yelverton*, for his great Undertakings in the Law, was made a puiſny Judge of the Common-Pleas.

Several Removals.

Sir Francis Bacon *Lord Chancellor.*

The Earl of Suffolk's *Fall.*

As there were frequent Varieties in Matters of State, ſo great Waverings were now diſcover'd in Mens Minds in Points of Religion; ſome went over from the Church of *England* to the See of *Rome*, and others came from *Rome* into the *Engliſh* Church. Among the reſt, one of eminent Note, M. *Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato*, a Man tho' old, corpulent and unfit for

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The Arch Bishop of Spalato's Arrival.

for Travel, came into *England*. Here he both preach'd and wrote againſt the Church of *Rome*, and extoll'd the Proteſtant Religion, 'till he came to be made Dean of *Windſor*, and Maſter of the *Savoy*, which he enjoy'd ſome Years: And then, whether out of an Humour of Change, or in Expectation of greater Preferment at home, he return'd to *Rome*, where he renounc'd and reproach'd the Proteſtant Religion: But all he could do to ſatisfie that Court had no Effect, for the *Inquiſition* laid hold upon him, he dy'd in Priſon, and after his Death they burnt his Body for a Heretick. We are aſſur'd that to this Man the World has been oblig'd for that noble Hiſtory of *The Council of Trent*; for by his Means and the Meaſures he had concerted with the famous Father *Paul*, before he left *Italy*, Arch-Biſhop *Abbot* got the Manuſcript tranſmitted by Parcels into *England*.

The King's Journey to Scotland.

It was now above fourteen Years ſince the King had ſeen his native Country *Scotland*, whereupon he reſolv'd to take a Progreſs thither, beginning his Journey in the Spring, and warming the Country as he went with the Glories of the Court. In his ſlow Paſſage, the Days were generally ſhorten'd with the Diverſions of Hawking, Hunting, and Horſe-Racing; and the Nights extended by the Entertainments of Feaſting, Masking and Dancing. And the King had proper Inſtruments for theſe Sports about his Perſon, as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Fennit*, and others, who knew exactly how to pleaſe his Majeſty with their Witticiſms, their Diſguiſes and Maskarades; but chiefly his great Favourite *Villers*, who being an excellent Dancer, brought that Paſtime into the higheſt Requeſt. Upon this Man he had ſhower'd many Titles and Preferments, one of which was Earl of *Buckingham*, who now reign'd ſole Monarch in the King's Affections; his Majeſty could not be well without him, and the Nobility could not be happy but by his Means, ſo that all Addreſſes were made to him for every Place or Office, in the Court or Country. In the Diſpoſal of which, the Lord *Clarendon* ſays he was guided more by the Rules of Appetite than of Judgement, exalting almoſt all his own numerous Family, and Dependants, whoſe greateſt Merit was their Alliance to him; which equally offended the ancient Nobility and the People, who daily ſaw the Flowers of the Crown fading and wither'd, and the Demeaſns and Revenues ſacrific'd to enrich a private Family, ſcarce known to the Nation, and the Expences of the Court ſo vaſt and unlimited, that they had a ſad Proſpect of that Poverty and Neceſſity, which afterwards fell on the Crown, almoſt to the Ruin of it. The King enter'd *Scotland* in the beginning of *May*, where he ſtay'd about three Months, took ſeveral Progreſſes, receiv'd many Entertainments, and made ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, and return'd into *England* in the Month of *Auguſt*.

Buckingham's Greatneſs.

The King's Return.

The Book of Sports publiſh'd.

The King being a great Lover of Sports and Recreations, this Year put out a Book, that gave Tolleration for the uſe of all common Paſtimes after Evening Prayers on *Sundays*; which was call'd *The Book of Sports*, and all Miniſters were enjoin'd to read it to their Pariſhioners in the Churches, and thoſe who refus'd were ſummon'd into the High-Commiſſion Court, impriſon'd and ſuſpended; all which gave great Offence to many pious and conſcientious Perſons, and was one Cauſe of the many Miſchiefs in the ſucceeding Reign. This new Encroachment upon the Sabbath gave both King and People more Liberty to prophane the Day with Authority; tho' the Arch-Biſhop, and ſeveral of the Biſhops, took the Liberty to declare againſt ſuch Practices. And as Prophaneneſs crept in on one Side, ſo Superſtition increas'd on the other, by the means of new Swarms of *Romiſh* Prieſts, who now dealt much in pretended miraculous Operations. One Company of them repair'd to *Staffordſhire*, among the Family of the *Giffords* in that Country, Gentlemen of plentiful Eſtates, where they practis'd their ſubtle Artifices to ſeduce the People. Among which there was a notorious Inſtance of the Boy of *Bilſon*, who pretended to be bewitch'd and poſſeſs'd by the Devil, proving one of the greateſt Impoſtures of

The Boy of Bilſon an Impoſture.

the Age. After he had plaid many ſtrange and deluding Tricks, and caus'd a poor Woman to be condemn'd for a Witch at the Aſſizes, the Cheat was by much Time and Diligence detected by Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of the Dioceſe, who happily preſerv'd an innocent Woman, diſplay'd the *Roman* Forgeries, and converted a wicked Boy, who afterwards prov'd a good Man; as the whole Story may be ſeen at large in *Wilſon*.

About this Time the Fate of the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* began to operate after a peculiar Manner; of whom Prince *Henry* was wont to ſay, *That no King but his Father would have kept ſuch a Man in a Cage*. He had been almoſt two Years releas'd out of the Tower, where he had been a Priſoner twelve Years, during which he compil'd his incomparable Hiſtory of the World, a Deſign and Performance ſo great, that no other Man of leſs Parts and Abilities could have accompliſh'd. Being now enlarg'd, and deſirous of Action and a full Liberty, he propos'd to the King to undertake a Voyage to *America*, upon a particular Aſſurance from one Captain *Kemiſh* of gaining a Mine of Gold in *Guiana*, a Country which he had formerly known. The King knowing him to be a Man of Skill and Bravery, gave him Liberty, and a Commiſſion under the great Seal of *England* to ſet out Men and Ships for that Service; but commanded him upon his Allegiance to give under his Hand, the Number of his Men, the Burthen and Strength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter. All which was exactly done, and came ſo timely to *Gondomar*'s Knowledge, that a full Account was ſent to *Spain*, and from thence to the *Indies*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet ſet Sail from the *Thames*: So that Sir *Walter* was unfortunately betray'd in the Beginning of a Deſign, which ſome thought ſo Romantick in it ſelf.

Sir Walter Raleigh *undertakes a Voyage to* America.

He is betray'd.

In the mean Time his Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Eſtates and Perſons, in this promiſing Enterprize; and being gallantly furniſh'd with all Things neceſſary for Peace or War, they ſet out with ten Ships, encountring no Difficulties 'till they came to *Cape Verde* in *Africa*; but there, and at *Bravo*, they met with many violent Storms, which prov'd a great Hindrance to their Voyage, being forc'd to leave their Cables, Anchors and Water-Casks behind them; ſo that by length of Time, Heat of the Climate, and Want of Water, a great Sickneſs fell among them, and ſwept away many of their beſt Men, both for Sea and Land Service. But with much Patience and Hardſhips gaining Sight of the Coaſt of *Guiana*, they came to Anchor in the River *Caliana*; where they landed their ſick Men, ſet up Barges and Shallops that were brought out of *England* in Quarters, waſh'd their Ships, and took in freſh Water, being furniſh'd and aſſiſted by the *Indians* whom Sir *Walter* had formerly known. He, in this general Contagion, having ſtruggled with a long Sickneſs, and being yet unable to move otherwiſe than in a Chair, gave order to five ſmall Ships to ſail up the River *Orinoque*, under the Conduct of Captain *Kemiſh*, towards the Mine of which he had inform'd Sir *Walter* in *England*. In theſe five Ships were as many Companies of Foot, under Command of Captain *Walter Raleigh* the General's eldeſt Son, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Thornhurſt*, and Captain *Chedley*, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in ſuffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. As they paſs'd up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and fir'd at the *Engliſh* Ships with great and ſmall Shot; yet ſtill they landed their Forces without much Loſs, near the Town call'd St. *Thomas*, of which with little Difficulty they made themſelves Maſters, but with the Death of Captain *Raleigh*, to the great Grief of the Aſſailants. Tho' the *Spaniards* were not ſtrong enough to defend the Town, yet they were ſufficiently prepar'd to ſecure the Mine; ſo that Captain *Kemiſh* finding it impracticable to get up to it by Water, and the Avenues by Land ſo well guarded, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and with deep Sorrow return'd.

He Lands in Guiana.

St. Thomas taken.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the News of his Son's unhappy Death, and the fruitleſs Return of *Kemiſh*, was touch'd to the very Soul, crying out to *Kemiſh*, *That he had utterly ruin'd him, and wounded his Credit with the King beyond Recovery; but he, who was the firſt Mover of the Deſign, muſt expect to bear the weight of the King's Anger as well as himſelf.* *Kemiſh*, as deeply tormented as himſelf, and leſs able to ſuſtain the Burden, retir'd to his Cabin overwhelm'd with Melancholy, and ſhot himſelf; and the Bullet only breaking the Rib, which was too ſlow for his Fury, he deſperately thruſt a Knife in after it up to the Haft, and with him the Glory of the whole Voyage expired. For the Deſign being thus diſcover'd and broken, their Ships being leaky, Proviſions failing, and the Men miſſing the Golden Showers they expected, ſeveral of them began to Mutiny, ſome would return home; and the major Part forc'd the General to ſwear, not to go home without their Allowance. Then ſome would go for *Italy*, ſome for *France*, and few for *England*, fearing the *Spaniſh* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*; and thus being ſhatter'd in Judgement, with greater Storms than the Seas and Winds had produc'd, Sir *Walter* at length arriv'd with four Ships at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, where he ſtaid for ſome ſhort Space in Safety.

The Voyage unſucceſsful.

A. D. 1618. Reg. 16. The News of the taking and burning St. *Thomas* coming to *Gondomar*, he violently ſet upon the timorous King, and inſiſted upon Reparation; and the Matter was aggravated with the blackeſt Circumſtances by thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction, as if this Enterprize not only might make a Breach of that deſign'd Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta*, but alſo prove an Infringement of the Peace and Amity eſtabliſh'd between the two Crowns. The King's Fears being kindled into Anger, he diſavow'd the whole Action; and leſt other of his Subjects ſhould by this Example attempt the like Hoſtility againſt *Spain*, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, in which he ſhew'd his Deteſtation of ſuch Proceedings, and threaten'd ſevere Puniſhment to the Actors; which gave ſome Satisfaction to *Gondomar*, whoſe chief Deſign was now to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* into his Power. Therefore he ſubtlely veil'd over his Reſentments, that whilſt Sir *Walter* lay in *Ireland*, he neither found nor heard of ſuch great Difficulties, but that he might appear ſafely in *England*; and the Men not willing to be baniſh'd their own Country, put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no ſooner on Shoar, but he had private Intimation, which gave him Cauſe to ſuſpect the Smoothneſs of the Beginning would have a rough Concluſion: Therefore he attempted an Eſcape from thence in a Bark of *Rochelle*; but being ſuddenly apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukley*, his Kinſman, who had a private Warrant for that Purpoſe, he was brought to *London*, and recommitted to the Tower, from whence he attempted a ſecond Eſcape, but was taken upon the *Thames*, and more cloſely committed. Being now in ſafe Cuſtody, all his Tranſactions in this Voyage were put upon the Rack, and by his Adverſaries ſtretch'd to his Diſadvantage; yet he ſtill excus'd the main Charge by ſaying he was forc'd to take St. *Thomas* by the *Spaniards* firſt attacking him, without which he could not arrive at the Mine. *Gondomar* prov'd an Adverſary too powerful for him, ſo that at length his Life was offer'd up as a Sacrifice for *Spain*, but not upon ſuch Grounds as that Ambaſſador had deſign'd: For he deſir'd a Judgement upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occaſion he might ſubtlely gain from the *Engliſh* an Acknowledgement of his Maſter's Right in thoſe Parts of *America*, and prevent all future Attempts of that Kind. But the late Voyage was not ſo much as brought into Queſtion, only his former Condemnation, which was believ'd to have been obtain'd by an Artifice, was now reviv'd; his Arraignment at *Wincheſter* fifteen Years before was laid before him at the King's Bench-Bar, where it was demanded of him, *Why Execution ſhould not paſs upon him, according to the Sentence therein pronounc'd?* Sir *Walter* courageouſly anſwer'd, *That he was reſtor'd by the King's late Commiſſion, which gave him new Life and Vigour; for he that has Power over the*

The King diſavows the Deſign.

Raleigh *committed to the Tower.*

His former Sentence reviv'd againſt him.

the Lives of others muſt neceſſarily be Maſter of his own. This reaſonable Plea was by no means admitted by the Court, therefore he deſir'd that ſome Time might be allow'd him to prepare for Death; but it was anſwer'd, *That the Time appointed was the next Morning, and it was not to be doubted, but that he had long ſince prepar'd himſelf for Death.*

The next Day, to the deep Concern of many worthy Perſons, he was brought to a Scaffold purpoſely erected in the *Palace-Yard* in *Weſtminſter*, where with a brave Conſtancy and Chriſtian Courage he loſt his Head, in the ſixty ſixth Year of his Age; at which Stroke ſuch Abundance of Blood iſſu'd from his Veins, as ſhew'd he had a ſufficient Stock to have continu'd many Years, if it had not been taken away by the Hands of Violence. This was the fatal End of the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, highly in Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Terror of the *Spaniards*; a Man of extraordinary Bravery and admirable Abilities, who in his excellent Writings has nobly trac'd the Steps of the Divine Providence and Vengeance in the Falls of great Men, yet after all could not eſcape himſelf. This has given Occaſion to others to trace thoſe leading to his own Fate; and to inſinuate, as the Hardſhips he ſuſtain'd were Indications of the Hand of Heaven, ſo his unjuſt ſwallowing ſuch large Portions of the Church's Revenues in the late Reign, and his thirſting after the Blood of the Earl of *Eſſex*, did at length call for Puniſhment, by a double Deprivation, one of Eſtate, and the other of Life.

He is beheaded.

His Character.

However, it was one of the great Blemiſhes of the Reign of King *James*, who now ſeem'd totally wedded to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, or at leaſt fully reſolv'd to carry his Cauſe in the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with the *Infanta*. Therefore after many tedious Delays and Obſtructions, he this Year enter'd into certain Articles with the King of *Spain*; the Sum of which were, 'That the 'Pope's Diſpenſation ſhould be firſt obtain'd by the King of *Spain*: That the 'Children of this Marriage ſhould not be compell'd in Matters of *Religion*, 'nor their Titles prejudic'd if they prov'd *Catholicks*: That the *Infanta*'s Fa'mily might be *Catholick*, and have a decent Place for Divine Service, ac'cording to the Uſe of the Church of *Rome*, the Eccleſiaſticks wearing their 'proper Habits: That ſhe ſhould have a competent Number of Chaplains, a 'Confeſſor, *&c.* That the Marriage ſhould be firſt ſolemniz'd in *Spain* accord'ing to the Council of *Trent*, and afterwards reiterated ſo as to make it valid 'according to the Laws of *England*. In the allowing of theſe Articles, the King thus expreſs'd himſelf, *Since this Marriage is to be with a Lady of a different Religion from us, it becomes us to be ſo tender, as on the one ſide to give them all Convenient Satisfaction, ſo on the other, to admit nothing that may blemiſh our Conſcience, or detract from the Religion here eſtabliſh'd.* The People of *England*, equally hating the *Spaniards* and the *Popiſh* Religion, were irreconcilably averſe to the Marriage, and would have bought it off at the deareſt Rate; and as far as they durſt oppos'd it by Speeches, Counſels, Wiſhes and Prayers; but if any ſpoke lowder than the reſt, he was ſoon ſilenc'd or check'd from above; when as in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, Books and Pictures were publiſh'd to expoſe both the King and State, for which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in vain ſought for Satisfaction. The *Engliſh* Catholicks extreamly deſir'd the Match, hoping for a Moderation of Fines and Laws, perhaps a Toleration, if not a total Reſtoration of their Religion; for they gain'd more and more Indulgence by this ſlow-pac'd Treaty; and the Articles of Religion were long forming in the *Spaniſh* Court, and inlarg'd and multiply'd by endleſs Demands.

Articles of the Spaniſh Match.

The Engliſh averſe to it.

The King at this Time was alſo buſily imploy'd in Matters of Religion, occaſion'd by the Spreading of the Doctrines of *Arminius* in *Holland*, whoſe Followers were call'd *Remonſtrants*. The King hearing ſome Years ago, that the States of *Holland* were determin'd to chuſe one *Vorſtius*, the chief of theſe *Remonſtrants*, to be Divinity Profeſſor in *Leyden*, whoſe Opinions were con-

The King's Endeavours againſt Arminianiſm.

trary to thoſe King *James* had imbib'd, he earneſtly ſollicited the States, both by his own Letters and by his Ambaſſador Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the ſaid *Vorſtius* to that Employment, *leſt his Doctrines ſhould ſpread themſelves into his Dominions.* The Ambaſſador in the King's Name preſſing the Matter, the States anſwer'd in Juſtification of *Vorſtius*, 'That he was 'choſen according to ancient Cuſtom, by the Curators of *Leyden*; and whereas 'he was afterwards charg'd by ſome Perſons to be unſound in Doctrine, the 'Curators thought fit, with the Conſent of *Vorſtius*, that both at *Leyden* and 'the *Hague*, he ſhould appear and anſwer his Accuſers, which he did, and 'none came to charge him. But not long after ſix Miniſters undertook to prove 'that *Vorſtius* had publiſh'd falſe Doctrine, who being heard in a full Aſſem-'bly of the States, they could find no Reaſon to diſplace him: And they aſſu-'redly believ'd, That if his Majeſty of *Great Britain* were inform'd of the 'true Circumſtances of this Affair, he would according to his great Wiſdom 'conceive favourably of them; their Proceedings being with all Reverence, Care 'and Reſpect to his Majeſty's ſerious Admonition. The King perceiving by this Anſwer, that the States thought ſo well of *Vorſtius* that they would not comply with his Requeſt, he caus'd his Books to be publickly burnt in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, and in both the Univerſities, and again wrote to the States, *That if they did not diſplace him, he would publickly proteſt againſt them.* Sir *Ralph Winwood* repreſented this to the States, and finding them cold and backwards in proceeding againſt *Vorſtius*, he ſeverely remonſtrated againſt them; to which the King finding them only to make dilatory Anſwers, he at laſt exhorted them to call a National Council, to put an End to theſe Controverſies, to which they at length conſented.

The *Arminians* or *Remonſtrants* knowing that they were like to be out-number'd, oppos'd the calling of a Council; and it was diſcover'd that *Barnevelt*, the chief of the *Remonſtrants*, now *Arminius* was dead, had ſecretly levy'd Soldiers in *Utrecht*, to defend themſelves againſt *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, who ſided with the contrary Party; on Notice of which the Prince with five hundred Men march'd to *Utrecht*, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the new levy'd Companies, that at the firſt Word of Command they laid down their Arms and ſubmitted. After this, *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, *Leydenberg*, and *Grotius*, the four Chiefs of the *Arminian* Party, were ſeiz'd, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. *Leydenberg* in Deſpair ſtabb'd himſelf in Priſon; *Hogenberts* and *Grotius* were condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; but *Grotius* after ſome Time, made an eſcape in a Trunk, which his Wife told the Soldiers of the Caſtle was full of *Arminian* Books, which ſhe would ſend away that they might not diſtract her Husband's Head. *Barnevelt* met with the hardeſt Fate, for he was beheaded at the *Hague:* Yet he liv'd long enough to ſee his own Opinions condemn'd at a National Synod held at *Dort*, whither King *James* ſent Dr. *Carlton*, Biſhop of *Landaff*; Dr. *Hall*, Dean of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Davenant*, Divinity Profeſſor, and Maſter of *Queen's* College in *Cambridge*; Dr. *Ward*, Maſter of *Sidney* College in *Cambrige*; and Mr. *Belcanquel*, a *Scotchman* and Batchelor of Divinity; where they met with Divines from the *Palatine*, *Heſſe*, *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Emden*, and other Provinces, who generally agreed to condemn the Doctrines of *Arminius*, concerning Conditional Election and Reprobation, the Univerſality of Redemption, *&c.* But herein King *James* in a great Meaſure loſt his Aim; for this Cenſure caus'd theſe deep Points to be more nicely ſearch'd and examin'd, and theſe condemn'd Opinions ſprouted and gather'd Strength by being topt by a combin'd Party; ſo that in this and the next Reign, *Arminianiſm* became faſhionable in *England*, and was generally oppos'd to *Puritaniſm*.

The Synod of Dort.

Shortly after there appear'd a mighty Blazing-Star in *Libra*, which occaſion'd Variety of Conjectures concerning its Influence and Prognoſtication. Many thought it portended the Death of Queen *Anne*, who after its Appear-

Queen Anne's Death.

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ance dy'd of a Dropſey at *Hampton-Court*, when ſhe was forty five Years of Age. She was brought from thence to her Palace in the *Strand*, for the more triumphant Glory of her Obſequies, which were celebrated at *Weſtminſter* above a Month after. She dy'd on the firſt Day of *March* 16^{18}_{19}, to the deep Concern of all good Men and loyal Subjects; leaving behind her the Name of a peaceable and dutiful Wife, and a virtuous and pious Queen.

Wilſon. An. Camd Ruſhwor. Rot. Parl. Spanhem. &c.

VIII. The King for a conſiderable Space continu'd a very melancholy Widower; which was a ſort of Introduction to further Troubles, Perplexities and Imbarraſſments, from which he was ſcarce ever free all the reſt and moſt infirm Part of his Reign. Theſe had their Riſe from the Fires that broke out in *Germany* in the preceding Year, between the Proteſtant Princes and the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which Commotions involv'd and drew along the Affairs of moſt Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially the two Potent Kings of *England* and *Spain*. The Catholick Cauſe, and the Lot of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, induc'd and oblig'd the King of *Spain*, who was the ſtrongeſt Branch of that Family; and King *James* was ingag'd both by common and particular Intereſt, the Religion he profeſs'd, and the State of his Son-in-Law, the Elector *Palatine*, who was a principal Agent in theſe Wars. It was a mighty Concern to the whole Chriſtian World, and the Iſſue had a main Dependance upon the King of *England*, being the moſt powerful Prince of the Proteſtant Profeſſion; but his Proceedings were now ſtrangely govern'd by the unhappy *Spaniſh* Treaty; ſo that it brought great Diſhonour to himſelf, and inſuperable Calamities to his Son-in-Law.

A. D. 1619. Reg. 17.

The King's Troubles.

The Troubles in Germany.

The *German* Troubles and Commotions began with the Emperor's Crowning his Couſin *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; but with a Reſervation of all Regal Power to himſelf during Life. The Conſequence of this ſoon prov'd a terrible Oppreſſion of the Proteſtants in *Bohemia*, which at that Time were very numerous, and had large Privileges, as well as great Power and Authority. Theſe States and Nobles of the Country, ſummoning an Aſſembly at *Prague* to redreſs their Grievances, were oppos'd by ſome of the Emperor's Miniſters of State, the very Day of their Meeting; the Manner of which exaſperated them to ſuch a Height of Paſſion, that they threw *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief-Juſtice, *Smeſantius* one of the Council, and *Fabritius* the Secretary, from a high Window into the Caſtle Ditch. Upon cooler Thoughts the *Bohemians* endeavour'd to palliate this raſh Action by Apologies to the Emperor; but at the ſame Time they ſtrengthen'd themſelves with new Levies both of Horſe and Foot, the better to ſecure their own Peace, and to baniſh the main Incendiaries, the *Jeſuits*, out of *Prague*, whoſe diſtemper'd Zeal had firſt kindled the Flame. The Emperor finding theſe Diſturbances, rais'd an Army under the Command of Count *Bucquoy*; and the Proteſtant States perceiving the Emperor inrag'd, rais'd two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, and the other by Count *Mansfeldt*. Some Skirmiſhes paſs'd between the Imperial and *Bohemian* Forces, and ſome Towns were taken on both Sides; but in the Heat of theſe Conteſts, the old Emperor dy'd in the Beginning of the Year 1619. Upon which the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who in the *Interregnum* is chief Vicar of the Empire, publiſh'd his Right by the Golden Bull to govern in Chief, 'till a new Emperor be choſen; and by Advice he aſſum'd the Power, requiring the People to demean themſelves peaceably under his Government.

The Emperor Matthias *dies.*

After many Struggles, *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of *Matthias* the late Emperor, at *Frankfort* was elected King of the *Romans*, and afterwards crown'd Emperor of *Germany*. The States of *Bohemia* diſclaim'd the Election as invalid, becauſe he could not be an Elector himſelf as King of *Bohemia*; for that he had never been actually in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. And tho' their Diſſent could not leſſen the Election of *Ferdinand*

Ferdinand *ſucceeds him.*

to

to the Empire, yet they proteſted by Oath, never to acknowledge him their King. Theſe Heats grew into greater Flames, and the Proteſtant States of *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, and *Hungary*, join'd with the *Bohemians*, and baniſh'd the Jeſuits. They were proſperous in the Beginning; but the *Auſtrian* Party receiv'd Vigour by new Supplies out of *Hungary* and *Flanders*; and the Emperor capitulated with the Duke of *Bavaria* to levy Forces to his Uſe, for the Expence of which he engag'd Part of his Country to him. The War daily increaſing, the King of *England* interpos'd in theſe Differences, and ſent the Viſcount *Doncaſter* extraordinary Ambaſſador to mediate a Reconciliation. His conſtant Love of Peace, and his preſent Fear of the fatal Iſſue of ſuch Commotions, together with the Requeſt of the King of *Spain*, mov'd him to undertake this Affair. It was the *Spaniard*'s Policy to make him a Reconciler, and ſo by that Means to place him in a State of Neutrality, and fruſtrate the Hopes of that Support the Princes of the Union might expect from him by the Intereſt of the Count *Palatine*: For which Cauſe the King of *Spain* ſpread abroad ſpecious Pretences, *That King* James *ſhould be the ſole and grand Arbiter of this Cauſe of Chriſtendom.* Nevertheleſs his Mediation was neglected by the Catholick Confederates, and his Ambaſſador ſlighted and poſtpon'd in the Buſineſs. And at the ſame Time, the King's Agent Mr. *Cottington*, being ſenſible of their unworthy Dealings in the Court of *Spain*, profeſs'd, *That his moſt uſeful Service, and beſt agreeing with his own Conſcience, would be to diſingage the King his Maſter.* However the *Bohemians* reſolv'd to proceed in their own Way; and being aſſembled for that Purpoſe, with the Conſent of their Confederates, they ſolemnly elected *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, for their King; ſtill hoping to be ſtrengthen'd and ſecur'd by the Alliance and Aſſiſtance of his Father-in-law, the King of *Great Britain.*

The Count Palatine *elected King of* Bohemia.

The Count *Palatine* being elected King of *Bohemia*, immediately crav'd Advice of King *James* his Father-in-law, concerning the Acceptance of that Royal Dignity. When this important Buſineſs was debated in the King's Council, Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Infirmities would not permit him to be preſent in the Conſultation, wrote a zealous and fervent Letter to the Secretary of State, to urge the King's utmoſt Aſſiſtance in this critical Juncture, which might turn highly to the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion all over *Europe*. But the King was unfortunately engag'd in thoſe Ways, out of which he could not eaſily extricate himſelf. Beſides it did not pleaſe him to find Kingdoms diſpos'd after ſuch a Manner, as that his Son-in-law ſhould ſnatch a Crown out of ſo hot a Fire; and he was wont to ſay, *That the* Bohemians *made uſe of him, as the Fox did of the Cat's Foot to pull the Apple out of the Fire for his own Eating.* In the mean Time, before the King could give any Anſwer, the Count *Palatine* was perſuaded by the Proteſtant States to accept of the Election; and thereupon he made his Entrance into *Prague* upon the laſt of *October*, and on the Fourth of *November* was ſolemnly crown'd King of *Bohemia*. Of all which he ſent ſpeedy Advice into *England*, excuſing the Suddenneſs of this Action, becauſe the Urgency of the Cauſe would admit of no further Deliberation. King *James* ſurpriz'd at this bold Step, diſavow'd the Act, and would never ſo much as grace his Son-in-law with the Stile or Title of his new Dignity. But Sir *Richard Weſton* and Sir *Edward Conway* were ſent Ambaſſadors into *Bohemia*, to make up the Breach between the Emperor and the Elector *Palatine*. And he was ſo very apprehenſive, leſt the *Palatine*'s Nearneſs to him might give Cauſe of Suſpicion to his Brother of *Spain*, that he commanded his Agent *Cottington* to give that King plenary Information of all Proceedings, and to let him underſtand that whatever the *Palatine* had done, was without his Countenance, Procurement or Allowance. The King of *Spain*, tho' he condemn'd *Doncaſter*'s Proceedings, was at length ſatisfy'd with King *James*'s Integrity, declaring, *That it would gain the more Authority and Eſtimation, if he ſhould continue to diſclaim that which had been done ſo contrary to his Opinion.*

King James *diſapproves the Election.*

A. D. 1620. Reg. 18.

The Count *Palatine* was no ſooner ſetled in his new Kingdom, when the Emperor publiſh'd a Proſcription againſt him, 'wherein he proclaim'd him 'guilty of High-Treaſon, excluded him out of the publick Peace, and proſe-'cuted him as the publick Enemy of the Empire, and a Contemner of his Im-'perial Majeſty; likewiſe abſolving all his Subjects from their Oaths and Du-'ties to him, and commanding all Perſons whatſoever to abandon him and his 'Adherents. All the Princes and Potentates in the Empire were alarm'd, and began to make ready for War, joining to that Side whither their Intereſts or Inclinations led them. In *Spain* alſo they made all Preparations for the ſame War; only the King of *England* would take no Alarm, abhorring War in general, and diſliking the *Palatine*'s Cauſe as a dangerous Precedent againſt Monarchy, being ſtill fed with Hopes of compoſing all Differences by the Succeſs of the *Spaniſh* Treaty. For which Purpoſe Sir *Walter Aſton* was ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain*, and *Gondomar* return'd into *England*, to continue there, 'till the long-debated Match ſhould be concluded. The Articles of Religion for Securing Liberty of Conſcience to the *Infanta* and her Family were greatly enlarg'd by the Commiſſioners, and allow'd by the King of *England*; but ſtill without a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, all the Tranſactions were but Nullities. And for this Cauſe it was expected, that King *James* ſhould propoſe ſuch Conditions for the Increaſe and Advantage of the Catholick Religion, that the Pope might deliberate whether they might any ways merit the Diſpenſation. To this Demand the King made Anſwer in his Letter to the King of *Spain*, 'That 'he had done as much in Favour of the Catholicks as the Times would bear, 'and promis'd upon the Word of a King, That no *Roman* Prieſt, or other Ca-'tholick, ſhould henceforth be condemn'd upon any Capital Law: And tho' he 'could not at preſent reſcind the Laws, inflicting only pecuniary Mulcts, yet 'he would ſo mitigate them, as to oblige his Catholick Subjects to him: And 'if the Marriage took effect, his Daughter-in-law ſhould find him ready to in-'dulge all Favours which ſhe ſhould requeſt for thoſe of her Religion. With this the *Spaniſh* Council acknowledg'd great Satisfaction; and a Paper was drawn up accordingly by a *Junto* of Canoniſts, Lawyers, and Divines, to perſuade the Pope to perform his Part.

The King of Bohemia *proſcrib'd by the Emperor.*

The Spaniſh *Deſigns.*

In the mean Time an Army of thirty thouſand Men was raiſing in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Marqueſs *Spinola*; which gave King *James* an Occaſion to enquire after the Cauſe of ſuch great Preparations. The Marqueſs gave Anſwer, *That he receiv'd his Commiſſion ſeal'd up, with a Command, not to open it 'till his Army was compleated, and brought to a Rendevouz*; but the King had ſufficient Proof to aſſure him, that his Army was deſign'd for the *Palatinate*. Yet after all, no more than one Regiment, under the Command of Sir *Horatio Vere*, could be obtain'd from him, tho' two more were promis'd. When *Spinola* had his Rendevouz, where he muſter'd twenty ſix thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, he open'd his Commiſſion, which requir'd him to make War againſt all ſuch as ſhould be confederate with the *Bohemian* Rebels; all which he communicated to the Ambaſſador of *Great Britain*. At the ſame Time the *Engliſh* began their March, with as brave a Regiment as had appear'd in any Age, conſiſting moſt of Gentlemen, under a moſt worthy Commander, who was accompany'd with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex*, Perſons ennobled as well by their own Virtues, as by thoſe of their Progenitors. This handful of Men reach'd the *Palatinate* with ſome Difficulty, by the particular Aid and Conduct of *Henry* Prince of *Naſſaw*. But *Spinola*, having got the Start of the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of a far ſhorter March, had no ſooner arriv'd, but he took in ſeveral Towns, and greatly prevail'd over a diſpirited People: Yet he cautiouſly declin'd the Hazard of a Battel with the Proteſtant Confederates; nor was the Marqueſs of *Ansbach*, the Head of them, very forward to engage his Forces. And now the great Acceſs of Strength to the Emperor's Party, and this ſlender Aid from the King of *Great Britain*, to preſerve his Childrens Inheritance,

Sir Horatio Vere *ſent into the* Palatinate.

extreamly diſhearten'd the *German* Princes, and at length diſſolv'd the Confederacy. After a ſhort Space, the Seaſon of the Year advancing, the Princes of the Union retir'd into their ſeveral Countries, and the *Engliſh* Regiment was diſpos'd into three principal Garriſons: Sir *Horatio Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelberg*, and Captain *Burrows* in *Frankendale*; having only Power to preſerve themſelves in thoſe Walls, while the Enemy rang'd the Country at their Pleaſure.

But with ſmall Succeſs.

As the new King of *Bohemia* ſuffer'd extreamly in his Hereditary Dominions, ſo at this Time he met with a more ſevere Fate in his own Kingdom, which ſoon put a Period to his ſhort Reign. The Imperial Forces gathering Strength under *Bavaria*, *Bucquoy*, and D. *Balthazar*, advanc'd towards *Prague*, with a Reſolution to fight King *Frederick*; upon which the *Bohemians* quitted their Garriſons, to make their Army the more compleat. So upon the eighth Day of *November*, being *Sunday*, both Armies met for the fatal Deciſion of the grand Controverſie: The *Bohemians* ſtood upon the moſt advantagious Ground, between the Imperaliſts and the City of *Prague*; but the Enemy breaking through, diſpers'd and ruin'd the whole Army, and effectually purſu'd their Victory. The King and Queen, ſurpriz'd with this Defeat, among a wavering People, in a City not very defenſible, were conſtrain'd to fly the next Morning, with what Things they could carry with them. The Queen, being of the more gallant Spirit, bore it with moſt Undauntedneſs; but the King ſuffer'd doubly as he went, being condemn'd for keeping his Soldiers without Pay, having a vaſt Maſs of Mony by him, which he was forc'd to leave behind him, to augment the Spoils of his Enemies. Thus after one Year's Reign, King *Frederick* firſt loſt a deciding Battel, with all his Treaſure, and ſhortly after all his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not long after that, all his Hereditary Lands and Dominions in *Germany*; being at length forc'd to abandon his Native Country, all his Honours and Places, and with his Lady and Children retire into *Holland* for a Place of Refuge and Reſidence.

The King of Bohemia *defeated at* Prague.

He loſes all his Dominions.

The Misfortunes of this Family began now to rouſe King *James*, and to move him both to Pity and to Action: Wherefore a Council being call'd, an Order was made to promote the *Palatine*'s Reſtoration; and the King, to encourage the Princes of the Union, and to keep them in Arms, ſent them thirty thouſand Pounds; yet withal reſolv'd to treat for a Peace, and diſpatch'd Sir *Edward Villers* to carry the *Palatine*'s Submiſſion to the Emperor, upon Conditions to be conceiv'd according to Equity and Conveniency. On the other Side the *Spaniards* never more flatter'd King *James*, than after the Defeat at *Prague*: They declar'd that he ſhould order all Things according to his Pleaſure, for the *Palatine*'s Reſtoration, and be obey'd; that the *Infanta*'s Portion was preparing, and that the Pope was oblig'd to grant the Diſpenſation, from whom they reſolv'd to take no Denial: All which was encourag'd by *Digby*, *Cottington*, *Arundel*, *Worceſter*, and eſpecially by *Buckingham* and *Gondomar*; which laſt had gain'd the Acceſs of a Favourite, rather than a Foreign Ambaſſador; ſo that Sir *Robert Naunton*, for ſhowing a Diſlike to him, notwithſtanding his known Worth, was remov'd from his Secretary's Place, and *Conway* put in his Room. The King took great Delight in the Company and Converſation of *Gondomar*; a Perſon, as *Nani* obſerves, who with a ſtupendious Acuteneſs of Wit, ſo confounded pleaſant Things with ſerious, that it was not eaſie to be diſcern'd when he rally'd, or when he ſpoke of Buſineſs. He knew how to inſinuate and transform himſelf to the King's own Way and Humour; was full of Conceits, Jeſts and witty Sayings, and would ſometimes ſpeak falſe *Latine* purpoſely to pleaſe the King, telling him, *That his Majeſty ſpoke* Latine *like a Pedant, but himſelf like a Gentleman.* By ſuch little pleaſing Arts, and others of a more bountiful Nature with the Nobility and Ladies, he gain'd an extraordinary Influence, and ſerv'd his own Maſter with great Advantage.

The Spaniſh *Policy.*

Godomar's *Influence.*

The

The Favourite Earl was now made Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, and to his Maſterſhip of the Horſe was added the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*; and continually lying in the King's Boſom, every Man paid Tribute to his gracious Smiles. His Mother was made Counteſs of *Buckingham*, her eldeſt Son was made firſt a Knight, and afterwards Viſcount of *Purbeck*, her other Son was created Earl of *Angleſey*; and now happy was that Perſon who could gain a Kinſwoman, it being the next Way to a rich Office, or a ſwelling Title. The King, who never much regarded Women, had now his Court fill'd with young Ladies, Relations to the Marqueſs. Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief-Juſtice, who was reported to have given twenty thouſand Pounds for the Office of Lord-Treaſurer, before the Year expir'd, had it taken from him, and it was conferr'd upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who by being bred up in the Cuſtom-Houſe, and knowing the ſecret Arts of thoſe Offices, beſt knew how to ſupply by Projects, what was conſum'd by a riotous and prodigal Court. But the great Step to this Office, was *Cranfield*'s marrying one of the Marqueſs's Kindred, which ſoon rais'd him to be Earl of *Middleſex*; and the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Montague*, in lieu of his Mony, was made Preſident of the Council, Viſcount *Mandeville*, Earl of *Manchester*, and after *Worceſter*'s Deceaſe, Lord Privy-Seal. The Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, in Appearance made all theſe Removes and Advancements, but in Reality moſt of the Affairs in Church and State were privately tranſacted by his Mother, for moſt Addreſſes were firſt made to her, and ſo convey'd to be finiſh'd by her Son, who generally regarded his Pleaſure more than his Profit: Which caus'd *Gondomar*, among his other pleaſant Stories, to write into *Spain*, *That there was never more Hopes of* England's *returning to Popery than now; for there were more Prayers and Offerings made here to the Mother, than to the Son.*

The Power of Buckingham's *Mother.*

The Marqueſs himſelf, as he was a Man of excellent Symetry and Gracefulneſs, ſo he affected Beauty where he found it; but being a general Lover, he treated all Women accordingly, only to gratifie his own unlawful Ends, and then diſmiſt them for the more prevailing Charms of the next fair Lady. He deſign'd to have practis'd this Method upon the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Daughter, who was to be Miſtreſs of all her Father's vaſt Fortunes: He ſpread his fine Nets for her, carry'd her to his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, kept her there for ſome Space, and then return'd her back to her Father. But the ſtout old Earl, fir'd with Indignation, ſent him this threatning Meſſage, *That he was too much of a Gentleman to ſuffer ſuch an Indignity; therefore if he did not immediately repair his Daughter's Honour by marrying her, his Greatneſs ſhould not protect him from his Juſtice.* The Marqueſs, who perhaps made uſe of this Stratagem to gain her Father's Conſent, ſhe being the greateſt Match in the Kingdom, had no Reaſon to diſlike the Propoſal, and therefore he ſoon ſalv'd up the Wound by conſummating the Marriage. This young Lady was bred up a *Roman* Catholick by her Mother, but was converted by Dr. *White* to be a zealous Proteſtant; which croſſing the Inclinations of the old Counteſs of *Buckingham*, who was a fiery Romaniſt, ſhe with the Help of her Jeſuits at length plac'd her on the firſt Foundation.

Buckingham *marries the Earl of* Rutland's *Daughter.*

The King himſelf being jealous of uncontroll'd Soveraignty, and impatient of his Peoples viewing the Myſteries of State, had fallen into a great Diſlike of Parliaments, and for ſeveral Years had given way to Patents, Monopolies, and ſuch diſtaſteful Projects: And probably many of his Miniſters, fearing an Enquiry into their own Actions, ſuggeſted to him, That he had better furniſh himſelf by thoſe Ways, and the Match now in Treaty, than by Subſidies accompany'd with the Redreſs of Grievances. Nevertheleſs he now reſolv'd to call a Parliament, conceiving it might prove of ſpecial Advantage: For he found the Affections of the People much rais'd for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, which would naturally open their Purſes to the Supply of his Wants; then the Treaty of *Spain* might effect the Buſineſs, without the Expence and

A. D. 1621. Reg. 19.

Troubles of War, and the good Agreement between him and his People would quicken the *Spaniard* to conclude the Match. Accordingly a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet on the thirtieth Day of *January* at *Weſtminſter*; where the King made a long Speech, which may be ſeen at large in the Introduction to *Nalſon*'s Collections; in which he laid open his great and numerous Expences, and handſomly pleaded for ſuitable Supplies; he alſo declar'd his great Readineſs to recover the *Palatinate*, for which rather than fail *he would engage his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood, to effect it.* At the ſame Time his Majeſty ſent the Lord *Digby* Ambaſſador to the Emperor to urge him to a poſitive Anſwer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recover'd by Peace, before he proceeded to actual War; and now expecting the Emperor's Anſwer, the Parliament proceeded in their Work, receiving Petitions from ſeveral Perſons impriſon'd and ruin'd by the horrid Extortions of voracious Patentees and Monopolizers, who were active in promoting illegal Exactions, to which the King's Neceſſities and ill-adviſ'd Counſellors had driven him. The chief Inſtruments of theſe Grievances were Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Mitchel*. The former had Fortune ſufficient to have maintain'd him fairly in the Country, but at Court he wanted this Novelty for his better Support; to whom *Mitchel* was made a Co-Partner, a ſervile Suburb Juſtice of Peace, who living by the Failings of his Neighbouring Females, was brought to Court and Knighted, and corroborated by theſe Letters Patents to oppreſs the needy Commoners. All which being canvas'd and laid open in Parliament, *Mompeſſon* made his Eſcape, and Sir *Francis Mitchel* was cenſur'd after this Manner: Firſt he was degraded with all the debaſing Ceremonies that Juſtice could invent, and after that was made to ride through the City with his Face to the Horſe's Tail, with a Paper on his Breaſt and Back declaring his Crimes: This expos'd him to the Scorn and Contempt of the Rabble in his Paſſage; but a large Fine and long Impriſonment ſecur'd him from further Miſchief. The pecuniary Puniſhment fell as heavily upon *Mompeſſon*, and upon other leſſer Confederates, which put an End to this Grievance.

The third Parliament in this Reign.

Oppreſſors puniſh'd.

Not long after the great Lord-Chancellor *Bacon* was brought to a Cenſure for the moſt extravagant Weakneſſes that ever enter'd into the Heart of a wiſe Man: He was a true Emblem of human Frailty, being more than a Man in ſome Things, and leſs than a Woman in others. His Crimes were Bribery and Extortion, yet more thoſe of his Servants and Dependants than his own, all which were prov'd and aggravated againſt him by ſo many Circumſtances, that he who in moſt things was thought a Man of the greateſt Parts in the Kingdom, and elevated above Pity, now fell miſerably below it; and his eloquent Tongue that us'd to charm his Auditors with admirable Harangues, was now forc'd to deſcend to ſervile Supplications; for throwing himſelf and his Cauſe at his Judges Feet, before his Sentence was paſs'd, 'he humbly begg'd the Lords in Par-'liament, That his penitent Submiſſion might be his Sentence, the Loſs of 'the Great Seal his Puniſhment, and that their Lordſhips would recommend 'him to his Majeſty's Grace and Pardon for all that was paſt. Thus his great and towering Spirit was brought low, and Humiliation might have rais'd him up again, if the Weight of his Miſdemeanors had not kept him down. He loſt both his Peerage and Seal, and the Beam was wavering whether he ſhould carry the Title of Viſcount St. *Albans* to his Grave, which now was all he had; and to heighten his Miſery, many were cruſh'd in Pieces by his Fall, through the Debts he had contracted; and tho' he had a Penſion from the King, he wanted to his laſt; living obſcurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where the Remembrance of former Plenty and Grandeur lay ſo heavy upon his ingenious and now melancholy Temper, that he pin'd and conſum'd away. He was of a very grave and comely Preſence; of a quick and high flying Wit, ſtriving in ſome things rather to be admir'd than underſtood, and yet when he pleas'd to condeſcend no Man was more intelligible. In ſhort, he was of a moſt capacious Mind,

The Lord Bacon's Fall.

and a great Maſter of all Kinds of Learning, and the World is ſo much oblig'd to his noble Diſcoveries in Nature, that his Name will be celebrated with Honour to Perpetuity. *Gondomar* hearing of his Miſcarriages, and meeting him the *Lent* before his Cenſures, thought to pay him with his *Spaniſh* Sarcaſms, ſaying, *My Lord, I wiſh you a good* EASTER; *and you, my Lord,* reply'd the Chancellor, *a good* PASSOVER: For he could neither indure his *Engliſh* Buffoonry, nor his *Spaniſh* Treaty, tho' he was too wiſe to oppoſe them publickly. He treaſur'd up nothing either for himſelf or his Family, but his fatal Error was his Indulgence to his Servants; and his Decrees were always made with ſo much Equity, that none were ever revers'd as unjuſt. He was ſucceeded in his Place by Dr. *Williams*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who was firſt made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *York*. *Dr. Williams made Lord-Keeper.*

In this Parliament, tho' no Laws and Statutes were paſs'd, yet many Debates aroſe, relating to the King's Power and Prerogative, and particularly in the Houſe of Lords, where the King had the ſtrongeſt Party; yet ſeveral of that Houſe ſtood up boldly for the publick Liberty, as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Southampton*, *Eſſex*, and *Warwick*, the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Spencer*. This laſt Lord ſpeaking ſomething in the Houſe of Actions of their great Anceſtors, *Arundel* being diſpleas'd, ſaid, *My Lord, when theſe things were doing, your Anceſtors were keeping Sheep*, reflecting upon the numerous Flocks he lov'd: *Spencer* immediately reply'd, *When my Anceſtors were keeping Sheep, as you ſay, your Anceſtors were plotting Treaſon.* This caus'd ſuch a Heat, that *Arundel* as the Aggreſſor was ſent to the Tower, where after ſome Time, upon his Submiſſion to the Houſe, he was reſtor'd. The Commons on the other Side were no leſs warm and impatient, highly diſreliſhing both the Treaties with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and *Gondomar* had ſo rais'd the Peoples Fury, that he was revil'd and aſſaulted in the Streets of *London*. Upon which the King reſolv'd upon exemplary Juſtice; and being inform'd that one Man was apprehended, who had us'd railing Speeches againſt the Ambaſſador, it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that on the next Morning he ſhould be publickly and ſeverely whipt through *London*, beginning at *Aldgate*, and ſo along by the Place where the Affront was offer'd in *Fleetſtreet*, to *Temple-Bar*, without any Manner of Favour. This terrible Puniſhment more enrag'd the People againſt *Gondomar*, who by means of his Power with the King, had tranſported Ordnance and other Warlick Proviſions, to furniſh the *Spaniſh* Arſenals; and it was believ'd that he privately procur'd the ſending of Sir *Robert Manſel* into the *Mediterranean* Sea, againſt the Pirates of *Algier*. The Merchants of *England*, by them much infeſted, were alſo induc'd to move for this Expedition, in which the *Engliſh* Fleet perform'd gallant Exploits, and bravely fir'd the Pirates Ships within their Harbours. Nevertheleſs by this the *Engliſh* Strength was diverted, the Treaſure exhauſted, and the *Spaniſh* Fleets and Merchants ſecur'd from thoſe Robbers, and *Spain* left at Liberty to aſſiſt in ſubduing the *Palatinate*. *Heats in both Houſes.*

The Parliament having ſate about four Months, the King was deſirous to give them a Time of Receſs; therefore on the fourth of *June*, a Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe, 'That his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, thought 'fit to Adjourn the Parliament, leſt the Seaſon of the Year, by the continual 'Concourſe of People, ſhould cauſe Infection: Which Adjournment, keeping the Parliament ſtill in Being, was thought better than a Prorogation. The Commons were extreamly ſorry at their Diſappointment, having but juſt before made ſo hearty a Declaration to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the Affair of the *Palatinate*. A Committee of both Houſes attending his Majeſty, he declar'd to them, *That he took it very ill, That the Commons ſhould diſpute his Reaſons of Adjournment, all Power being in him alone, to call, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve Parliaments.* The Adjournment was appointed till *November* following, with a Declaration, *That in the mean Time he would by his own Autho-* *The Parliament Adjourn'd by the King.*

Authority redreſs Grievances. Moreover he iſſu'd out a Second Proclamation againſt licentious Speeches and Diſcourſes concerning Affairs of State: For notwithſtanding the Strictneſs of the King's former Commands, the Peoples inordinate Liberty of irreverend Language daily increas'd. Wherefore the King now threaten'd Severity, as well againſt the Concealers of ſuch Diſcourſes, as againſt the Laviſhneſs of audacious Tongues and Pens. The King grew more and more uneaſie, being continually ſollicited both from *Spain* and *Rome*, to enlarge his Favours to the *Popiſh* Recuſants; for Reports were then brought to *Rome* that all the Catholicks in his Dominions were cruelly treated. And beſides this, a Rumour was there ſpread, That King *James* in a Speech in Parliament had declar'd, *That notwithſtanding the* Spaniſh *Match, the* Engliſh *Catholicks ſhould not in the leaſt Point be in a better Condition*, when he had only ſaid, *That if any of that Party grew inſolent, let his People count him unworthy to reign, if he gave not extraordinary Puniſhment.* Thus was the King unhappily embarraſs'd and intangled in the Ways he had choſen; for it was not poſſible for him at once to pleaſe his People, and to ſatisfie his Foreign Intereſts.

At the Beginning of the Winter, the Lord *Digby* return'd from ſolliciting the Emperor, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, to the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, where he had met with no reaſonable Succeſs. And on the twentieth of *November*, when the Parliament met a Second Time, the King commanded him to give an Account of his Journey to the Houſe of Commons, and to repreſent how neceſſary it was for the King to obtain that by War, which he could not procure by a Peace. But tho' the King by his Miniſters encourag'd the Parliament to a War, yet they found him more inclinable to Peace, both in regard of *Gondomar*'s Power with him, his Indulgence to *Roman* Catholicks, and his Fondneſs of the *Spaniſh* Match, which he hop'd might heal all Breaches; tho' it was poſitively diſlik'd and diſapprov'd by all *England*, beſides *Romaniſts* and thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction. Therefore the Houſe of Commons, before they granted Subſidies, reſolv'd to try the King's Spirit by a ſolemn Petition and Remonſtrance, in which they laid open to his Majeſty the ſeveral great and increaſing Dangers ariſing from the *Romiſh* Religion in general, the Power of Papiſts in particular, and the great Oppreſſions of the Proteſtants in Foreign Parts; repreſenting at the ſame Time proper Remedies for theſe great Calamities, too long to mention in this Place. The Commons were more appehenſive of the Danger of their Religion, not only from the terrible Wounds lately given by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but alſo from the Severities the Proteſtants met with in *France*, from *Lewis* the Thirteenth, who at this Time beſieg'd them in *Montaubon* and *Rochelle*, and other Places, againſt all the Arguments and Mediations of King *James*'s Ambaſſador. When the Remonſtrance was brought to Perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the Houſe had time to ſend their Members with it; in which ſomething ſo highly diſpleas'd him, that he wrote the following Letter from *Newmarket* to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. *We have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, that ſome fiery and popular Spirits in the Houſe of Commons, have publickly argu'd and debated Matters far above their Reach and Capacities, tending highly to our Diſhonour, and Breach of the Royal Prerogative. Theſe are therefore to command You, in our Name to make known to the Houſe, that none therein ſhall preſume henceforth to meddle with any Thing concerning our Government, or deep Matters of State, nor with our Son's Match with the Daughter of* Spain, *nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends or Confederates. And if they have already touch'd any of thoſe Points, which we have here forbidden, in a Petition of theirs, which is to be ſent unto us, it is our Pleaſure that You tell them, That except they Reform it before it comes to our Hands, we will not deign the hearing of it.*

The Second Meeting in of the Parliament.

The Commons remonſtrate.

The King writes to the Speaker.

When

When the Houſe had duly conſider'd the Reaſons they had to draw up their Remonſtrance, which at that Time were very cogent and prevailing with them, they ſent the ſaid Remonſtrance, together with a new Petition to the King, in which they declar'd, 'That the Honour and Safety of the King and his Poſte- *The Parliaments Reply.*
'rity, the Welfare of Religion and State of the Kingdom, are at no Time un-
'fit for a Parliamentary Conſideration; not that they took upon themſelves,
'but as Loyal Subjects, to demonſtrate ſuch Things to his Majeſty, which
'they were not aſſur'd could otherwiſe come ſo fully and clearly to his Know-
'ledge. And whereas his Majeſty ſeem'd to reſtrain them from intermedling
'with the Matters of Government, that have their Motion in the Courts of
'Juſtice, and ſeem'd to abridge them of the ancient Liberty of Parliaments,
'Freedom of Speech, they were now forc'd to pray his Majeſty to allow it,
'and to take away the Doubts and Scruples, which his Letter to the Speaker
'had brought upon them. After this the Houſe were much diſcourag'd to pro-
ceed to Buſineſs, while there was ſo great a Difference between the King and them; for the King thought their Actions an Incroachment upon his Prerogative, and they thought the King's Expreſſions an Infringement of their Liberty; therefore they reſolv'd to give over all Buſineſs, 'till they had an Anſwer to their Petitions. The King hearing of this, was exceedingly vex'd and uneaſie, and very roughly entertain'd the twelve Members that were ſent to him; ſome ſay he call'd for twelve Chairs for them, ſaying, *Here are twelve Kings come to me.* After he had conſider'd their Deſires and Requeſts in their laſt Petition, he return'd them a long Anſwer in Writing, mix'd with ſome ſevere Expreſſions, in which he ſaid, *That their firſt Petition was unworthy of Anſwer, that their giving Advice about his Son's Match, and urging him to a War,* *The King's Rejoinder.* *was Intrenching upon his Prerogative,* inſinuating that the Firſt concerning his Son was High-Treaſon. In the latter End he tells them, *That he wonders they ſhould make ſo unjuſt a Comment upon the Words in his Letter to the Speaker, as if he meant to reſtrain them from their ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament: For tho' he cannot allow the Stile, calling it* their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance, *but rather have wiſh'd they had ſaid,* That their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permiſſion of his Anceſtors and himſelf, *ſince moſt of them grew from Precedents, rather ſhowing a Tolleration than an Inheritance, yet he gave them his Royal Aſſurance, that as long as they continu'd within the Limits of their Duty, he would be as careful to maintain their Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of his Predeceſſors did, nay, as he was to preſerve his own Royal Prerogative.*

But before this Heat aroſe in the Houſe of Commons, the Lords began to conſider how cheap they were made by the Multitude of *Iriſh* and *Scotch* Earls and Viſcounts the King had created, not the Natives of thoſe Kingdoms, but private *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had purchas'd and aſſum'd thoſe Titles, to get above the *Engliſh* Barony, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land. Therefore a Petition to the King was drawn up and ſign'd by thirty *The Petition of the Lords.* three Lords, praying that the Privilege of their Birth-Rights might be preſerv'd, and a Stop put to this growing Miſchief. The King was extreamly uneaſie at this Petition, not knowing what Conteſts the Endeavours for Place and Precedency might produce: And being fully prepar'd, he ſent for the Petitioners ſeparately, and privately expoſtulated the Buſineſs with them one by one, beginning roughly with ſome of them; yet ſtill he cloſ'd with them at laſt, as tho' his Anger was rais'd to make them humble, and reconcile themſelves to him, that he might the better reconcile himſelf to them. And to the Earl of *Eſſex* he threw out this Expreſſion, *I fear thee not* Eſſex, *if thou wert as well below'd as thy Father, and hadſt forty thouſand Men at thy Heels*: Which Words were utter'd with ſuch a Force, as if he had chid himſelf for letting him eſcape from him. And tho' this Petition did not derogate from the Dignity of thoſe Creations paſt, yet the King willingly reſtrain'd himſelf for the Time to come.

But

But the Houſe of Commons proceeded to bolder Attempts; and judging the King's Letters ſo many Impediments to their Privileges, and for all the King's Promiſes the Proteſtant Religion was unſecure, if the *Spaniſh* Match ſucceeded, they reſolv'd, whatever might be the Conſequence, to leave ſome Prints and Footſteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges to their Poſterities, as their Anceſtors had done to them; and therefore on the nineteenth of *December*, they regiſter'd the following Proteſtation in their Journal Book, after they had given two entire Subſidies. *That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges and Juriſdictions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of* England; *and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of* England, *and the Maintenance and making Laws, and Redreſs of Miſchiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and Matter of Council and Debate in Parliament. That in handling and proceeding in ſuch Buſineſs, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have Freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring the ſame to Concluſions. That the Commons in Parliament have likewiſe Liberty and Freedom to treat of theſe Matters, in ſuch Order as in their Judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt. That every Member of the ſaid Houſe hath like Freedom; from all Impeachment, Impriſonment and Moleſtation, other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf, for, or concerning any Speaking, Reaſoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Buſineſs. And that if any of the ſaid Members be complain'd of, or queſtion'd for any Thing done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is to be ſhew'd to the King, by the Advice and Aſſent of all the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, before the King give credit to any private Information.*

The Commons Proteſtation.

The King was again alarm'd by this Proteſtation, and he who naturally lov'd Peace both at home and abroad, had a War rais'd within his own Breaſt: For if he ſhould be ſilent or connive at this Proteſtation, it would remain as a ſtrong Bulwark for the People to Poſterity. Therefore neglecting his Pleaſures and Health in the Country, he came haſtily up to *London*, and upon the thirtieth of *December*, in a full Aſſembly of the Council, and in the Preſence of the Judges, he declar'd the ſaid Proteſtation void, invalid, and of none Effect, and with his Hand took the ſaid Proteſtation out of the Journal Book of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this Act to be enter'd in the Regiſter of the Council-Cauſes. And to put a Stop to all Complaints, as he conceiv'd, on the ſixth of *January* he by a Proclamation diſſolv'd the Parliament, after it had continu'd almoſt a Year, without paſſing one Act beſides the Subſidies, of which the Commons gave two and the Clergy three. The Proclamation ſet forth, 'That 'the Meeting, Continuing, and Diſſolving of Parliaments does ſo peculiarly 'belong to the King, that he needs not give any Account thereof to any other; 'yet he thought fit to declare, That in the Diſſolution of this Parliament he had 'the Advice and uniform Conſent of his whole Council; and that ſome parti'cular Members took inordinate Liberty, not only to treat of his High Prero'gatives, and Matters not fit to be argu'd in Parliament, but alſo to ſpeak di'reſpectfully of Foreign Princes: That they ſpent their Time in diſputing Pri'vileges, and diſcanting upon the Words and Syllables of his Letters and Meſſa'ges; and that theſe ill temper'd Spirits ſow'd Tares among the Corn, and by 'their Carriage have impos'd upon him a Neceſſity of diſcontinuing the preſent 'Parliament. And laſtly he declar'd, *That tho' the Parliament was broken 'off, yet he intended to govern well; and ſhould be glad to lay hold on the firſt 'Occaſion to call another.*

The King oppoſes it.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

This unexpected Diſſolution and Proclamation gave Occaſion to ſeveral ſawcy Tongues to ſlander their Soveraign and his Government; eſpecially when they found that ſeveral eminent Members of the Houſe of Commons, as Sir *Edward Cook*,

Cook, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Mallery*, and others, were committed to the Tower and other Perſons. They ſaid that *Great Britain* was now grown leſs than *Little England*, which had loſt its Strength by Changing of Sexes; and the ſcandalous Story of *David Rizio*, written by the King's Tutor *Buchanan*, had dy'd in every *Engliſh* Man's Opinion, if it had not been reviv'd by theſe Controverſies with the Parliament. And as Troubles bred Diſturbances at home, ſo they caus'd no leſs Diſhonour abroad, for they now deſpis'd the King's Power, as much as they formerly did his Courage; and in the King of *Spain*'s own Towns, in their publick Comedies, they preſented Meſſengers bringing News in haſte, That the *Palatinate* would ſhortly be repleniſh'd with a moſt formidable Army; *For the King of* Denmark *would furniſh them with a hundred thouſand Pickel'd Herrings, the* Hollanders *with as many Butter-Boxes, and* England *with as many Ambaſſadors.* In one Place they pictur'd King *James* with a Scabbard without a Sword, and in another with a Sword that none could draw out, tho' ſeveral were pulling at it; and at *Bruſſels* they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and no Mony in them, or his Purſe. And what was highly pitiable, as well as vilely diſhonourable, at *Antwerp* they pictur'd the unfortunate Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Iriſh* Mantler, with her Hair diſhevel'd, and her Child on her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradel after her. And every one of theſe Pictures had ſeveral Motto's, expreſſing the Fruitfulneſs of their Malice; ſuch Deriſions and Reflections were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation. But *Spanhemius* more ſeriouſly and ſolemnly ſums up the Ills that attended the Conduct of King *James*, and his Son-in-law in *Germany*, 'That thereby the 'Proteſtant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the Electoral Dig-'nity transferr'd from the *Palatine* Family, the *Palatinate* it ſelf loſt, the 'Liberty of *Germany* overthrown, and the Famous Library of *Heidelberg* 'remov'd to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning. So that *Gondomar* ſeem'd to have ſome Reaſon to ſay in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma, That he had lull'd King* James *ſo faſt aſleep, that he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their Behalf, ſhould be able to awaken him.*

Cenſures upon it.

Wilſon Ruſhwort Clerendus. Hacket. An. Camd &c.

IX. King *James* having freed himſelf from the Complainings of a troubleſome Parliament, ſtill retain'd his main Deſigns and Reſolutions of compleating the Marriage of his Son with the *Infanta* of *Spain*; where King *Philip* the Third being lately dead, was ſucceeded by *Philip* the Fourth. In order to effect this long and dilatory Affair, he ſent the Lord *Digby* his Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*; who landed at St. *Andero*, a poor Maritime Town in *Biſcay*, where the People uſually went bare-foot. In that mean Place his Lordſhip had the Patience to ſtay a Fortnight in Expectation of the *Spaniſh* Court Civilities; but in Reality was ſo ſlighted by tedious and impertinent Delays, and at laſt by baſe and ſordid Accommodations, that it was admir'd how he could bear it, and that the *Spaniards* were not aſham'd to offer it to an Ambaſſador. It was thought the more ſtrange, ſince King *James* had now treated the *Roman* Catholicks at home with ſo much Indulgence, that *Gondomar* boaſted he had releas'd four thouſand Recuſants by his own Mediation; either to make his Service more acceptable to his Maſter, or to let him ſee how willing King *James* was to advance that Match which had never been really deſign'd in *Spain*. Then to expedite the Diſpenſation at *Rome*, he wrote to ſome of the moſt active Cardinals there, and receiv'd Anſwers from them, by *Gage*, his Agent, full of promiſing Hopes. And that he might give ſome publick Teſtimony of his Indulgence, he commanded Biſhop *Williams*, then Lord-Keeper, to paſs Writs under the great Seal, to require the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge all ſuch Papiſts as were impriſon'd for Recuſancy, which was accordingly obſerv'd and perform'd. This Biſhop, as was formerly hinted, ſuc-

A. D. 1622. Reg. 20.

Digby's *Embaſſie into* Spain

ceeded

The Character of Bishop Williams.

ceeded the famous Lord *Bacon*; and for some Time continu'd in Favour with the Marques of *Buckingham*, and the Countess his Mother, whose Creature he was, and who, as it was believ'd, could mold and form him into any Shape to serve their Purposes; but afterwards growing high and stiff, they laid him aside. He was of a comely and stately Presence, which being animated with a great Spirit, made him appear very proud to vulgar Eyes; tho' really as he was a Man of extraordinary Parts, aiming at great Things, so he was of a bountiful Mind to all Men in Want, and a noble Patron to support where Merit wanted a Supply. This was shown in his Treatment of Monsieur *de Moulin*, a famous Minister of *France*, driven by Persecution into *England*; which being told the Bishop, he order'd Doctor *Hacket* his Chaplain to make him a Visit from him, and likewise to carry him some Mony, not naming any Sum, purposely to sound the Generosity of his Chaplain. Doctor *Hacket* finding the Bishop to mention no certain Sum said, *He could give him no less than twenty Pounds.* Upon which his Lordship suddenly answer'd, *Is twenty Pounds a fit Present from me to a Man of his Parts and Merits? Take a hundred Pounds, and present it from me, telling him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him my self.* Which he afterwards perform'd, and made good his Promise, in supplying him during his Abode in *England.*

Arch-Bishop Abbot's *Misfortune.*

About this Time, the Reverend Prelate, Doctor *Abbot* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, began to fall into Disgrace at Court, his Enemies taking Advantage of a late sad Misfortune; for shooting at a Deer with a Cross-Bow in *Bramzil* Park, the Arrow glancing casually kill'd the Keeper. This unfortunate Accident was such a sensible Affliction to this pious Man, that he retir'd to an Alms-House of his own Building at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, there to mortifie himself from the Enjoyment of worldly Pleasures. Some were of Opinion that it disabled him from exercising his Episcopal Function; but the King granting a Commission to enquire into the Fact, he found Friends that restor'd him from his Alms-House to his Palace, and he conferr'd a comfortable Subsistance upon the Widow and Children of this unhappily slain Man. But however, having disgusted the King by disapproving the *Spanish* Match, he never could recover any great Authority; and a Plant was now growing up that overspread him while he liv'd, and after his Decease obtain'd the Primacy. And this was the famous Dr. *William Laud*, a Person of extraordinary Spirit and Zeal, who was now made Bishop of St. *Davids*, by the Interest of the Marques of *Buckingham* and the Lord-Keeper *Williams*. This great and fiery Man, at *Oxford* had shown himself a mortal Opposer of the *Puritans*, of whom *Abbot* was thought to be a Favourer, and was there charg'd not only with *Arminianism*, but with holding several of the *Romish* Tenets. But for the scandalous Manner of his Rise, related by *Coke*, and pretendedly attested, it is so contrary to probability, that it can deserve no Place in History. The King had been disoblig'd at some Actions of his, therefore *Buckingham* his great Friend resolv'd to make use of *Williams* to raise him into the Bishoprick; and *Williams* knowing the Disposal of the Seal was at the other's Pleasure, found himself oblig'd to become *Laud*'s Advocate to the King. But his Majesty was at first utterly averse, for several Reasons; but the Keeper earnestly persisting, the King at last said, *Is there no Hold, but you will carry it! Then take him to you; but on my Soul, you will repent it:* And so departed in a great Passion, with other fierce and ominous Words, publickly discours'd in Court; after this *Arminianism* daily increas'd, and *Puritanism* was more strictly watch'd; but to restrain the licentious Tongues among either Party, the King issu'd out a Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with several good Articles and Directions to all Preachers whatsoever, as may be seen at large in *Wilson* and *Rushworth*.

The Rise of Bishop Laud.

As the King now labour'd to settle things at home, and keep his People in Obedience, so he was as active abroad to preserve his own Reputation: For he still

ſtill concluded that he ſhould ſalve all Miſcarriages by the intended Match with *Spain*, and that his People might ſee he could diſcern further into deep Matters of State than they, and ſo make the Error theirs. Therefore he induſtriouſly urg'd it by his Agents and Ambaſſadors, and all Indulgences to Recuſants were admitted to ſmooth and ſoften their Addreſſes. The Lord *Vaux*, a *Roman* Catholick, had liberty to tranſport four thouſand *Engliſh*, to reinforce the King of *Spain*'s Armies, both againſt King *James*'s Confederates of *Holland*, where his baniſh'd Children had Refuge, and againſt their Country it ſelf the *Palatinate*, which he had ſo much endeavour'd to preſerve. The Articles of Marriage had taken up much Time in Debate, between the Commiſſioners of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any Form; and thoſe concerning Religion had many various Shapes and Turns, 'till they were dreſs'd to their Satisfaction; and when they were form'd and faſhion'd by them, the Pope ſtript them, and new modell'd them as he pleas'd. So that the ſending and reſending between *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain*, waſted much Time, and might have ſerv'd for a Colour to draw the Treaty *in Infinitum*. Wherefore King *James* wrote ſeveral Letters to the Lord *Digby*, whom he made Earl of *Briſtol*; and he was commanded to declare plainly to the King of *Spain*, 'How far the King his Maſter had condeſcended in Matters of Religi-'on, which was more than was capitulated in the late King of *Spain*'s Reign; 'and if that would give Content, to proceed to a Concluſion of the Marriage, 'without further Delay; if otherwiſe, that then without more Loſs of Time, 'the King his Maſter may diſpoſe of his Son, and the King of *Spain* of the '*Infanta*, as they pleas'd. But the *Spaniard* ſtill continu'd in his former Pace, and would not be ſpurr'd forwards; and the Earl of *Briſtol* ſtill aſſur'd his Maſter, *That the King of* Spain, *tho' ſlow in his Proceedings, was real in his Intentions*. And tho' the Articles were fully drawn up in form, and agreed on both Sides, yet it is plain from the King of *Spain*'s Letter to *Olivarez* this Year, that the *Spaniard* never deſign'd the Match at all, in which he poſitively tells him, 'That his Father had the ſame Deſign, as well as himſelf, and 'ſo declar'd upon his Death-Bed; therefore he would have him break it off as 'ſoon as conveniently he could. Thus was King *James*'s Plain-heartedneſs deluded, his Honour blemiſh'd, his Love among his Subjects diminiſh'd, his Childrens Patrimony deſtroy'd, and he himſelf left without any Satisfaction.

The King's Endeavours for the Spaniſh *Match.*

The Spaniards *unfair Dealings.*

This ſtrange and unreaſonable Management in the Court of *Spain* gave Riſe and Occaſion to a very peculiar if not romantick Project form'd by the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, who envy'd the Earl of *Briſtol* for having the ſole Management of ſo great an Affair. Therefore he took an Opportunity to inſinuate to Prince *Charles* the common Misfortune of Men of his Rank, 'That in ſo 'nice a Part of their worldly Happineſs, as depended upon their Marriage, 'they had ſo ſmall a Share, uſually depending upon the uncertain Credit of 'others, for the Nature, Humour and Beauty of the Ladies they were to marry. 'Next, how brave and gallant it would appear for his Highneſs to make a 'Journey into *Spain*, and bring home his Lady; that it would put an End to 'all thoſe ſlow Formalities, which might ſtill retard the *Infanta*'s Voyage for 'ſeveral Months; all which would be immediately remov'd by his engaging 'Appearance: That it would be ſuch a ſingular Obligation to the *Infanta*, as 'ſhe could never ſufficiently eſteem or requite, as being a Reſpect rarely paid by 'any other Prince, upon the like occaſion: That in the great Affair concern-'ing the *Palatinate*, it was very probable the King of *Spain* might readily 'gratifie his perſonal Interpoſition, which in a Treaty with an Ambaſſador 'might be protracted, or attended with the ſtarting of new Difficulties: How-'ever, the Mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the *Infanta* her 'ſelf, who would ambitiouſly make it part of her great Debt to the Prince, 'that he might by her Influence preſent to his Majeſty the Peace and Reſti-'tution of his Family; which could not be effected by any other human Means.

A. D. 1623. Reg. 21.

Buckingham's *ſtrange Project.*

These Discourses made so deep an Impression upon the Mind and Spirit of the Prince, who was naturally inclin'd to Adventures, that he was transported with the Thought of it, and impatiently sollicitous to compass the Design. The most apparent Difficulty was how they should procure the King's Consent, who they knew to be very quick-sighted in discerning Difficulties, and raising Objections, but very slow in mastering and unravelling them; who, not knowing how to struggle with desperate Contingencies, abhorr'd to be involv'd and intangled with them. This was therefore first to be attempted by the Prince himself, and to communicate it to the King as his humble Suit, with this Circumstance, that since all his Actions depended intirely upon his Majesty's own Approbation, he would vouchsafe to promise Not to communicate the thing propos'd, before he had first taken his own Resolution: And that this Condition should be first obtain'd, before the substantial Part should be discover'd; and so this Approach being first made, the Success and Prosecution was to be left to the Credit and Dexterity of the Marquess.

The King acquainted with it.

All things being thus concerted, the two Adventurers soon found a proper Opportunity to make their Approaches. His Majesty chearfully consenting to the main Condition of Secrecy, the Prince upon his Knees declar'd his importunate Suit and Request, while the Marquess stood by, and enlarg'd upon the infinite Obligations his Majesty would accumulate upon the Prince, by his yielding to the tender Passion with which his Highness was transported; which being refus'd, would make a deep Impression upon his Spirits, and be accounted as the greatest Misfortune that could befal him in this World. The Prince taking Opportunity from the good Temper of his Father, insisted upon two Points, That his Presence in *Spain* would immediately conclude the Marriage, and likewise determine the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Sister; both which the King passionately desir'd. These Discourses, urg'd with the utmost Artifice and Address, so prevail'd upon the King, that with less Hesitation than was usual, and much less than was agreeable to his Wisdom and Character, he gave his Approbation and Consent that the Prince should make the Journey he so earnestly desir'd. They therefore, to prevent any new Measures which a solemn Preparation for so rash an Undertaking might gradually occasion, as soon as they had gain'd the King's Promise upon the main, represented, 'That the Security of such a Design depended on Expedition; that were 'they to stay either for the equipping a Fleet fit to attend the Prince of *Wales*, 'or 'till a Pass might be obtain'd from *France*, the principal Ends of their Jour-'ney would by Delays be disappointed: That therefore, since the Design had 'hitherto been a Secret to all but themselves, they might with the Attendance 'of only two Servants, get through *France*, before they could be miss'd at '*Whitehall*: Which indeed was very probable, and so the more readily consented to by the King; the Time of their Departure, the Servants that were to attend them, and whatever else should be thought necessary, being deferr'd 'till a second Consultation on the next Day.

The King consents to the Prince's Journey.

But when the timorous King in his Retirement came seriously to revolve what had been so loosely consulted, as he had a wonderful Sagacity in such Reflections, a thousand Dangers and Difficulties occurr'd to his distracted Thoughts; suggested as well by the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son, as the Influence he thought it might have on his People, too much inclin'd to murmur, and complain of the least Inadvertency; together with the Reputation he should forfeit among all Foreign Princes, if he so much departed from his Dignity, as to expose the immediate Heir of three Kingdoms to all the Jealousies and Dangers that might arise from that fathomless Abyss, *Reason of State.* These Reflexions were so terrible to him, that they robb'd him of all Peace and Rest; so that when the Prince and Marquess came to him about the Dispatch, he fell into a violent Passion with Tears, and told them, *That he was undone, and that it would break his Heart, if they pursu'd their Resolution.* Then he recounted

He repents.

recounted to them all the numerous Difficulties and Miſchiefs that had occurr'd to himſelf in his Retirement; particularly obſerving to the Marqueſs, who was already unpopular to the higheſt Degree, how unevitable his Ruin muſt be; concluding with that Diſorder and Paſſion with which he began, and with Sighs and Tears conjur'd them, *That they would no longer urge him to conſent to a thing ſo contrary to his Reaſon and Underſtanding, the Performance of which would prove his Death.* The Prince and the Marqueſs took no Pains to anſwer any of his Majeſty's Reaſons: His Highneſs only reminded him of the Promiſe he had made the Day before, *Which if he ſhould violate, it would make him never think of Marriage more.* But the Marqueſs, who better knew what Arguments would prevail, treated him more rudely, and with all the Inſolence of a Favourite told him, *His Breach of a Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made, would ruin his Credit with all Mankind; that ſome Raſcal had furniſh'd him with his pitiful Reaſons; and that it would be ſuch a Diſobligation to the Prince, whoſe Heart was fix'd upon the Journey after his Majeſty's Approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any Man who had been the Occaſion of it.* So that at length the Prince by his humble and importunate Entreaties, and *Buckingham* by his rougher Dialect, prevail'd ſo far, that the Debate upon the Journey was reſum'd, in which it was agreed, That they ſhould take their leaves of the King in two Days, his Highneſs pretending to hunt at *Theobalds*, and the Marqueſs to take Phyſick at *Chelſey*.

Buckingham hectors him.

They next proceeded to the manner of Attendance, and told the King, That being to have no more than two in their Company, they had fix'd upon Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who were both grateful to the King, the former being Secretary to the Prince, and the other of his Bed-Chamber; ſo that his Majeſty wiſh'd that it might be immediately imparted to them, becauſe many things might occur to them, as neceſſary to the Journey, which they two would not think on. Whereupon Sir *Francis Cottington*, waiting then in the outward Room, was quickly brought in; to whom the King ſaid, *Here is Baby* Charles *and* Stenny (for ſo he uſually call'd the Marqueſs) *have a Mind to go Poſt into* Spain, *to fetch home the* Infanta, *and deſigning to have but two in their Company, have choſen you for one, what think you of the Journey?* Sir *Francis*, ſurpriz'd and trembling at the Conſequence, reply'd, *That he could not think well of it; for the* Spaniards, *when they had the Prince in Poſſeſſion, would make what new Overtures they believ'd moſt advantageous to themſelves, and among the reſt, many that concern'd Religion, and the Exerciſe of it in* England, *and by that means ruin all the Attempts that have been for the compleating the Match.* Upon this the King threw himſelf upon his Bed, and ſaid, *I told you this before*, and fell into new Paſſion and Lamentation, *That he was undone, and ſhould looſe Baby* Charles! Hereupon the Marqueſs reproach'd *Cottington* with all poſſible Bitterneſs of Words, and told him, *That the King only ask'd him about the Journey, and beſt Way of Travelling, and not his Advice upon Matters of State, which he had the Preſumption to give againſt his Maſter, and which he ſhould repent as long as he liv'd.* This threw the poor King into a new Agony, on the behalf of a Servant like to ſuffer for anſwering honeſtly, upon which he reply'd with ſome Heat, and a profane Oath, *You are very much to blame to uſe him thus; he has anſwer'd like an honeſt and wiſe Man to the Queſtion I ask'd him, and you know 'tis no more than I told you before he came in.* However, after all this Paſſion and Heats on both ſides, the King yielded; having by this plainly diſcover'd that the whole Intrigue was firſt contriv'd by the Marqueſs, and now purſu'd by his Spirit and Impetuoſity.

He yields.

The two Adventurers being ready, with their two Attendants, ſet forwards with falſe Beards to cover their ſmooth Faces, and paſs'd towards *Dover* under the Names of *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*, in all Places leaving greater Impreſſions of their Bounty than was agreeable with their Diſguiſes. At *Dover*

The Prince and Buckingham *begin their Journey.*

the officious Mayor examin'd them ſo ſtrictly, that the Marqueſs was forc'd to diſcover himſelf in private, and tell him he was going to viſit the Fleet; ſo they had liberty to take Shipping, and landed at *Boloign* the ſame Day, making the ſwifteſt Motion by Poſt-Horſes 'till they arriv'd at *Paris*. There the Prince ſpent one Day to view the Grandeur of the City, and Splendor of the Court; and they both together ſaw the Queen Mother at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the Evening they had a full View of the Queen *Infanta*, and the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, with moſt of the Beauties of the Court, at the Practice of a Masking Dance; being admitted by the Duke of *Montbaſon*, the Queen's Lord-Chamberlain, in Courteſie to Strangers, when many of the *French* were refus'd. Here the Prince ſaw thoſe Eyes, which afterwards ſo inflam'd his Heart, that it was thought to be one Occaſion of inflaming three Kingdoms. From *Paris* they paſs'd with all Expedition to *Bourdeaux*, where the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, Governor of the City, offer'd them the Civilities of his Houſe; but Sir *Francis Cottington*, handſomly declin'd the Invitation by informing him, *That they were Gentlemen that deſir'd to improve themſelves, and had not Breeding ſuitable to his Grandeur*. They met with ſome Difficulties alſo at *Bayonne*, the laſt Town in *France*, where the Count *de Gramont* was Governor; who being a pregnant Man read ſomething extraordinary in their Looks, but this being a Time of Peace, he out of ordinary Civility let them paſs: Yet within a few Hours after they had taken Poſt, he had Notice by a Courier from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to the *Engliſh* Court, that the Prince of *England* was among them; ſo that the Prince had great Fortune in meeting with ſuch little Interruption, when the *French* might have made great Advantages by ſtopping his Paſſage.

They arrive in Spain. Upon *Saturday* the ſixth of *March* they arriv'd at *Madrid*; where the Prince and Marqueſs came one Day before *Cottington* and *Porter*, to raiſe the leſs Noiſe in Appearances. They lighted at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe in the Evening, where the Marqueſs brought in the Portmanteau, while his Maſter ſtaid without with the Guide, 'till he had prepar'd a way for Privacy. The Earl of *Briſtol* was aſtoniſh'd at the Sight; and the next Morning the City was fill'd with Rumours of the Arrival of ſome great Prince; which was ſufficiently known to the King of *Spain*, tho' he thought fit to conceal it. In the Evening *Buckingham* and *Briſtol* went to Court, and had private Audience of the King, who ſent his grand Favourite *Olivarez* back with them, to congratulate the Prince's Arrival, who let the Prince know *how infinitely happy his Maſter was in the Enjoyment of him there, and that the Obligation was ſo great, that he deſerv'd to have the* Infanta *thrown into his Arms*; all this while kneeling, kiſſing his Hands, and imbracing his Thigh, with all the Marks of *Spaniſh* Humility. Next he addreſs'd himſelf to the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, telling him, *That now the Prince of* England *was in* Spain, *his Maſter and he would divide the World between them*, with other Flights of Rhetorick and Fancy. *Their kind Reception.* After his Departure, about ten a Clock at Night, the King of *Spain* came in a cloſe Coach to viſit the Prince, who having Notice of his coming, met him in the Way; and there they ſpent ſome Time in ſuch Careſſes and Embraces as are uſual at the Interviews of great Princes and Monarchs. *Gondomar*, lately return'd, had alſo his peculiar Compliment the next Day; for he declar'd to the Prince, *That he had ſtrange News to tell him, which was, That an* Engliſhman *was ſworn Privy-Counſellor to the King of* Spain; meaning himſelf, who had lately receiv'd that Honour, tho' he was an *Engliſhman* in his Heart.

The common Sort did highly applaud this brave Adventure, and expreſs'd his Welcome by Shouts and Acclamations of Joy; and immediately they marry'd him to the *Infanta*, as it were by publick Voice. The King and Council contriv'd how to give his Highneſs the moſt honourable Reception, and decreed, that upon all Occaſions of Meeting he ſhould have the Precedency of the King;

King; that he ſhould make his Entrance into the Royal Palace, in the ſame State that the Kings of *Spain* us'd to do on the Day of their Coronation, and that one of the chief Quarters in the King's Palace ſhould be prepar'd for his Lodgings; that a hundred of the Guard ſhould attend him, and all the Council obey him as the King's own Perſon. A general Pardon was publiſh'd; the Priſons were open'd, and hundreds of Offenders were ſet at Liberty; and a late Proclamation againſt Exceſs in Apparel was revok'd. The following Day after Dinner the King came in Perſon, with his Favourite *Olivarez*, and ſeveral other of the Nobility, to conduct the Prince from the Town to the Court, having Horſes and all Equipage proper for ſuch Shew and Grandeur. Thus nobly mounted, they rod through the Streets under a Canopy in as much State as at a Coronation, the Prince riding on the King's right Hand. The Queen and the *Infanta* from a Window in the Court ſaw them; and when they diſmounted the *Infanta* retir'd, and the Queen went to her Chamber, in Expectation of a Viſit. When the King and Prince enter'd her Room, ſhe roſe to meet them, making a low Obeiſance to the Prince, which he return'd with a profound reverential Bow; and after ſome Compliments, they ſat down on three Royal Seats, the Queen in the middle, and the Prince on her right Hand; when after half an Hour's Converſation, the Queen brought the Prince to the utmoſt Extent of her Chamber, and the King to a ſtately Appartment provided for him. Immediately after the Queen by her *Major-domo* gave him a further Welcome, with ſeveral rich Preſents of Perfumes, and coſtly wearing Linnen; and the King ſent him two Golden Keys, which would open all his private Lodgings, and his Bed-Chamber, letting him know, that he had free Acceſs to him at all Hours. Here he was conſtantly attended and ſerv'd with *Grandees* and *Titulados*, as the King himſelf; and was entertain'd with many Shows and Triumphs, and ſeveral daily Paſtimes. And one Day running at the Ring, in Company of many of the Nobility, his Highneſs was the only Perſon that bore the Ring away, and that in the Preſence of the *Infanta* his Miſtreſs; which was interpreted as a fortunate Preſage at the Beginning of his Atchievement. In ſum, there wanted nothing that human Invention could produce to manifeſt and diſplay the Height of outward Glory. And now the *Engliſh* Nobility came over in great Numbers into *Spain*, and the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* had the new Title of Duke ſent him by King *James*, that he might be in the higheſt Rank among the *Spaniſh Grandees*; and the Prince was ſo encircled with a magnificent Retinue of his own People, that it might be ſaid, there was an *Engliſh* Court in the Palace of the King of *Spain*.

The Prince highly honour'd

When all the ſplendid Ceremonies were a little over, the Prince began to conſider the main Buſineſs of his Journey, and deſir'd a more intimate Acceſs to his Miſtreſs, which *Olivarez* promis'd from Day to Day, but ſtill delay'd: But at length, when unperform'd Promiſes were heighten'd into Shame, he plainly confeſs'd that it was agreed by the King and Council, *That he might not ſee her as a Lover, 'till the Diſpenſation came from* Rome; but he had ſometimes Acceſs to her as a Prince in a publick Way, the King of *Spain* being always preſent, and the Earl of *Briſtol* Interpreter. It was obſerv'd that the Prince had ſometimes his Eyes immovably fix'd upon the Lady for half an Hour together, in a thoughtful ſpeculative Poſture, othertimes he watch'd a full Hour in a cloſe Coach in the Streets to ſee her as ſhe went abroad; and one particular Time, he climb'd over a lofty Wall, and hazarded his Life, to ſee her in a Garden. But now the chief Obſtructions ſeem'd to have proceeded from the Pope, who us'd all Endeavours to cauſe the Prince to turn Catholick; the People of *Spain* were not a little elevated with ſuch Hopes, and Promiſes were made to him of great Aſſiſtance, if his own People ſhould rebel upon that Conſideration. Orations and Proceſſions and pompous Shows were made to allure him; Popiſh Books were dedicated, and Popiſh Pictures were preſented to him; they carry'd him to the moſt Religious Places, and to Perſons famous for

His Inclinations for the Infanta.

Endeavours to make him turn Catholick.

for pretended Miracles; and the Pope himſelf wrote a ſmooth inſinuating Letter to him, and another to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to bring about this glorious Converſion. He return'd a civil Anſwer to the Pope's Letter, but as he had firſt anſwer'd *Olivarez*, *He came not thither for Religion, but for a Wife*, ſo he remain'd ſtedfaſt in his Religion, nor did he expreſs any ſhew of Change, when he was under the greateſt Temptations.

A. D. 1623. Reg. 21. At length, after innumerable Scruples and Impediments, the long ſollicited Diſpenſation came from Pope *Gregory* to the Court of *Spain*, but ſo clog'd that it caus'd new Delays and Difficulties, which where at laſt ſurmounted by the King of *Spain*, who now began to be ſeriouſly inclin'd to the Match, and caus'd it to be publickly declar'd at *Madrid*. After which certain Articles, to the Number of twenty three, were ſign'd and ſworn to by the King of *England*, the Prince and Privy-Council. Theſe were ſtil'd by the Cardinals, *Propoſitions for the right Augmentation and Weal of the* Roman *Catholick Religion*, and were much of the ſame Nature with thoſe of which we have given the Subſtance, Page 947; only in one Article it was provided 'That 'the Sons and Daughters that ſhould be born of Marriage, ſhould be brought 'up in the Company of the *Infanta*, at leaſt 'till the Age of ten Years. Beſides theſe publick Articles, which were confirm'd under the Great Seal of *England*, *Ruſhworth* has given us ſome private Articles, ſworn to by King *James* and the Prince, greatly to the Advantage of the *Romaniſts* in *England*; but of theſe *Nalſon* juſtly doubts, as being too much void of Proof, as well as Probability. Thus the great Buſineſs ſeem'd to have been accompliſh'd; which gave King *James* ſo much Satisfaction, that being tranſported with an Aſſurance of the Match, he was heard to ſay, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot break it*; to which one ſoftly reply'd, *There was never a Devil left in Hell, for they were all gone into* Spain *to make it up.* In *Spain* the *Infanta* was ſtil'd *The Princeſs of* England, and was kept no longer in her Virgin Retirements. In *England* a Chappel was building for her at St. *James*'s, and Don *Carlos*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, laid the firſt Stone: Her Picture was every where to be ſeen, and a Fleet was prepar'd for her Paſſage; and the greateſt Enemies to the Alliance ſubmitted to the King's Will. But in all this Capitulation between the two Crowns, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* was laid aſide; the King conceiving that the Conſummation of the Match would over-rule and ſettle that Affair to his intire Satisfaction. The *French* were very apprehenſive of this Conjunction, and thought it ſafeſt to make Peace at home, and employ their Strength to bound the Incroachments of the Emperor and King of *Spain*: By which means a ſevere Perſecution ceas'd in that Kingdom; the Proteſtants were permitted to call home their baniſh'd Miniſters, to build their ruin'd Churches, and enjoy their Liberty in Religion. This Happineſs did King *James*'s joining with *Spain* procure to an almoſt ruin'd People.

Articles of the Marriage.

King James's *Satisfaction.*

But after all the King's Conceſſions, the *Spaniards* contriv'd new Delays, and propos'd harder Terms; and the Pope had oblig'd the Catholick King to ſee the Conditions perform'd, and to protract the Marriage, 'till Matters in *England* were put in perfect Execution. Whereupon the Divines adviſ'd the King, that the Promiſes of Marriage be immediately made, but the Conſummation and the Delivery of the *Infanta*, be deferr'd 'till *May* in the following Year. But while they were contriving new *Remora's*, Pope *Gregory* that granted the Diſpenſation dy'd, which furniſh'd them with a Pretence that the Diſpenſation was now invalid; yet with a Reſerve to keep up the Prince's Spirit, That it ſhould be no Hindrance to the Match, for the new Pope would immediately perform his Part; and the King of *Spain* aſſur'd the Prince, That if he would ſtay 'till *Chriſtmaſs*, the Marriage ſhould then be really celebrated. Theſe repeated Delays, and continu'd Obſtructions, caus'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was highly diſoblig'd at *Olivarez*, to ſend home ſuch provoking Accounts of the *Spaniſh* Procraſtinations, that King *James* writ to *Buckingham*

New Delays in the Spaniſh *Court.*

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in the moſt expreſs Terms *to bring his Son back with all ſpeed, and if his Son's Youthful Follies ſhou'd tie him to a longer Expectation, he charg'd him upon his Allegiance to come away, and leave him there.* This Letter was immediately ſhown by the Duke to the Prince, which ſo effectually wrought upon him, that he took up a ſudden Reſolution to return into *England.* Of which the *Grandees* in *Spain* having Notice, they were exceedingly concerned; for their Deſign was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping to turn him to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that ſhe being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there 'till ſhe was deliver'd, that ſo the Child might be educated and naturaliz'd a *Spaniard*, both in Affection and Religion, which this ſudden Reſolution hindering, it extreamly ſtartled them. *Olivarez* charg'd the Duke of *Buckingham* with giving him Aſſurance of the Prince's turning Catholick, which the Duke told him was falſe; which caus'd very angry and reſenting Expreſſions on both ſides: So that the Duke, not regarding a ceremonious Farewel, departed haſtily a little before the Prince, pretending to prepare the *Engliſh* Fleet that lay at Port St. *Andero* for the Prince's Tranſportation. According to his open Temper, at his Departure, he told *Olivarez, That he was oblig'd to the King, Queen and* Infanta, *in an eternal Tie of Gratitude; but for himſelf, he had ſo far diſoblig'd him, that he could not, without Flattery, make the leaſt Profeſſion of Friendſhip for him.* *Olivarez* gave a ſhort Reply, *That he accepted of what he had ſpoken.* The Duke departing with ſo little Satisfaction, the *Spaniards* concluded, that he would endeavour by all Means poſſible to hinder the Marriage.

Buckingham's Departure.

But his Highneſs had gain'd an univerſal Love and Eſteem, and was look'd upon to be a truly noble, diſcreet, and well deſerving Prince; his grave Deportment ſuited with the very Genius of that Nation, which during the whole Stay was ſupported with the greateſt Affability, Solidity and Conſtancy, and at his Departure, with unparallel'd Bounty, preſenting Jewels of ineſtimable Value to the *Infanta*, and ſeveral *Grandees*. Before which, the King of *Spain* and the Prince both took ſolemn Oaths to accompliſh the Marriage, and to make the Eſpouſals ten Days after the Diſpenſation from the new Pope ſhould arrive; and a Procuration was ſeal'd by the Prince to the King of *Spain*, and his Brother, and left in the Hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſtop the Delivery of the Proxies, 'till further Direction from him, alledging, *That the* Infanta *might retire into a Cloiſter, and defraud him of a Wife*; but theſe Inſtructions were to be conceal'd from the Earl, 'till the Diſpenſation came from *Rome*.

The Eſpouſals agreed.

After ſix Months Stay, to the vaſt Expence of the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, the Prince took a moſt ſolemn Farewel of the Queen and *Infanta*, who look'd upon the Marriage as compleated in Effect; and the *Infanta* caus'd many Divine Duties to be perform'd, for the Safety of his Return into *England*, expecting to follow him in no long Space. When the Prince told her, *His Heart could never be out of Anxiety, 'till ſhe had paſs'd the intended Voyage, and was ſafe on the* Britiſh *Land*, ſhe anſwer'd with a modeſt Bluſh, *That if ſhe were in Danger upon the Ocean, or diſcompos'd with the rolling Waves, ſhe ſhould take Courage, and remember all the Way to whom ſhe was going.* The King himſelf conducted him as far as the *Eſcurial*, and there nobly feaſted him; and at the Minute of parting acknowledg'd *the Obligation which his Highneſs had laid upon him, by putting himſelf in his Hands, a thing ſo unuſual with Princes*: Proteſting, *He earneſtly deſir'd a nearer Conjunction of Brotherly Affection, for the more intire Unity between them.* The Prince extoll'd the high Favours he had found during his Aboad in his Court and Preſence, *which had begotten ſuch an Eſtimation of his Worth, as he knew not how to value; but he would leave a Mediator to ſupply his own Defects, if he would make him ſo happy as to continue him in her good Opinion, his moſt fair and moſt dear Miſtreſs.* From thence, attended with a Train of *Spaniſh* Courtiers to the *Engliſh* Fleet, he took Shipping, with great Hazard to his Perſon;

This Prince's Departure.

Perſon; and it was obſerv'd, That the firſt Words he ſpoke after he was embarqu'd, were, *That it was a great Weakneſs and Folly in the* Spaniard, *to grant him a free Paſſage, after they had us'd him ſo ill.* He arriv'd at *Portſmouth* on the fifth of *October*, and ſoon appear'd to be the Kingdom's Delight and Darling; the Peoples Hearts were fir'd at the Sight and News of him, and unanimouſly prais'd God, without any publick Edict of Thankſgiving. Publick Societies and private Families overflow'd with the moſt rapturous Expreſſions of Pleaſure and Wonder; and when he enter'd *London*, the Bonfires, which the Peoples Joy had kindled, ſeem'd to turn the City into one Flame.

His Arrival in England.

The King was then at *Royſton*, to whom the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* rod Poſt, and gave him a fair and plauſible Narration of all their Proceedings, laying the whole Weight of Odium upon the *Spaniſh* Delays, and the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Miſcarriages; which the King, as an indulgent Father to his Son, and a kind Friend to his Favourite, took for current Payment, without further Examination. And to retaliate the former Uſage of the *Spaniards*, the Prince and Duke join'd with thoſe of the Council and Nobility who were averſe to the *Spaniſh* Match, cementing their Power with that Strength, that a Parliament was to be call'd, and the People conſulted; that they laying open the fraudulent Proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Juſtice in breaking the Treaty might be more conſpicuous to the World. The News of a Parliament to break this Match was quickly carry'd through the Nation; and, according to their Expectations, it prov'd very grateful to the People, and gain'd them much Reſpect and Honour. But the firſt thing they did was to procure an abſolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſuſpend the Delivery of the Proxy 'till *Chriſtmaſs*, tho' the Diſpenſation ſhould come ſooner; and being reſolv'd to affront the King of *Spain* for his former Delays, *Briſtol* in his Letter had poſitive Inſtructions to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and the *Electoral Dignity*, which had been wav'd and neglected in the Concluſion of the Treaty: The King in his Letter writing, *It would be very ſtrange in me to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.* But *Briſtol*'s Power of deferring the Eſpouſals 'till *Chriſtmaſs*, was to be kept within his own Breaſt, and not made publick, 'till the Diſpenſation ſhould come to diſcover it: And there was a Clauſe in the Procuration left by the Prince, that the Power of that Inſtrument ſhould expire at *Chriſtmaſs*; ſo that the Execution of it was to be reſpited 'till it was altogether invalid. All this was extreamly ungrateful to the Earl of *Briſtol*, wo had ſo long labour'd, and was ſtill endeavouring to bring about the Match.

New Propoſals to Spain.

In the mean Time the *Spaniards* made all ſolemn Proviſions for the accompliſhing ſo glorious a Work; and the King of *Spain* ſent a ſpecial Ambaſſador into *England* to congratulate the Prince's happy Voyage and ſafe Return; and from thence he had Inſtructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes, Potentates and Allies, how near the Treaty of Marriage was to be conſummated. As ſoon as the Diſpenſation came from the new Pope, in the Beginning of *December*, Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, and the great Ordnance every where thunder'd out the general Joy. The ninth of the Month was prefix'd for the Marriage Day, a noble Terras was erected between the Court and the next Church, almoſt a quarter of a Mile in length, cover'd with Tapeſtry, for the greater Magnificence, and all things appointed in the higheſt State for ſuch an extraordinary Solemnity. Great Preſents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince; the *Infanta*'s Family, deſign'd for *England*, was ſettled and eſtabliſh'd; ſhe had prepar'd the richeſt Suits for her Lord and Husband, had long practis'd the *Engliſh* Tongue to make it Natural, and began to draw the Letters which ſhe deſign'd to have written the Day of her Eſpouſals to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law. Her Journey into *England* was reſolv'd to be in the Beginning of *March*; and tho' her Portion was not nam'd in the Articles,

Great Proviſions for the Match in Spain.

ticles, yet it was fix'd at no leſs than two Millions of Mony, which was four Times as much as had been given with any Daughter of *Spain*. In this State and Perfection were the Affairs of *Spain*, when King *James*'s Commands at once blaſted all this blooming Glory: For *Briſtol* had now Orders to declare poſitively to the King of *Spain*, *That without the Reſtoration of the* Palatinate, *and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty ſhould proceed no further*; which was a ſtrange Surprize to the King and *Infanta*, when the one was like to loſe his Honour, and the other her Lover. His Anſwer was, *That the* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and the* Electorate *was in the Power of another*; *but if the Emperor and the Duke of* Bavaria *would not yield to Reaſon, he would arm himſelf againſt them.* But this Anſwer was not Satisfactory from one who had us'd ſo many ſubtle Pretenſions, and had been a prime Inſtrument in the Ruin of the Count *Palatine*. Therefore, a Breach being apparent, the King of *Spain* ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to demand no more Audiences of him, to deliver no more Letters to the *Infanta*, and gave Command that none hereafter ſhould call her Princeſs of *England*. This was the End of the famous ſeven Years Treaty; in which the King of *England*, a King of Peace, notwithſtanding all the *Spaniſh* Armado's, gain'd the Victory; and *Spain* for many Years did not receive ſo retaliating and diſhonourable a Defeat. And this was an Amazement to the Chriſtian World, that when the Match was brought to ſuch Perfection, the Motion ſhould be rejected by that Side, which purſu'd it with ſo much Eagerneſs and unweary'd Patience; which by ſome has been call'd a Maſter-piece, by others a Myſtery of State, of which many various and uncertain Conjectures have been made.

The Match ſuddenly broke.

With the Breach of this *Spaniſh* Match ended the Life of the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian Mr. *William Camden*, *Clerenceaux* King at Arms, in the ſeventy fourth Year of his Age; a Perſon highly eſteem'd by Foreigners, as well as thoſe of his own Country. The latter are oblig'd to him not only for his noble Productions, but alſo for his Munificence in founding a Hiſtory-Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; doubly immortalizing his Name, both in his own happy Diſcoveries, and the laudable Incouragement given to the Labours of Poſterity and future Ages.

The Death of Mr. Camden.

Wilſon Ruſhwort. Clarendon. Hacket. Rot. Parl. D'Ageau &c.

X. We are now approaching to the laſt great Turn of Affairs in this Reign, which had ſuch remarkable Effects in the next, namely the Marriage with *France*, which *Buckingham* had been a conſiderable Time in contriving and projecting. This Duke having by a long Converſe made himſelf Favourite to the Prince, as well as to the King, perſuaded his Highneſs to look back to the Beauty he had ſeen in *France*, which was nearer to him, and probably more eaſie to be obtain'd. But the Treaty with *Spain* ought firſt to be diſſolv'd, to give a Colour of Honour to a Proceeding with the other; and that was what nothing but a Parliament could fully accompliſh, who once removing the Cauſe, a Treaty of Peace, were beſt able to make good the Effect, which would be a War that muſt follow it. Therefore a Parliament was ſummon'd the twelfth Day of *February*; when the Grief that the ſudden Death of the Duke of *Richmond* had given the King, caus'd it to be deferr'd to the nineteenth of the ſame Month. Here the King in a long and very obliging Speech, 'us'd his utmoſt 'Endeavours to ſweeten the Parliament into a good Opinion of all his 'Actions, and of his ſincere Deſires to comply with them in every thing, for 'the Good of the Kingdom, and his utter Averſion to the Infringement of 'their Liberties. He deſir'd to be accounted the Husband of his People; 'and becauſe he was blam'd for Remiſsneſs in Maintenance of Religion, and in-'couraging a Toleration to *Papiſts*, he declar'd, *As God ſhould judge him, he 'never thought, or ever in Words expreſs'd any thing that favour'd of it: On-'ly ſometimes, for ſpecial Reaſons, he did not ſo fully put the Laws in Exe-'cution, but conniv'd at ſome things that might have hinder'd more weighty*

A. D. 1624. Reg. 22.

The fourth Parliament in this Reign.

'*Affairs*. As to what related to the breaking off the *Spaniſh* Match, he re-
'ferr'd them to the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*, to give them Satisfaction
'in that Affair. And towards the latter End he declar'd, *He ſpoke as a Chri-*
'*ſtian King, that never any Traveller, in the burning, dry and ſandy De-*
'*ſarts, more thirſted for Water to quench his Thirſt, than he did for a happy*
'*Concluſion of this Parliament, and that it might atone for the Miſcarriages*
'*of the three former*.

Within three or four Days, the Prince began to ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Affairs in Parliament, in which he forgot not to mention the Duke of *Buckingham* with more than ordinary Affection, who obſerving the heavy Reſentment the King had of what was paſt, and the Affection he ſtill bore to the *Spaniſh* Treaty, reſolv'd to uſe all poſſible Means to ingratiate himſelf with the Parliament and People, who he knew always deteſted the Match, and indeed any Alliance with *Spain*. So when at a Conference between the two Houſes, which his Highneſs and the Duke were deſir'd to manage, the Prince had made a ſhort Introduction, and commended the Duke for his great Care of him in *Spain*, and his Dexterity in bringing him away, he referr'd the whole Relation to him, who before that auguſt Body declar'd, 'That the real Deſign of the 'Prince's Journey into *Spain*, had been to make a clear Diſcovery of the *Spani-*'*ard*'s Integrity, and if he was ſincere in what he pretended. That the Am-'baſſador, who had the ſole Management of that great Affair, wrote in one 'Diſpatch that all was concluded, and in the next, that new Difficulties and 'freſh Demands were ſtarted and inſiſted upon. Theſe Ebbs and Floods made 'the Prince apprehend, that their Buſineſs was to amuſe us while they had 'other ſecret Deſigns in Agitation; and thereupon his Highneſs had prevail'd 'upon his Father that he might make that Journey. That they were no ſoon-'er arriv'd at *Madrid*, than they diſcover'd their Purpoſe never was to give him 'the *Infanta*. That inſtead of proceeding upon the Articles, which were 'thought concluded, they urg'd new Demands, and that ſo peremptorily 'in Matters of Religion, that the principal Clergy-Men, and moſt eminent of 'the King's Preachers, had not only frequent Conferences with the Prince to 'perſuade him to turn Papiſt, but had procur'd the Pope to write a Letter 'himſelf to his Highneſs upon the ſame Subject; but it had pleas'd God to give 'him not only a conſtant and unſhaken Heart in his Religion, but ſuch 'Strength of Argument to defend the ſame, that they ſtood amaz'd to hear him, 'and confeſs'd they were not able to anſwer him. That the Prince was never per-'mitted to confer with his Miſtreſs, and very rarely to ſee her, even when they 'pretended he was upon the Point of Marrying. That they never could obtain a 'more Satisfactory Anſwer in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, than *That it* '*was not in the King of* Spain's *Power to reſtore it*, tho' it had been taken by 'the ſole Power of *Spain*, and ſtill'd poſſeſs'd by their Forces; ſo that he was 'well aſſur'd there was no more real Intention in that Point of Reſtitution, 'than in the other of Marriage, and that there was no Hopes of recovering the '*Palatinate* by any other Means than that of Force, which would eaſily effect 'it. Throughout his whole Diſcourſe he frequently reflected upon the Earl of *Briſtol*, as if he was privy to the *Spaniſh* Deſigns, and concurr'd with them; that therefore the King had recall'd him, that he might account for all his Miſ-carriages. Whereas in reality his Majeſty had ſent for him, rather to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke, than to expoſe him to his Malice and Fury.

Buckingham's *Narrative of the* Spaniſh *Treaty*.

The Conference ended in an high Applauſe of the Prince's and Duke's Be-haviour, and the Parliament, who had before look'd upon the Duke with a Ma-lignant Eye, for tempting the Prince to ſo dangerous a Journey, when they found what extraordinary Effects it had produc'd, forgot all former Mur-murings, and could ſcarce contain from acknowledging him the *Preſerver of the Nation*: His Diſcovery was highly extoll'd, and he ſoon became the Fa-vourite of the Multitude. But the King himſelf was infinitely offended, when he

The Parliament applaud him.

he heard what the Duke had ſo confidently avow'd, without any Authority or Direction from him, a great Part of which himſelf knew to be falſe; ſo that he only wanted the Aſſiſtance of a reſolute brisk Counſellor to deſtroy the Duke, and ſuch a one he promis'd himſelf in the Earl of *Briſtol*, whom he daily expected. However he reſolv'd to comply in all things with his Parliament, who now wiſely paſs'd over all Reflections upon particular Perſons; and having the Treaty of Marriage with *Spain* put into their Hands, they cruſh'd that Serpent in the Head, by adviſing the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*, proteſting to aſſiſt the King in the regaining the *Palatinate, with their Lives and Fortunes*. But the timorous King, apprehending that when the War was begun there would not be ſufficient Means to maintain it, thank'd the Parliament for their Advice, and anſwer'd *That he would conſider better of it*. The Parliament finding the King begin to ſtagger and ſink, were reſolv'd to rouſe and keep up his Spirits; and therefore they offer'd him an extraordinary Aid of three intire Subſidies, and three Fifteenths and Tenths, payable in the Compaſs of one Year, and ſo cloſely urg'd him to the Beginning of the War, that he had no longer Room to make an Evaſion, but was forc'd to declare both againſt the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, according to their Advice. Upon which it was reſolv'd, ſhortly to ſend ſix thouſand Men to join with the Forces of the States of *Holland*, that by weakning the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, they might have a freer Acceſs into *Germany*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

They diſſolve the Spaniſh *Treaty.*

The Diſſolution of the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Preparations for War reſounding in every Ear, gave ſuch an Alarm to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Marqueſs of *Inoioſa*, that he reſolv'd to act his Revenge againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. In order to effect it, by a Stratagem he thruſt a Paper into the King's Hands, containing the Particulars of ſome ſtrange and deſperate Deſigns form'd by the Duke againſt his Majeſty, in which the Prince himſelf wanted not his Share; which were ſo plauſibly drawn up, as might have diſtracted a Mind far leſs timorous than his own. This Contrivance ſo prevail'd upon the King, that he became deeply thoughtful and melancholy, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Diſcourſe but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like Flaſhes of Lightning from a dark Cloud, ſhew'd a Storm was gathering within. Immediately the Prince and Duke concluded themſelves in Danger; and upon Enquiry found that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and *Maeſtro* a Jeſuit of that Nation, had been with the King, and that ſome of the Ambaſſador's Family had boaſted, *That they had ſenſibly wounded the Duke, and laid ſuch a Train as ſhould blow the Parliament in pieces*. The King, amidſt theſe terrible Anxieties, prepar'd for *Windſor*, hoping to divert and eaſe his over-charg'd Imaginations: And at the End of *April* he took Coach together with the Prince, but made ſome ſlight Pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind him, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach: At which he broke out into Tears, and humbly begg'd of his Majeſty *To tell him his Crime, that he might confeſs it, or clear himſelf*. To which the King only reply'd with a profound Sigh, *That he was the moſt unhappy Wretch alive, to be forſaken by thoſe who were deareſt to him:* Which was follow'd by a Flood of Tears both from himſelf and the Prince; but the King drove away for *Windſor*, and left the diſconſolate Duke behind him. This coming to the Ear of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, he haſten'd to the Duke's Houſe, where with Difficulty he gain'd Admittance to his Grace, whom he found lying on a Couch in a melancholy unmovable Poſture. But at length the Duke was perſuaded to declare the Caſe, at which the Keeper adviſ'd him immediately to follow the King to *Windſor*, and never to ſtir from his Preſence Night or Day; *for the Danger was, leſt any one ſhould gain the King's Ear, and perſuade him to diſſolve the Parliament, and upon the Diſſolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the Tower, and then God knows what would follow*. The Duke follow'd the Keeper's Advice, while the

The King ſuſpects Buckingham.

other in the mean Time, by a nice Piece of Dexterity, and through the Means of a Miſtreſs kept by the *Spaniſh* Secretary, found out the whole Occaſion of the Diſturbance: Which ended in a full and happy Reconciliation between the King, the Prince and Duke, at a Time when the Continuance of the Breach might have caus'd infinite Miſchiefs to them all.

He is reconcil'd to him.

By this the Duke's Power was more firmly eſtabliſh'd, notwithſtanding the ſecret Reſentments of the King, who contrary to his Promiſe was prevail'd upon to reſtrain the Earl of *Briſtol* at his firſt Arrival, and without admitting him into his Preſence, to throw him into the Tower, upon Suſpicion of High-Treaſon; this noble Earl had left the *Spaniſh* Court with Honour and Reputation, where he was offer'd Places, Sums of Mony, and Protection againſt his Enemies in *England*, all which he generouſly refus'd: But now finding *Buckingham*'s Power and Popularity too mighty for him to oppoſe at this Inſtant, he was content with Submiſſion to gain his Liberty, and retire himſelf to a Country Privacy. The Duke, ſwell'd with Grandeur, next turn'd the Weight of his Authority againſt *Lionel Cranfield*, a Gentleman of great Abilities, who by marrying a near Relation of the Duke's, was raiſed by him to be made a Privy-Counſellor, Maſter of the Wardrobe, Maſter of the Wards, and ſhortly Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middleſex*. This Lord had by his great Dexterity gain'd ſo much Credit with the King, that during the Duke's Abſence in *Spain*, he not only refus'd to remit ſuch Sums of Mony as thoſe unlimited Expences requir'd, but took the Courage to diſpute his Commands, and appeal to the King, whoſe Ear was always inclin'd to him. Therefore when the Duke found his Intereſt in the preſent Parliament, he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival, and eaſily procur'd ſome leading Men in the Houſe of Commons to ſend up an Impeachment of ſeveral Corruptions and Miſdemeanors to the Houſe of Lords againſt that great Miniſter. The diſcerning King readily foreſaw the ill Conſequences of ſuch an Activity, which was a Breach upon his Royal Authority, and a dangerous Precedent againſt the Supports of Regal Power. He therefore ſent for the Prince and Duke, who had both promoted the Matter, and earneſtly conjur'd them to make uſe of their utmoſt Intereſt to reſtrain it, as a Wound to the Crown not eaſie to be cur'd; and finding the Duke unmov'd by all his Arguments and Commands, he with an angry Oath call'd him a direct Fool, and prophetically told him, *That in this Fit of Popularity he was making a Rod to ſcourge himſelf.* Then turning to the Prince with the ſame Foreſight he ſaid, *That when he was dead, he would have his Belly-full of Parliament Impeachments, and would remember to his Sorrow how much he had contributed to the Weakning of the Crown, by the two Precedents he was ſo fond of*; meaning as well the engaging the Parliament in the War, as the Proſecuting the Earl of *Middleſex*. But the Duke had gain'd ſo powerful an Intereſt in both Houſes, that the King's Interpoſition was ineffectual, and the Earl, notwithſtanding the good Defence he made, was at laſt condemn'd in a great Fine, to a long Impriſonment, and an Excluſion from his Seat in Parliament during Life: A Clauſe of ſuch a Nature, as was never known before in any Judgment of Parliament, and indeed not to be inflicted on a Peer but by Attainder.

The Earl of Briſtol impriſon'd.

The Riſe and Fall of the Earl of Middleſex.

The Lords being now at Leiſure, began to conſider how highly neceſſary it was that they ſhould join with the Commons, in Petitioning the King to curb the Growth of Popery, and reſtrain the Aſpiring *Romaniſts*. And after ſome Conferences between both Houſes, the Petition was reduc'd to two Propoſitions, and preſented to the King as two Petitions: The firſt was to beg his Majeſty, 'That all the Laws might be put in Execution againſt Jeſuits, 'Seminary Prieſts, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*, and generally 'againſt all Popiſh Recuſants. The ſecond was, 'That his Majeſty would be 'pleas'd to ſecure the Hearts of his Subjects, by the Engagement of his Royal 'Word, That upon no future Occaſion of Marriage or Treaty, or any Requeſt 'of

The Parliament petition againſt Popery.

'of Foreign Prince or State, he would remove or relax the Execution of his 'Laws againſt the foreſaid *Roman* Catholicks. To both theſe the King gave a particular Anſwer *viva voce* before the Lords and Commons; and as to the firſt he proteſted before God, *That his Heart had bled when he heard of the Increaſe of Popery, and that the Grief of it had been as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Side; therefore he was ready by Proclamation to command all the Jeſuits and Prieſts of the Nation to depart by a certain Day.* As to the ſecond he declar'd, *That ſince it was againſt the Rule of Wiſdom, that a King ſhould ſuffer any Subject to tranſgreſs the Laws by the Interceſſion of other Princes, therefore he aſſur'd them, That he would be careful that no ſuch Condition ſhould be foiſted in upon any other Treaty whatſoever.* From theſe Proceedings many Papiſts were turn'd out of Places of Truſt and Profit, which conſiderably cruſh'd their Party; 'till a new Treaty with *France* made a great Alteration, and gave them new Life and Incouragement. And now the Parliament having ſate above three Months, given three Subſidies, three Fifteenths and Tenths, paſs'd an Act of general Pardon, and thirty three other Acts of Conſequence, upon the twenty ninth of *May* it was prorogu'd from time to time, 'till the King's Death diſſolv'd it.

The King's Anſwer.

The Parliament ended.

During this Seſſion, four Regiments of Foot, fifteen hundred in each Regiment, were tranſported into *Holland* under the Command of the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, ſince Earl of *Lindſey*. But while the *Engliſh*, the great Supporters of the *Dutch*, were fighting for them in their own Country, there arriv'd News out of the *Eaſt-Indies* of ſuch a horrid and barbarous Nature, as no Time nor Age could parallel. The *Dutch* graſping at the whole Spicery Trade in that Eaſtern World, and having induſtriouſly wrought out the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, endeavour'd to do the ſame by their beſt Friends the *Engliſh*, that they might engroſs the whole to themſelves; which cauſing many Conteſts between them, at length they came to Terms of Agreement, and the *Engliſh* conceiving themſelves ſecure, planted their Factories among them: Where after two Years, that they had reap'd the Fruit of their Dangers and Hazards, the *Dutch* began to attempt their utter Extirpation, not by the Sword of War or a Maſſacre, but by ſuch cruel and ſavage Tortures, as could hardly be thought to proceed from Chriſtians, or thoſe of human Race. The Iſland of *Amboyna* was the bloody Stage where they acted this diſmal Tragedy: For, pretending that Captain *Gabriel Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Factory, had conſpir'd to ſeize the Caſtle, and expel the *Dutch* out of the Iſland, they ſeiz'd upon them, and having no Witneſſes againſt them but their Racks, they extended their Sinews to the full Length, and disjointed all the Limbs of their Bodies; and with their other Engines making them ſuck in Water with their Breath, they ſwell'd their Bodies to a vaſt Proportion, 'till their Skins were ready to burſt, and their Eyes to ſtart out of their Heads. And thoſe whoſe Innocency and Courage could not be compell'd by thoſe Torments to accuſe themſelves of unacted Crimes, they burnt the Soles of their Feet with Candles, 'till the dropping Moiſture extinguiſh'd the Flame, and with thoſe fiery Inſtruments made ſuch Holes in their Sides, that they might ſee their Entrails, tho' the Monſters would not ſee their Innocence, but perſiſted in their exquiſite Cruelties; which being horrible to expreſs, muſt be inſupportable to ſuſtain. Having thus weary'd out the miſerable Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confeſs'd and gave under their Hands whatever their barbarous Tormentors dictated to them, and ended their Cruelties by cutting off their Heads. Ten of the *Engliſh* loſt their Lives, and the reſt, being near as many more, with rack'd, ſwell'd and macerated Bodies, were ſent to the *Engliſh* Plantations; ſo the whole Factory was deſtroy'd, and the *Dutch* ſeiz'd that Trade into their Hands, which they have kept ever ſince.

The Dutch Cruelties at Amboyna.

King

King *James* receiving the Account of this barbarous Tranſaction, is ſaid to have made a very cold Reply upon the Occaſion, having his Thoughts more nearly imploy'd about his own Family, and the Marriage of his Son with the Houſe of *France*; in Order to which, ſoon after the Breach with *Spain*, his Majeſty ſent over the Lord *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, privately to find out the Inclinations of the *French* King, in relation to a Match between the Prince and the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter to King *Henry* the Great. He continu'd there a Month before he mov'd in that Matter; but as ſoon as he propos'd it to the *French* King, he was ſo deſirous of the Match, that he told the Earl, *He had rather have the Prince of* England *to be his Brother, than any other Man in the World*, and was ſo ready to comply, that he ſeem'd indifferent in making Terms for the Catholicks in *England*. But when he found King *James*, who dreaded a ſecond Diſappointment, to be immeaſurably fond of this Alliance, he abated of his Forwardneſs, inlarg'd his Demands in Favour of Papiſts, and ſtrain'd the King to ſuch Conceſſions, as he had promis'd to his Parliament he would never grant upon the Mediation of Foreign Princes. The famous Cardinal *Richlieu* was now in the Infancy of his Riſe and Favour, and was made the principal Manager of this great Affair in Behalf of *France*; and the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle* were ſent Ambaſſadors Extraordinary from the Court of *England* in the Month of *June*. Theſe repreſented to the Cardinal, 'That the Propoſition they made of a Marriage 'being no new Thing, ſince it had been treated of many Years before to mar-'ry the Prince of *Wales* with Madam *Chriſtiana*, who was afterwards marry'd 'to the Prince of *Piedmont*; they had nothing now to do, but to re-aſſume 'the Articles already made, and to continue on the ſame Foot with the Lady '*Henrietta*. But the *French* anſwer'd, 'That the Face of Affairs was chang'd 'ſince that Time, and that they had different Thoughts at preſent; that it was 'the King of *England*'s Intereſt to preſerve the Reputation of the *French* King 'in this Marriage; that at preſent they could not be contented with what they 'had formerly offer'd about Religion, after what had happen'd in *Spain*, when 'there was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infan-'ta*; urging, that it was neceſſary to begin the Negotiation by laying thoſe 'Articles upon the Table, which the King of *Great Britain* had agreed with '*Spain* upon that Occaſion. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors rejecting this, one of the *French* anſwer'd, *He was much ſurpriz'd that they were not come with Power to make the ſame Conceſſions to the* Moſt Chriſtian King, *as their Maſter had granted to his* Catholick Majeſty, *ſince they might eaſily imagine* France *would ſuffer no Inequality in this Affair.*

A Treaty of Marriage with France.

The French *inſiſt upon high Terms.*

This put ſome Stop to the Negotiation, but in effect the Ambaſſadors of *England* ſoon conſented to agree to all the Articles with *Spain*, except three; of which one was concerning a Toleration for the *Engliſh* Catholicks; another for a publick Church for the Retinue of the Lady; and the laſt related to the Education of thoſe Children who ſhould be born of this Marriage, who 'till twelve Years of Age were to be in the Hands of the Queen, to educate them in her own Religion. The *French* repreſented it would do great Service to the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party all the *Engliſh* Catholicks, who would oppoſe themſelves to the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians*, by whom the King was not truly belov'd: But the Ambaſſadors would never conſent to grant a Church to the Papiſts, which would endanger a Mutiny in *London*, tho' they agreed to the Article concerning the Education of Children; but yet rejected to have a Biſhop ſent with the Lady, as a Matter of no Uſe. As for the Dowry, the King of *England* inſiſted upon eight hundred thouſand Crowns, of which one half was to be paid in *London* the Evening before the Marriage, two hundred thouſand a Year after, and the reſt in ſix Months after that. There was alſo a Proviſo made, that if the Lady ſhould die before the Prince without Children, he ſhould be oblig'd only to reſtore the Moiety. All this being agreed, the

The Engliſh *and* French *agree.*

the main thing was to procure a Diſpenſation from the Pope to permit the Lady to marry with an Heretick Prince; for his Holineſs was no ways pleas'd with the Marriage, leſt it might occaſion the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. Therefore Father *Berulle*, who was ſent to *Rome* for that Purpoſe, us'd many Arguments with the Pope, and inſiſted upon the numerous Advantages that would accrue to the Catholick Religion by this Marriage; ſo that at length the Pope was mollify'd, and conſented to a Diſpenſation, which in three Months Time was compleated.

The ſecret Treaty of the Arch-Biſhop of Embrun *in* England.

While one Negotiation was carry'd on at *Rome*, another more ſecret was managing in *England* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Embrun*, who was ſent over by the *French* King in Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, and likewiſe to ſound King *James* about his Thoughts of the *Romiſh* Religion; of which remarkable Tranſaction we have this following Account from the Arch-Biſhop himſelf, and from Monſieur *D'Ageant*, a prime Miniſter of State in *France*. This Prelate, who was a Man of great Knowledge and Experience, having receiv'd his Orders from the *French* King, took a Voyage into *England*, in the Habit and Name of a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom Curioſity had induc'd to ſee the Nation. He was ſoon met and diſcover'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who told him *That there was no occaſion for him to change his Name or conceal his Quality, for he ſhould receive nothing but Honour, eſpecially from the King his Maſter, who had a very particular Eſteem for him.* Shortly after he introduc'd him to the King at *Royſton*, who entertain'd him very graciouſly, and order'd the Duke to be preſent all the Time of the Diſcourſe, which laſted above two Hours. At this firſt Meeting he prevail'd ſo far, that Orders were immediately given to releaſe many *Roman* Catholicks out of Priſon, in *London* and other Places, and the Execution of many Laws againſt them was ſuſpended; and further he was permitted to adminiſter Confirmation to what Catholicks he pleas'd, in the Houſe of the *French* Ambaſſador, while the Doors were open. Accordingly he confirm'd above ten thouſand, in the Preſence of a great Concourſe of People at the Door and in the Street; at which many were extreamly offended, and complain'd of it to the King, but to no Effect, for his Majeſty anſwer'd them, *That he did nothing contrary to his Pleaſure.* This Arch-Biſhop had ſeveral Conferences with the King, in which his Majeſty teſtify'd his great Deſire to be ally'd to *France*, and the other inſiſted upon a Toleration, as the moſt effectual Means to give Satisfaction to the Catholick Princes: Whereupon the King laying his Hand upon his Hand, ſaid, *I plainly ſee that you are a Perſon appointed by God, in whom I ought to confide, and to reveal the Secrets of my Heart.*

He confirms ten thouſand in London.

King James's *Diſcourſes with him.*

Afterwards, he very freely acknowledg'd to the Arch-Biſhop the good Opinion he had conceiv'd of the Catholick Faith, and ſo particularly, that he omitted nothing; proteſting to him, 'That during his Minority, his Tutors 'having perceiv'd his Inclination to that Religion, he ran great Hazards of be- 'ing aſſaſſinated: As to a Toleration, he profeſs'd he had long deſign'd to grant 'it in his Dominions, and for that very Purpoſe, he intended to ſummon an 'Aſſembly of Prelates and other learned Men of *England*, together with an 'equal Number of Foreigners, and upon the Deciſions there made, to found 'the ſaid Liberty; adding, That he had already determin'd what Perſons ſhould 'be choſen among the *Engliſh*; and that if the Aſſembly could not meet at '*Dover*, he would conſent that it ſhould be holden at *Boloign*, as ſoon as he 'ſhould be in a Condition to rely upon the King of *France*, by the Means of 'the intended Marriage: And to procure theſe good Effects, he thought conve- 'nient that after the Conſummation of it, the Arch-Biſhop ſhould return into '*England* under the Pretence of accompanying the Princeſs, at which Time 'he would deliver to him two Letters written with his own Hand, one for the '*French* King, and the other for the Pope, containing his ſerious Reſolutions: 'He would alſo give him a diſtinct Memorial concerning his Intention, which he

'would

'would Sign, that the Arch-Biſhop being furniſh'd with theſe Diſpatches, he 'ſhould go to *Rome*, under Colour of viſiting the Apoſtolick See, there to treat 'with the Pope alone, for whom he ſaid, he had a greater Reſpect and Affecti-'on, ever ſince he underſtood he had compos'd Verſes in his Youth of the vio-'lent Death of the Queen of *Scotland* his Mother, in Commendation of her, 'and of the Family of the *Stuarts*, which he ſhew'd to the Arch-Biſhop. He further declar'd, 'That in Caſe the Arch-Biſhop return'd from *Rome* with the 'Approbation of his Holineſs concerning the Convention, he would cauſe it 'forthwith to be aſſembled, whereupon extraordinary and admirable Events 'would enſue: But before he proceeded to diſcover his Deſign as to his own 'Perſon, he would negotiate with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and 'with the principal *Puritan* Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and promis'd that 'all things ſhould tend to a happy Concluſion, and to the great Advantage of 'the Catholick Church. This, ſays the Arch-Biſhop, is the Subſtance of all the Diſcourſes they had at ſeveral Times upon this Subject.

Monſieur *D'Ageant* further tells us, that being ſatisfy'd as to all the Points in Controverſie, the King wrote a long Letter to the Pope, by a Catholick Gentleman his Subject, whom he privately ſent to him on purpoſe. 'In which 'he acknowledg'd him as the *Vicar General of Jeſus Chriſt* on Earth, as the '*univerſal Father of the Chriſtians*, and the *Chief of all Catholicks*; aſſuring 'him, that after he had taken Care of thoſe things to which he had agreed, he 'would openly declare himſelf: In the mean Time he promis'd not to ſuffer 'any Search to be made in his Kingdom after Prieſts that were ſent by his *Ho-'lineſs*, or the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, provided they were not *Jeſuits*, in whom 'he proteſted he could not confide, for ſeveral Reaſons; principally becauſe he 'accounted them the Authors of the Gun-Powder Treaſon, by which they 'were to have blown up him and the chief of the Nation. In his Letter, among other Particulars, he intreated the Pope 'To vouchſafe that the Goods 'of the Church that were enter'd into the Patrimony of the principal Families of '*England* ſhould not be taken from them; but that they ſhould be permitted ſtill 'to enjoy them, becauſe otherwiſe great Troubles and Commotions would enſue. He affirm'd moreover, 'That nothing could hinder him from making a pub-'lick Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion at this Time, but the Deſire he had 'to gain the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-Law, whom he had for that 'End, tho' under another Pretence, ſollicited to come over into *England*, 'where he hop'd to convert him: That by doing this, he ſhould be able to 'eſtabliſh Peace in his own Dominions, which otherwiſe could hardly be main-'tain'd; and that they two united in the ſame Deſign, would draw after them 'almoſt all the Northern Countries. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Gentleman he ſent to *Rome*, were the only two Perſons, that were Subjects, to whom he communicated theſe Intentions. The Duke had promis'd to follow him, and had made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Affair; but all theſe remarkable Deſigns were made void by the Death of the King of *England* not long after, at which the *French* King, declaring the News to the Arch-Biſhop of *Embrun*, expreſs'd a very ſenſible Regret in theſe Words, *All our Hopes of* England *are loſt*. Thus far the two *French* Authors, Monſieur *D'Ageant*, and *William D'Hugues*, Arch-Biſhop of *Embrun*; of whom we can ſay no more, than that the Credit of their Narrative muſt be left to all nice and impartial Readers of this Reign.

His Letter to the Pope.

In the mean Time the Marriage-Treaty with *France* ſucceeded, and held fewer Months than the Years that were ſpent in that of *Spain*. In *Auguſt* the Match was concluded, and in *November* the Articles were ſworn to by King *James*, Prince *Charles*, and the *French* King; tho' they were not fully concluded 'till *February* following, nor the Match conſummated 'till after the King's Death. Cardinal *Richlieu*, to prevent all Conteſts that might ariſe by Means of this Alliance, as in former Times had happen'd, oblig'd Madam the Princeſs

The Marriage-Treaty concluded.

Princeſs to renounce all Succeſſions, both Direct and Collateral, which might accrue to her; for which eight hundred thouſand Crowns was to be given to her in Marriage. He alſo took care that her Houſe ſhould be compos'd of as great a Number of Officers, as any Queen of *England* ever had: That her Dowry ſhould be ſixty thouſand Crowns *per Annum*, which ſhould be aſſign'd her upon Lands, one of which ſhould be a Dutchy or an Earldom: That if ſhe became a Widow, ſhe ſhould have her Choice to ſtay in *England*, or come into *France*, whether ſhe had Children or not; and if ſhe return'd into *France*, the King of *England* ſhould be oblig'd to conduct her at his own Charge, with agreeable Honours, as far as *Calais*. The publick Articles concerning Religion were not much ſhort of thoſe for the *Spaniſh* Match; beſides which *Ruſhworth* mentions ſome private Articles in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, which *Nalſon*, upon rational Grounds, looks upon as fictitious, particularly for not being to be found in Monſieur *D'Ageant*'s Memoirs, where the Secrets of the *Engliſh* Court were, or pretended to be diſcover'd. Yet the *French* Author of Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Life in Effect declares as much as *Ruſhworth*, namely, that the King and Prince took a particular Oath to releaſe all the Catholick Priſoners, as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated, and to prohibit for the future their being ill treated for their Religion: And further, that they both gave a Promiſe in Writing, by which they bound themſelves, by no Way or Means whatſoever, to oblige the Princeſs to change her Religion. The Author likewiſe highly reflects upon the Wiſdom of King *James*, and ſays, 'As 'this Match was againſt all the Maxims of good Policy, ſo it drew upon his 'Son King *Charles* thoſe Miſchiefs, which perhaps never befel any King ſucceeding to an Hereditary Crown; and his Sons born of that Marriage, and 'ſeduc'd by their Mother's Perſuaſions, have been moſt unfortunate ſince his 'Death. And ſeveral were of Opinion, that Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was then 'contriving a War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent this Princeſs into *En*'*gland*, as a Ball of Diſſention, that would create ſo much Trouble in that 'Nation, as would incapacitate them from diſturbing their Neighbours 'Affairs. *Cenſures upon it.*

Yet ſtill King *James* thought it a propitious Match, and a great Step towards the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, and his unfortunate Progeny; but this prov'd no more ſucceſsful than another feeble Attempt this Year, made by Count *Mansfield*, who came into *England* for that Purpoſe, was receiv'd with great Splendor, and made Commander of an Army of twelve thouſand *Engliſhmen*. Theſe Forces were deſign'd to paſs through *France* into *Germany*, the *French* having promis'd, as well an Addition of Strength, as a free Paſſage. The *French*, notwithſtanding their Promiſe, and the Treaty of Marriage, delay'd, tho' not directly deny'd their Paſſage; nevertheleſs the whole Army was ſhipp'd off, and put over to *Calais*; and after a tedious Stay, in hopes yet to land and paſs through the Country, they were forc'd to ſet ſail for *Zealand*. Neither were they ſuffer'd to land there, coming ſo unexpectedly upon the States, and in a hard and ſcarce Time for Proviſion of Victuals. Thus they were long confin'd to their narrow Veſſels, and ſuffer'd the want of all Neceſſaries, by which means a Peſtilence broke out among them, and rag'd ſo extreamly, that they were thrown into the Sea by Multitudes: Inſomuch that ſcarce a third Part of the Men were landed, which alſo ſoon after decreas'd and diſpers'd, and the whole Deſign vaniſh'd into Air. Thus continually unfortunate was the King in the deplorable Caſe of his Children; and neither he nor his Son ſaw the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which happen'd not 'till twenty three Years after, when the Monarchy of *England* was under a fatal Eclipſe, and its Soveraign Lord, by an unheard of Example, brought to the Scaffold to loſe his Head.

A. D. 1625. Reg. 23.

Count Manſfield *comes into* England.

His Expedition unfortunate.

Before King *James* could ſee the Misfortunes of Count *Mansfield*, or the Marriage of his Son, he was ſeiz'd with a Tertian Ague that prov'd fatal to him.

him. This was preceded by the Deaths of two great and worthy Men, *Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, and *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; which exceedingly affected the King, who being inform'd of the Death of the latter, ſaid, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the Stock cannot continue long*: Which Saying was ſhortly verify'd. His great Indiſpoſition meeting with a fat and unweildy Body, and daily increaſing, he retir'd to *Theobalds*; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* having Notice that they fear'd his Sickneſs was mortal, went and preſented himſelf before his Majeſty, endeavouring to divert him, and bring him to a chearful Diſcourſe, but all in vain: Thus he continu'd by his Bed-ſide 'till Midnight, but the King found no Comfort. The next Morning, after a Conſultation of Phyſicians, he ſaw no Hopes of Life, and therefore he ask'd leave of the Prince to acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and put him in Mind both of his mortal, and immortal State. Having the Prince's Conſent, he went into his Majeſty's Chamber, and kneeling down told him, *He knew he ſhould neither diſpleaſe, nor diſcourage him, if he brought him the Meſſage of* Iſaiah *to* Hezekiah, *to ſet his Houſe in Order; for he concluded his Days to come would be but few in the World.* At which the King calmly reply'd, *I am ſatisfy'd, and I deſire you to aſſiſt me in preparing to go hence, and to be with Chriſt, whoſe Mercies I pray for, and hope to find them.* Finding himſelf much declining, he call'd the Prince his Son to his Bed-ſide, and recommended ſeveral uſeful Precepts to his future Conſideration; while the Keeper continually watch'd with his Royal Maſter, and never ſo much as put off his Cloaths to go to Bed, 'till after his Death. His great Buſineſs was frequently to pray, read and diſcourſe about Repentance, Faith, Remiſſion of Sins, Reſurrection, and Eternal Life; all which was the Preparation on *Wedneſday* for the bleſſed Sacrament on *Thurſday*, which his Majeſty receiv'd *with ſingular Comfort*. On *Friday* he became ſenſibly weaker; ſo that now the Keeper ſtirr'd very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewiſe to keep off ſome of the *Romiſh* Religion, who were watching about the Chamber-Door, whom, as a Privy-Counſellor, he commanded to keep at a greater Diſtance. As he drew near to his End, the Prayer uſually ſaid at the Hour of Death being ended, having repeated theſe Words, *Veni, Domine Jeſu*, he gave up the Ghoſt without any Pangs, as are commonly ſeen in dying Perſons, and the Keeper clos'd his Eyes with his own Hands.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Death.

This was upon *Sunday* the twenty ſeventh of *March*, being fifty eight Years of Age, and having reign'd twenty two Years, and three Days. Many ſcandalous Rumours were ſpread concerning his Death; and ſome took the liberty to write that he was poiſon'd, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* had been before him; which might be occaſion'd by the too bold Officiouſneſs of the Duke of *Buckingham* in adminiſtring his own Phyſick. But upon opening his Body, there was found no Mark or Sign of Poiſon, his inward Parts being all ſound; only his Spleen was a little affected, which might be Cauſe enough to throw him into an Ague. His Body, for the greater State, was convey'd by Torch-Light from *Theobalds* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where being depoſited from the twenty third Day of *April*, to the ſeventh of *May*, it was carry'd to *Weſtminſter*, where, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, it was interr'd with great Solemnity, but with greater Lamentation.

His Character.

To come at laſt to the Perſon and Character of this Prince, we find it a hard Undertaking to draw the Picture of one who had ſo many different Aſpects; eſpecially where both Friends and Enemies have ſo far exceeded the Limits of Juſtice and Impartiality. As to his Perſon and Preſence he made but an Ordinary Figure; his Countenance was homely, his Features harſh, tho' not altogether uncomely; his Stature was of the middle Size, his Body not ill compacted, but fat and unweildy in his latter Days, uſually wearing his Cloaths plain, large, and different from the common Mode. But as to his Mind, he has receiv'd the higheſt Applauſes and Commendations, particularly, That he

was

was the *Solomon* of the Age for *Knowledge*, *Learning* and *Wiſdom*; one, who knew how to catch the Inclinations of the People at the firſt Rebound, not ſuffering them to mount higher than he could reach them, nor grow ſo ſtrong, but he could either alter or divert them: That he had an admirable Pregnancy of *Wit*, which being improv'd by continual Study, he acquir'd ſuch a Promptneſs and Elegancy in expreſſing his Mind, that his extemporary Speeches were little inferior to his premeditated Writings: That he was a *mild*, *peaceful* and *munificent* Monarch, ſuitable to the *Engliſh* Genius and Nation. All which Particulars were really true, but ſtill with a remarkable Mixture of Allay; and without that, *Wilſon* acknowledges, that his high, towering and maſtering Reaſon had been of a rare and ſublim'd Excellency. Upon which Account, his *Knowledge* has been by ſome thought fitter for the Head of a Society, than the Governor of a Kingdom; his *Learning* to border more upon Pedantry, than riſe to a compleat Underſtanding; his *Wiſdom* to have more of Subtlety, or a Sagacity in diſcovering Miſchiefs, than an Ability of ſurmounting them; and his *Wit* too often to deſcend to inferior Sorts of Jeſts and Quibbles, which was the common way of Wit in that Age. His *Munificence* was many Times a direct Profuſeneſs, and a waſting of the Revenues of the Crown; and his *peaceful Temper*, which made him take *Beati Pacifici* for his Motto, had too much of a timorous Diſpoſition, not to ſay Cowardize; which caus'd him not only to be often contemn'd by Foreign Princes, but alſo at home to be govern'd, and ſometimes inſulted by his Favourites, which was one of the greateſt of his Weakneſſes: And this led him to another Quality, or rather an Acquiſition, which ſome thought as wicked, as the other was weak, which he call'd by the Name of *King-Craft*, others an *exquiſite Skill in Diſſimulation*; in which he ſo much delighted, that it ſeems to be the greateſt of all his Blemiſhes. He had excellent Notions in Conception, but could bring but few into Action, tho' they tended to his own Preſervation: And this was one of his Maxims, of which he made no timely Uſe; *A Prince, who would avoid Conſpiracies, ought to be rather jealous of ſuch, whom his Favours have advanc'd, than of thoſe whom his Frowns have diſcontented: For the latter want Means, while the Former have them at Pleaſure, to execute their Deſigns.* But to come to his moral Virtues, he was eminent for his Chaſtity, which was remarkable in a Court ſo looſe and luxurious as his own. He was very temperate in his Exerciſes, and Diet, and not intemperate in his Drinking; yet he drank very often of the ſtrongeſt ſweet Wines, but always in very ſmall Quantities, and rather out of a Cuſtom than any Delight, as *Weldon* himſelf acknowledges. He was by Education patient, pious and religious; yet ſometimes his Choler and Paſſion would prevail over all, and throw him into the profaneſt Oaths and Curſes; for which he would afterwards ſhew himſelf heartily penitent: And indeed, he was not only ready to ask Forgiveneſs of God, but alſo of Men; and ſometimes in ſuch a peculiar Manner, that they could ſcarcely ſay whether it was a pious Condeſcenſion, or an abject Diſpoſition. As to his Religion, in which he diſplay'd the Height of his Parts and Learning, he was really *Calviniſt* in moſt Points, excepting that of Epiſcopacy, as appears from ſome of his Books, and his Zeal for the Synod of *Dort*: Yet he gave unhappy Suſpicions to the Nation, by making ſuch Advances to the Pope and Papiſts, upon the Account of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Treaties. Notwithſtanding his open Indulgences, and perhaps ſecret Inclinations to the *Roman* Catholicks, yet in many publick Speeches he declar'd againſt them, and once in a very remarkable Manner, in the Preſence of many Lords, as we find it in *Croke*'s Reports; for having been charg'd with a Deſign of granting a Toleration to Papiſts, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation, *That he would ſpend the laſt Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and pray'd, That before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than his own, that God would take them out of the World.* How far this Imprecation

cation reach'd or affected himſelf, or any of his Family afterwards, we leave to the Determination of an omniſcient Being.

His Reign in general.

To take ſome Notice of this Reign in general, it is highly remarkable, that tho' the Nation was warlike and ready to kindle at any Flame, yet this King kept it his whole Reign all in Peace, without any War from abroad, or Rebellion at home. It is true, there were ſome Heats between him and his Parliaments about the *Prerogative*; and it happen'd then, as it does in moſt Feuds, Things were carry'd to great Extremities: Yet impartial Writers think, that conſidering his Majeſty's Circumſtances, he was not well us'd, and that if the Houſe had been freed from half a dozen popular and diſcontented Members, the Diſturbances would ſoon have ended. It is alſo remarkable, that during this whole Reign the King never took away the Life of one Nobleman in *England*, but reſtor'd many; yet his artificial taking off Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by vertue of a former Condemnation, after an equitable Reſtoration, and his ſparing the Earl and Counteſs of *Somerſet*, after ſuch Imprecations upon himſelf and Progeny, are both real Blemiſhes in this King's Conduct. He came to the Crown with all the Advantages of Power, Love and Reputation, and the former Part of the Reign was more active and laudable; but the latter, with the encreaſing Weakneſs of the publick Miniſtry, became more paſſive, and declin'd in Vigour and Greatneſs to the laſt Moment of his Life. If we conſider the whole Reign with the former, it will bear no Compariſon; and tho' there was a great Increaſe of Affluence and Trade, the Reputation of *England* began ſenſibly to ſink; ſo that the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, when join'd under one Monarch, made a leſs Figure, than one of them had in former Ages. The martial Heat and Exerciſe of the Nation began gradually to decline, by the Example of a pacifick King; and Sir *Richard Baker* obſerves, that two Things in this Reign grew to loſe their Luſtre: One, the Exerciſe of Tilting, which in the laſt Reign was ſo much us'd, that no Year paſs'd without ſpecial Solemnities in that Kind: The other, the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners and Yeomen of the Guard, which in the Queen's Time conſiſted of the moſt ſelect Perſons of the Realm for Stature, and other Qualifications; and was ſo noble an Ornament in her Court, that no Prince in Chriſtendom could ſhow the like. But this King ſo little valu'd theſe Particulars, that both in his Time came utterly to be neglected; no Solemnity of Arms but by Accident, and no Regard had to what Perſons were admitted into that Service. In ſhort, the main Conduct of the Reign ſeems inconſiſtent with it ſelf, and differing from the common Methods of Mankind: Therefore whatever may be ſaid in Commendation of the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, and whatever Rhetorick has been us'd to extol the uninterrupted Pleaſures of this Reign, it cannot be deny'd, but that this admir'd Calm was only the Fore-runner of a moſt diſmal Storm, and that this peaceful Monarch was not only really unfortunate in himſelf and Daughter, but alſo left to his Son an unneceſſary War, an exhauſted Treaſury, and a Crown of Troubles and Thorns. Of which we may be more particular, when, in another Volume, we come to trace the ſeveral Steps, and lay open the various Springs of thoſe tumultuous and calamitous Times.

FINIS.

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